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THE HISTORIE OF GEORGE CASTRIOT, SVRNAMED SCANDERBEG, KING OF ALBANIE.

Containing his famous actes, his noble deedes of Armes, and memorable victories against the Turkes, for the Faith of Christ.

Compriſed in twelue Bookes: By IAQVES DE LAVARDIN, Lord of PLESSIS BOVRROT, a Nobleman of France.

Newly tranſlated out of French into English by Z. I. Gentleman.



Robert Gordone

LONDON,
Imprinted for VVilliam Ponſonby.
1596.

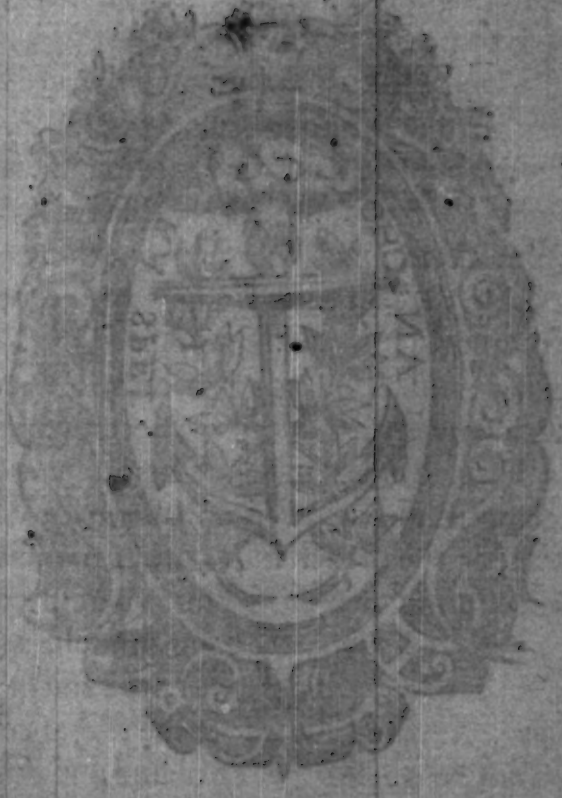
THE

HISTORIE

OF GEORGE CAS-

PRIOLI SYRNAMED SCAN-

DERBEG, KING OF ALBANIE.



LONDON,

Imprinted for William Barley.

1596.

TO THE HONORABLE, SIR GEORGE CAREY, KNIGHT MARSHAL OF HER MAIESTIES HOVSE,

GOVERNOVR OF THE ISLE OF WIGHT, and sonne and heire apparant to the Lord of Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlaine, &c.

GEORGE CASTRIOT the Prince of EPIRE hauing long soiorned amongest the French, is now come as a traueller to see the entertainment of the English: his desire is, to be made knowne vnto some honorable personage, vnder whose fauour and protection he may passe freely amongst the English without being wronged or iniured in his trauell: but to whom should he haue recourse? or to whom can he be better recommended then to your selfe? whose respectiue regard of strangers, and Honorable hospitality continued without match or compare: and whose Noble descent vnited in consanguinitie to the thrice honored house of the most renowmed Empresse of our English nation, promiseth acceptance of his deuoted affection and Honorable patronage, against all such dangers as commonly accompanie trauellers in forreine countries. He hath heard in places farre distant from this Isle, aswell of your successfull imploiments in ambassage for Prince & countrie (as best can witnesse the French and Scottish nations) as of your grounded experience in militarie profession, wherein you haue bene trained from your younger yeares: and being himselfe a souldier, hath therefore resolued to presse into your presence, and in your loue of Martialists, entirely to commend himselfe to the assurance of your protection. If his attire wherein he is clad, be plaine and simple, and nothing sumptuous: if his habit do seeme either too base for the state and presence of the Court, or too contemptible for the nice curiositie of the citie, or too stale for the variable fashions of the countrie: yet for

that vnder the meaneneſſe of his attire are hidden moſt rich treaſures of incomparable knowledge, and rare experience: I doubt not but you will grace the deſert of his vertues without reſpecting his outward ſhew and apparance: to the intent that ſo admirable an example of all militarie perfections, and the ſingular precepts which may be deriued out of this hiſtorie of his life and actions, may haue that due applauſe and commendation of the world, which the greatneſſe of his exploits, and the worthineſſe of the worke do iuſtly deſerue in the eye & iudgement of the wiſe. VVhatſoeuer defects do appeare about him: you may impute them to the ignorance and ouerſight of his guide, who knew not better how to direct him: and whoſe willingneſſe was greater to cauſe this ſtranger to ſee England, then his skill and abilitie to giue him the rightes that belonged vnto him. Notwithſtanding, if it may pleaſe you in regard of the honorable bountie ſhining in your noble mind, and for Scanderbeg his owne ſake to giue him a gratious welcome: I make no doubt, but others likewiſe, either all, or the moſt, or the beſt will be glad to entertaine him: by meanes whereof my ſelfe alſo who haue conducted him to your preſence, ſhall both hold me highly fauored, and I ſhall euer liue in the continuall contemplation of your honorable vertues as a vowed Orator for the greatneſſe of your fortunes, vnder the fauour whereof, I deſire moſt humbly to be reputed.

Yours moſt deuote

Z. I.

TO THE READER.



Gentle Reader, I haue here presented you with an Historie out of French into English, containing the life and glorious actes of Scanderbeg King of Epyre, a Prince no lesse admired in his life, then memorable after his death. I neede not commend vnto you, eyther the excellencie of the Historie, or the worthinesse of the partie: for that both the one and the other are sufficient to commend themselues, and the shadow of my prayses will but eclipse the brightnesse of their deserts. Notwithstanding because it may be expected that I should say somewhat, giue me leaue to speake what I thinke, though I cannot thinke what I ought to speake. First therefore touching Scanderbeg, so exquisite was his skill and experience in the art and science militarie, so excellent and heroicall was his cariage and gouernment amongest his souldiers, amongst his subiects, and towards his very enemies: so amiable and louely were his vertues, so vnspeakable and vnmatchable were many of his qualities, so honorable and glorious were all his actions, and so extraordinarie was his fortune in the multitude and rarenesse of his victories, that it may be a question whether was greater his vertue or his fortune. The one was rare, the other admirable, and both together haue exempted him from comparison: in so much, that if Hanniball the Carthaginian the scourge of Rome, and Scipio the Romaine the plague of Carthage, were now liuing, to reuiue their old disputation, who should be reputed the best Captaine: I doubt not but each of them would giue Scanderbeg the garland, at leastwise they would acknowledge him (if not superiour to all) yet inferiour to none, and equall to the worthiest. If we compare his small meanes with his mightie exploites, you will say they were wonderfull, if you consider his policies and fine stratageames, you will say they were singular: if you respect his corporall giftes and ornaments, nature her selfe will say she was prodigall in grasing him, hauing made him as comely as Edgar Atheling, who was called Englands darling, and as vnpenetrable as Achilles, whom no weapon could fasten on. If you regard his fortune, fortune her selfe will tell you, that she was fond ouer him. For in him onely she shewed a change of her nature, which being vsually changeable and inconstant to all men mortall, yet to him continued constant and vnchangeable. As for his vertues, Oh how they shine most glorious as the sunne beames, dazeling the eyes of the beholders with the excellencie of their obiect. Looke into his life, and let this Historie be the glasse to shew you his perfections, you shall finde, that for warinesse and prudence, he was comparable to Fabius Maximus, who by temporizing repayred the estate of Rome almost ruinated: for loue to his native countrie, he was another Camillus, who being exiled by his ingrate citizens, yet rescued them from the Gaules. For discipline he was equall to Manlius, whose seueritie to his owne sonne hath made him euer famous. Courageous as Hector that neuer turned backe to his enemies, bountifull and courteous as Caesar, who by giuing, forgiuing, and releeuing, made himselfe way to the Romaine Empire: mercifull as Traian, who neuer signed Bill for the execution of malefactors but he bedewed it with his teares: deare to his subiects and souldiers as Tytus, who was termed the delight and the Iewell of the world. Alexander the glorie of Macedon, got the name of Great amongst the Greekes, because he ouerranne the Orient like a tempest: Pompey the ioy of the Romaine Nobilitie, had the name of Great giuen him by

the Romaines, because he purged the seas infested with Pyrats, and because he stoode for the common libertie: Charlemaine the honour of the French was entytled Great because he brake the force and power of the Sarracens. Gonsalue the pride of the Spaniards and Italians was called the great Captaine, because he extorted the kingdome of Naples from the Frenchmen. As iustly may the Epyrots vaunt of their Scanderbeg to be the glorie, the honour, the pride, and the ioy of Albanie, seeing the Turkes themselues his sworne and mortall enemies haue giuen and attributed the name of Great vnto him, and seeing the greatnesse of his exploits doe testifie that the name and title of Great is no greater then his deserts. Nay all Europe may worthily acknowledge him to be as great as the greatest: seeing his conquest in Asia and Europe vnder Amurath, the strange recouerie of his kingdome, and of the libertie of his countrie, which he purged from the Infidels: his often and wonderfull victories atcheeued against infinite and huge armies, and the continuall course of his life, and of all his actions doe shew apparantly, that he was the glorie and onely staie of his owne countrie, the sole protectour of the common libertie, a bulwarke to Christendome, a champion for the religion, the paragon of that age, and the wonder of posteritie: a terror to his enemies whilest he liued, and adored by them after his death. Pardon me (my masters) if I be somewhat immoderate or superstitious in admiring his excellencie, for what almost can there be in any man, that was not aboundantly in our Scanderbeg? so many were his perfections, and so few his imperfections, as it may iustly be imagined, that God created him as a mirror for the world rather to wonder at, then any way possibly to be matched, and yet most worthy of all men to be imitated.

Now by the excellencie of the person here represented, the worthinesse of this historie may easily be imagined, for where the subiect is so rare and notable, the estimat of the historie must needes be made correspondent and agreeable. I will not compare it with the best that haue beene written, but this I dare auerre, that therein is litle or nothing wanting which in a historie is thought needfull. The ornaments of an historie are, elegancie of the stile, truth of the reports, varietie of the discourse, and the profitablenesse of the matter. For the stile, howsoeuer this historie may seeme defective, it is not much materiall: for though it want the grace of elegant and fine phrases to make it pleasaunt to curious eares and to daintie appetites: yet for all other the accomplements of a good and perfect historie I thinke it may go beyond the most: if it compare not with the best: touching the trueth thereof, diuerse circumstances and arguments do proue it to be without controllment. The age and time wherein it was first written: the consent of succeeding times which haue receiued it without reproofe, and the testimonies of sundrie authors who haue recorded the most notable and strangest accidents contained in this historie. For the varietie thereof to procure delight, I appeale to your owne iudgements when you haue read it. And I doubt not but you will confesse: that you haue found few histories or none, more copious, more delectable and more delightfull. For profit likewise: in many pointes it will shew it selfe to be excellent, and you can turne to no part through, but you shall finde matter of benefite. Hence may the sage Philosopher and prudent Poletist derive all or the most precepts of the Arte and science militarie. Herein may both the expert Martialist and the simple souldier see the excellencie and perfection of his calling and profession: the benefit of good order and martiall discipline: and out of the Idea of Scanderbeg his actions, may they behold (as it were) the anatomie and shape vnto themselues, the image both of an expert Generall and an absolute souldier. Here may Princes and great persons behold the bright shining lustre of many royall and heroicall vertues, making their names glorious in the eye of the world, their power fearefull and terrible to their enemies, and their persons deere and gratious to their subiects: here may they take a view of those pernitious vices & enormities of those rash & inconsiderat assertions which make them odious to God, hatefull to men, discontented

ted in their estates, and most wretched and miserable euen in the greatnes of their fortunes. In some, such is the varietie, the veritie, the profit and the excellencie of this discourse: that there is no estate, degree or calling, but may find therein somewhat to admire at, much to delight in, and most things to imitat and to put in practise and execution.

It resteth now (my masters) that you make that estimate and account of it, which both the excellencie of Scanderbeg his vertues, and the worthinesse of the historie doe require and merit: and that you measure the good will and painefull labours both of the authors, and of the translator by their dispositions effecting your good and benefit, and not by any sinister singularitie of your misdeeming conceipt. For if you be not too ingrate and iniurious to the memorie of a Prince so well deserving, if you shew not your selues more then barbarous in contemning a monument of so great reckoning: or if you be not too austere and rigorous in your censures: you cannot but graciously accept the acquaintance of this historie: you will friendly welcome the rare example of Scanderbeg his peereles se vertues and his surpassing fortune: and last of all, you will couer the imperfection of this worke (if you find any) with the vaile of your selfe-gracing courtesie.

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THE PREFACE OF THE FRENCH AVTHOR TO THE NOBILITIE OF FRANCE.

MY Maiſters: If we will exactly weigh and conſider the imbecilitie of our natiuitie: we ſhall find (according to the obſeruation of *Plinie*:) that nature was verie ſparie and niggardly in our creation: becauſe that man (who was borne to haue the Seignorie and Lordſhip ouer all other creatures) commeth into the world verie naked, fraile and poore, in compariſon of them. She hath beſtowed vpon all beaſtes euen in their originall and firſt beginning ſtrength, wherewith to helpe them, veſtures wherewith to couer them, weapons to defend them, paſture to nouriſh and feed them. But how hath ſhe dealt with man? he commeth naked out of his mothers wombe, weake and feeble, and not able to ſuſtaine and helpe himſelfe: man alone of all other creatures is borne without knowledge and hath nothing but what is taught him: he is fit for nothing, he is not able ſo much as to go or to ſpeake, and when he hath continued a long time learning and getting of experience, and when he is come (as the Philoſopher ſaith) to his owne naturall: he applieth himſelfe to nothing but to vice and ſenſualitie: and he remaineth ſtill (notwithſtanding all his paines and trauelles) inferior to the brute beaſtes: who on the contrarie euen by the inſtinct of nature do giue themſelues to follow that which appertaineth to their function, and which is proper and peculiar vnto them.

This conceipt of the compariſon of the impuiſſance and infirmitie of mankind, putteth me in minde of an olde *Italian* prouerbe, which is: That it had bene expedient and needfull for men either to be borne ſage and wiſe, or to be borne twice. For if we were borne wiſe, we ſhould eſchew and auoide the inconueniences of this life, againſt the which by ignorance we do daily and howerly ſtumble: or at leaſtwiſe in the courſe of our ſecond life, we ſhould put that in practiſe which we had learned in our firſt life: and we ſhould not walke blindfolded in the darknes of error as we now do, comming into this world deprined and deſtitute of the light of wiſedome which *Solomon* demaunded of God before all earthly things whatſoeuer.

Notwithſtanding on the contrarie, if we do marke and conſider the excellencie of man: we ſhall ſee that in ſtead of theſe goodly corporall faculties wherein other creatures are his ſuperiours, God hath gratiouſly endowed him with a ſingular preheminence of that part of his nature which is intellectuall and capable of doctrine, and that is our ſpirit, which of it ſelfe is diuine and celeſtiall: and whereas by meanes of her priſon and earthly tabernacle, it is made rude, ſauage, and out of taſte: yet being tempered, reformed, and faſhioned by the fauour and ciuilitie of good artes and ſciences: it eſtrangeth vs as farre from the nature of creatures vnreaſonable: as it maketh vs to approach and draw nigh to the reſemblance of the diuine Image.

Seing therefore all men are by nature both capable of knowledge, and haue a neceſſitie impoſed vpon them to ſeeke after learning: the gentle-man of all others hath

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moſt reaſon to apply his mind thereunto: for that he exceeding all other perſons in dignitie of bloud, and in the gifts, graces, and qualities of nature, and being in regard thereof the ſooner called to degrees of honour, and to the managing of great matters, he ought alſo to beautifie and enoble his minde and vnderſtanding, and to make it more & more glorious by the knowledge of good letters, eſpecially of good and worthy hiſtories: for in truth there is nothing ſo louely, beautiful or amiable, but the ſtudy of hiſtories wil plentifully ſupply any man with the knowledge therof, that ſhal delite to be conuerſant, and to exerciſe himſelf in them. This bringeth her followers to be priuie counſellers to kings and princes: this preferreth them to the adminiſtration of kingdomes and common weales: to the moſt honorable eſtates & offices of the warres, and to the gouernments of prouinces: this teacheth vs to be wiſe, at the coſt of others. To be briefe (as *Cicero* well calleth them) Hiſtories are the teſtimony of times, the light of truth, the life of memorie, the Ladie and miſtreſſe of life, and the meſſenger of antiquitie, of the which who ſo is ignorant, may iuſtly be accompted as a ſtranger in his owne countrey. But I will not proceed any farther in her praiſes: only I will encourage you to be familiar with her: for I ſee (God be thanked for it) that ſhe hath good entertainment generally, and is well receiued & cheriſhed amongſt you: that you are content to beſtow a good part of your honeſt leiſure in her companie. Yet thus much let me tell you by the way, & vpon occaſion of this diſcourſe: that foraſmuch as the principall and moſt ordinary profeſſion of Frenchmen is to followe armes, and yet they take litle or no care or pains at all to ſtudy & know the lawes and rights depending vpon the profeſſion of armes: I deſire therefore, that the ſtudie and reading of hiſtories (which repreſenteth vnto vs manifold exãples of ſo many mightie armies well gouerned, and of ſo many Captaines and ſouldiers which haue bene moſt curious and preciſe obſeruers of the ſtatutes and ordinances of the Art militarie) may prouoke and allure you alſo to follow more religiouſly & carefully this ancient diſcipline, and that you would conforme your ſelues to the practiſe thereof: whereby thoſe famous and worthy perſonages haue purchaſed to themſelues endles & eternall honor, to their Chieftaines and leaders innumerable triumphs and victories, and to their countrey mighty Empires, and Monarchies of infinite greatneſſe. What was it that reſerued and freed the name and memory of the *Aſſyrians*, of the *Greekes*, & of the *Romanes*, from the vngratefull ſilence and the iniurious obliuion of deuouring time? What hath made their glorie and renowme to be ſo famous euen till this day? What was it that ſpread abroad the glorious and immortall name of the *Gaules*, euen to the vtmoſt bounds and limits of this earthly frame? What made them ſo fearfull and terrible euen to the proud and inuincible *Romanes*: that vpon euery rumor made to the Senate that the *Gaules* were on foote, they ſpeedily had recourſe to the Dictatorſhip, as vnto a ſacred anker in the moſt tempeſtuous ſtormes and perils of their eſtate? Aſſuredly it was not the ſupernatural force of their bodies: it was not the infinit number of their ſquadrons, but the onely exact, ſtrict, and rigorous obſeruation of the lawes and diſcipline of warre.

Thus did that famous Conqueror *Godfrey* Duke of *Bouillon*: thus did our generous and Chriſtian *Argonauts*, and infinit others in times paſt make themſelues way vnto the heauens, & purchaſed immortal fame vpon the earth. What hath made the *Sarazins* & the *Turks* to grow to that reputation and honor by armes? What hath made them inheritors almoſt of all the Empire of the *Greeks* & *Romanes*, but this only, that they did firſt imitate and ſucceed them in their good orders and diſcipline? whereof they only of all others at this day are the ſole obſeruers, and they alone may iuſtly vaũt, that they haue the true diſcipline in price & regard: they (I ſay) only may arrogat

this vnto themselues: for I know not any one nation besides them, who make anie account of the same. There is no care had now a dayes amongst souldiers and men at armes, of any rules, precepts or pollicie of warres: we loue rather to learne the duties of the field by experience, and by the euent & hazard of our owne proper perill, then by reason and discipline: and therein do we fulfill the old prouerbe; In losse is learning. But (in my opiniõ) this is but a bad maxime: for the course of our life is briefe & short, and vse and experience without reading requireth too long a time to furnish vs with all those things which are necessary for the perfection of our experience. But study & reading of histories being ioyned to experience, is sufficient in a smal time to aduance, to quickẽ, to refine, & to perfect our iudgement. For (as *Philip* of *Comines* hath said very wisely) A man may know more touching the practise of deeds of armes by 3 moneths reading in one good booke, then 20 men shalbe able to know by the eye & experience, if they liue in seuerall ages successiuely one after another. I returne therefore to my matter: and I say, that this science and practise being most needfull and necessarie for our nation (whose profession is to follow the warres:) the speediest and shortest course, and the best way and meanes to attaine to the true and perfect skill of armes, is to consort and to marrie themselues to the studie and reading of histories.

Saying of Philip of Comines.

The consideration hereof hath moued me to communicate vnto you a history, out of the which (I hope) you shall gather no lesse frute and profit, then pleasure and recreation. Howbeit I knowe there are fewe or no good Historiographers auncient or moderne, domesticall or straungers, but they are published in our language by the vertuous labors of many learned & rare spirits amongst the *French*: nevertheles, in this our historie here imparted vnto you, first of all in reading the haughty aduentures and valiant exploites of an age so nearely conioyned to this of ours, falling in a manner within the time and knowledge euen of our grand-fathers: we haue good cause to reioice & to glorie in the same, no lesse then the world hath euer accustomed to make a benefit, and to attribute vnto themselues the honor of great triumphes, and the glorie of their owne age and times. Besides, here shalbe represented vnto you, not the detestable and bloudie effects of our owne miseries, troubles, and seditions: not the hatefull conspiracies of subiects against their Prince and countrie: nor the horrible massacres of friends and fellow citizens: of children against their parents, of brothers fleshed against their naturall brethren: nor of husbands against their wiues: you shall not heare in this discourse the pitieous cries and lamentations of wiues and maidens violated: you shall not see here the excesse of sacrileges, of burnings, nor the rapine and spoile of the goods of friends and allies: but you shall reade of a most holy, a iust, and an honorable warre: of armes lawfully vndertaken, for the defence both of the Christian, and of the ciuill libertie, against the Turkes and circumcised miscreants, the sworne enemies of Iesus Christ: you shall see their townes maintained and defended, their countrie preserued and protected by the armes of their proper peoples and naturall inhabitants: here shall you behold the image of a Prince most religious, of a warrior most magnanimous, armed with faith and zeale incredible: his souldiers faithfull, louing and obedient: here shall you trace out so perfect an obseruation of militarie discipline, that their notable victories and exploits will appeare vnto you worthie of wonder and admiration. All this shall you see in this historie, of the life of *George Castriot*, surnamed by the Turks, *Scanderbeg*, which is, *Alexander* the Lord, or the Great, King of *Albanie*: whose immortall name is worthie without all contradiction, to be consecrated to the temple of Memorie, farre aboue all other Knightes, and champions of the Leuant, whose honourable actes haue made them to be recommended for the defence of the faith of Christ against the

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deteſtable and curſed ſect of *Mahomet*. For it ſeemeth that God had a ſpeciall will and purpoſe to marke him with all laudable qualities and prerogatiues: as faith, religion, ſtrength of bodie, comelineſſe of perſon, dexteritie of ſpirit, the practiſe and skill of armes: all which were accompanied with ſo wonderfull and vnſpeakeable good fortune, that it may be iuſtly auerred, that his deedes did ſurmount his deſtinies. The deſcription whereof I haue according to the truth and ſinceritie of an hiſtorie, drawen and deriued out of the writings of thoſe that haue intreated of them: and ſpecially out of the Latine hiſtorie of *Marin Barletus* Prieſt, borne in *Scutarie* or *Scodra*, a Citie in *Epire*, whom we haue choſen and followed as a principall example and patterne, and as an Authour who hath bene reputed moſt diligent and ſincere, and moſt graue and ſententious. In regard whereof he hath purchaſed to him ſelfe a place amongeſt the moſt notable and famous hiſtoriographers of the Latines, that haue liued in theſe latter ages.

This Hiſtorie do I nowe impart vnto you (my Maiſters) humbly intreating you, that if ouer much temeritie haue cauſed me to forget my ſelfe in taking vppon me a taske which ſurpaſſeth and exceedeth the feebleneſſe of my ſpirit, you would impute the blame thereof to the readineſſe of my good will and affection, which I haue to do you ſeruice: and that you would pleaſe to receiue this my trauell as graciouſly as I haue made offer thereof vnto your curteſies with my beſt deuotion and abilitie.

AN ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

WHereas many of our Latine writers of great authoritie, haue written manie and diuerse things of the famous deeds of Scanderbeg, and of the greatneſſe of his exploits: for that their honorable teſtimonies may in ſome ſort argue and confirme the truth of this hiſtorie: and becauſe it were too great an iniurie to defraud this Greeke Prince and ſtraunger, of his true and deſerued praiſes: I haue therefore thought it good here to make mention of their names, and to cite the places where they haue written of him: to the intent the Reader may at his good pleaſure and beſt leiſure peruſe them: The Autors are theſe:

1. Volaterrane, *in the 8 booke of his Geographie, in the deſcription of Macedonie.*
2. Æneas Siluius, *in the deſcription of Europe. Cap. 15.*
3. Andrew Theuet, *in his Coſmographie. 1. Tome. 11 booke. Chap. 3.*
4. Paulus Iouius *Biſhop of Nucera, in his Commentarie of the affaires of Turkie, dedicated to the Emperour Charles the fifth.*

The cauſe why I haue not ſet downe the verie text and teſtimonies themſelues, as they are in the preface of the French copie, is, becauſe in manie points they haue varied and erred in the report of Scanderbeg his actions, and are much miſtaken in the truth of the hiſtorie. Howbeit I do impute their error vnto this, that they being ſtraungers to the Eſtate and affaires of Epire, and hauing intelligence of the deedes of Scanderbeg onely by heare ſay and by report, they could not ſo truly and exactly ſet downe the truth of matters as they are here deliuered in this Hiſtorie by the Latine Author: who being native of the ſame countrey with Scanderbeg, and liuing in the ſame age and time that he did, is to be reputed the beſt witneſſe and moſt perfect reporter of his deedes.

A CATALOGVE OF THE AVTHORS FROM whence this Hiſtorie hath bene drawen.

Marin Barletius, *Prieſt of Scutarie in Epire: from whom the moſt part of this Hiſtorie is drawne word for word.*
The life of Scanderbeg, *of an vncertaine Author.*
Volaterrane.
Æneas Siluius, *aliàs Pope Pius the ſecond.*
P. Callimachus, *experient of the battell of Varna.*
Paulus Iouius.
Andrew Theuet, *in his Coſmographie.*
Peter Perondin.
Bartholomew Facius.
Theodore Spandugin, *a Gentleman of Conſtantinople*
Andrew Cambin.
Leonardus Chienſis, *Archbiſhop of Mitilene, of the ſiege and ſacke of Conſtantinople: at which he was preſent, and taken priſoner.*
Iſidore Ruthenian *Cardinall.*
Chriſtopher Richier.
Wolfangus Chronicle.
Frances Sanſouin.
Melancthon his Chronicle.
Pandolph Collenucius *of Peſaro in his Neapolitane hiſtories.*
Bonfinius *in the Hiſtorie of Hungarie.*

VPON THE HISTORIE OF GEORGE CASTRIOT, ALIAS SCANDERBEG KING OF THE EPIROTS.

translated into English.

WHerefore doth vaine antiquitie so vaunt,
Her ancient monuments of mightie peeres,
And old Heroes, which their world did daunt
VVith their great deedes, and fild their childrens eares?

VVho rapt with wonder of their famous praise,
Admire their statues, their Colossoes great,
Their rich triumphall Arcks which they did raise,
Their huge Pyramids, which do heauen threat.

Lo one, whom later age hath brought to light,
Matchable to the greatest of those great:
Great both by name, and great in power and might,
And meriting a meere triumphant seate.

The scourge of Turkes, and plague of infidels,
Thy acts, ô Scanderbeg, this volume tels.

Ed. Spenser.

R. C. GENT. IN COMMENDATION OF THIS BOOKE.

PRowes the hand, and policie the head,
By which great kingdomes are both had and held,
Are well obserued, but are better read,
By them, in whom it is great States to weld.

For what is all that anie one obserues,
In that short time, while he hath iudgements eyes?
Or who is he, that in the state he serues,
Of euerie action sees the counsels wise?

Now if great men, great actions long to see,
VVho may with Scanderbeg the Great compare?
If in the like they will aduised bee,
Here both his doings and his counsels are.

And with one labour, noble mindes may reade,
Prowes for hand, and policie for head.

C.C. GENT. IN COMMENDATION OF THIS WORKE.

When Alexander came before the graue
Of Peleus sonne, he cryed, O happie knight,
VVhose fortune was, so braue a trumpe to haue,
To blazon forth the glorie of thy might.

So might this Alexander cry aright,
Had he an equall trumpet to his name,
Both th'one and th'other soone outmatch he might,
And all that went afore excell in fame.

But cease ô Scanderbeg, with further blame
To blot thy fortune fayling, of thy worth:
Lo here a trumpe that doth thy acts proclame,
And all thy prowes worthely set forth.

And ye that heare th'atchieuements of his dayes,
Admire his value, and his glorie praise.

Faults escaped in the printing.

IN the Epistle to the reader For ouercame, read ouerranne. For assertions read affections. For conquest read conquests. for through read thereof. for some read summe.

In the preface of the Author, for of the comparison read, and the compassion.

In the Historie, pag. 1. for Moruua read Moraua. pag. 31. for Theloses read Thopyes. pag. 5. for Darnisse read Daruisses. pag. 6. for Sanziack read Saniack. pag. 13. for, is his cour, read in his court. pag. 16. & 65. for capitoll, read capitall. pag. 17 for Moraua, read Moraua. pag. 19. & 42. for Tribullians, read Triballians. pag. 23. for Monea read Moerea. pag. 25. for, I haue in you, read I saw in you. pag. 30. for Armathia read Emathia. pag. 31. for Turkes, read Turke. pag. 40. for exhort, read exhott. pag. 57. for, at the rising of the moone, read before the sun rising. pa. 62. for Treigno, read Turkie. ibid. for of neither read neither of. ibid. for Alcaran, read Alcoran. ib. for Ruscia, read Rascia. pa. 71. for enlargument, read enlargement. ibid. for Veruia, read Seruia. pa. 74. for yet would, read yet could. ibid. for left their king, read lost their king. pag. 93. for Bola, read Bola. pag. 133. for moorish, read waterish. 421. for his Prince, read this Prince. 471. for Valure & Valures, read Valmes. pag. 133. for Chronichea, read Oronichea.

THE PRINTER TO THE READER.

If there be any other faults, as I hope there are not many, I do entreat the gentle reader to amend them with his pen, and in courtesie to beare with the Printer, considering that there was neuer booke printed though but of ten sheets of paper in bigneesse without some faults.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE LIFE AND FAMOVS ACTES OF GEORGE CASTRIOT, SVRNAMED *SCANDERBEG*, KING OF THE EPIROTS NOW NAMED *ALBANOIS*.

The Argvment.

AMurath the second of that name, King of the Turkes, restoreth the glorie and estate of the Turkish Empire, being greatlie decaied by the ouerthrow and captiuitie of his Grandfather Baiazeth by the armes of Tamberlaine. Iohn Castriot reigneth in Epyre: His linage, vertues, and goodlie issue: The birth of George his youngest sonne, and the strange signes prognosticating his future glorie and greatnesse. Amurath warreth vpon Iohn Castriot: who being wearie of the warres sueth for peace, and deliuereth his sonnes in hostage. Amurath causeth them to be circumcised, chaungeth their names, and George is named Scanderbeg. The manner of the Turkish circumcision, and their orders of priesthood. The education, vertues, and preferment of Scanderbeg vnder Amurath: His notable seruices and good fortune in the warres: He fighteth two combats in the Turkish Court. Iohn Castriot the father of Scanderbeg dieth. Amurath vsurpeth his estate, and poisoneth all his sonnes except Scanderbeg, whose excellent vertues and the enuie of the Courtiers causeth Amurath to haue him in ielouzie and suspition, and to practise by sundrie plots his death and destruction. Amurath warreth vpon the Despot of Misia, and expelleth him his Estate: who is aided by Vladislaus king of Hungarie. Scanderbeg and Carambey are sent with an armie against the Hungarians: Scanderbeg reuolteth, Carambey and the Turkes are ouerthrowen by the Hungarians in the battell of Moruna. Scanderbeg by a pollicie seizeth vpon Croy: and recouereth it and the rest of his fathers estate. The Princes, Nobles, and Commons of Epyre ioyne with Scanderbeg, and by their aide diuerse of the chiefest and strongest holdes of Epyre are regayned from the Turkes. Sfetygrade is besieged by Scanderbeg, who maketh a roade into Macedonie, and spoyleth the Turkish territories.

THAT the Empires and Estates of this worlde are disposed and ordered immediatly by the supreme power of the Almightie, & that they are in the hands of the most Soueraigne and diuine Maiestie: next to the holy Scriptures (which do giue vs euident assurance of it) there can be none more apparant and liuely markes therof, then their maruellous establishment and their miraculous preseruation. For notwithstanding that the greatest and mightiest Monarchies in the earth, haue had their originall from most vile, base, and obscure beginnings: yet hath the diuine Prouidence vpheldе them in so strange a manner, and

hath made them to prosper with so long continuance: that neither the sundry assaults and trauerses of vnconstant Fortune, nor the attempts of any humaine forces, haue had the power to abridge any one day of their date and terme limitted and prefixed by the diuine ordinance. Of this we haue a sufficient, though a lamentable testimonie, by that insolent Empire of the Turkish Monarchie, (if we may so name that immoderate puissance of those persons) who by a iust and diuine iudgement, and for the manifestation of our ingratitude and securitie, hath obtained at this day the absolute dominion and commaund of *Asia*, *Afrike*, and a good part of *Europe*: conuerting that Empire, which erst was held holy, sacred, and religious, into a fortresse of open blasphemies, and into a filthie stall of prophane Miscreants, the professed enemies of the sonne of God.

This people being growen famous by the conquest of *Siria* and the lesser *Asia*, and hauing extended their boundes on this side the sea of Hellespont, and hauing planted their Empire, and set it on foote within *Europe*, and all Greece being subdued vnder their obeisance: made the *Misians*, *Bulgarians*, and *Albanians*, the *Valachians*, the *Hungarians* and *Sclauonians* to quake and tremble vnder their victorious armes. Besides, hauing laide siege, and pressed very hard vpon the Imperiall citie of *Constantinople*, and finally hauing triumphed of the Emperor, and of the Christian forces in the East: yet afterwards in that famous iourney and battell of *Nicopolis* in *Romania* in the yeare 1396. their glorie was in a maner extinguished, and the name of the *Ottomans* was welneare brought to nothing. And in the yeare next following, the mightie
1397. king of the *Tartarians* the great *Tamberlain* (termed the wrath of the heauens and the scourge of that corrupt age:) and *Baiazeth* the first then Emperour of the Turkes, encountring ech other in the confines of *Armenia* at the foote of the mountaine of the starre (where somtimes *Pompey* obtained a famous victorie against *Mithridates*) euenthere did the Turkes sustaine so wonderfull and grieuous an ouerthrowe, by the great slaughter and discomfiture of their forces, and the perpetuall imprisonment of their Emperor: that the glorie of their Empire was for a long time discontinued, and there remained not almost any tract or shewe of their former pride and pompe, or of their puissance or maiestie. After *Baiazeth* succeeded *Amurath* Nephew vnto him by one of his sonnes, who in that time of their fathers calamity, being but infants, were then preserued aliue, partly by the ouersight of the Greekes, and partly by the deuisions and dissentions of the Latines, or (it may be) by the permission of the destinies: which reserued them for the future plague & miseries of Christendom. This *Amurath* in processe of time, not without many seditions of his owne subiects, & by great bloudshed by ciuill warres (for he slew his own Vncle *Mustapha* in battell) by good happe obtained the Empire, & restored their Turkish Monarchie: and was the first amongst his ancestors that reestablished their good fortune. And the puissance thereof being by him augmented, he rendered the name of the Turkes farre more fearfull and redoubted, then it had bene at any time before passed.

The Turkish affaires thus standing, though *Amurath* were alwaies occupied, somtimes in *Asia* about the assuring and setling of his owne estate, & somtimes in *Greece* afflicting and vexing the inhabitants of that countrie, and labouring to depriue them of all Dominion and Empire: yet was he constrained for certaine yeares to keepe a loose & to abstaine from the country of *Macedony*, & from the neighbor nations & regions thereunto adioyning. In those daies (for to ascend beyond those times to the first beginning of strange Empires, or to mount higher in recounting forreign affaires is a matter needlesse and superfluous) in that age I say, amongst many other Princes, which then commaunded in *Epyre*, now named *Albanie*, *Iohn Castriot*, a man of no

The countrie which the Castriots commanded, lying betweene the cities of Durace and Apollonie, the common sort termed Arbia.

meane

meane fame and memorie, had the ſigniorie of many cities, townes, and villages, but principally of the ſtrong citie of *Croie*. But for ſo much as I hold it inconuenient, that the ſainily and originall of *Scanderbeg* ſhould be altogether vnknowen: (and yet my intent is not to lay downe the whole pedegree and the continuall deſcent of his anceſtors;) it ſhall ſuffiſe, that I doe but (as it were in paſſing by) giue you notice of this: that the authors and founders of the linage of the *Caſtriots* had their ſource and firſt offpring from *Emathia*, and (as ſome adde) out of *Vvumeſtia*, which is a part of *Macedonie*. And their ſamily had earſt reigned in *Epyre* with happie ſucceſſe and proſperitie, and with no leſſe fame and glorie.

This *Iohn* (of whom we are now in diſcourſe) farre ſurmounted all his predeceſſors in prudence, grauitie, and magnanimitie, and being of an hardie and inuincible courage, he did excell in all other vertuous qualities: and eſpecially (if that may import any excellencie) the corporall beautie, and the comlineſſe of his perſon was very rare and ſingular. His wife alſo named **Voiſana* (a woman worthy of ſuch a husband) was much renowmed both in that ſhe was the daughter of the noble king of the **Tribullians*: as alſo for her beautie & wiſdome, and for the excellencie of her ſpirit, farre ſurpaſſing that of other women. And it may be, that ſhe merited no leſſe commendation by reaſon of that goodly iſſue and poſteritie which diſcended from her: a thing which hath made many women glorious, and maketh them worthy of ſpeciall praiſe and commendation. For ſome do hold that ſhe was the mother of nine children, fiue of them daughters; to wit, *Mara*, *Iella*, *Angellina*, *Vlaica* and *Mamiſa*: and the other male children: namely, *Repoſius*, *Staniſius*, *Conſtantine* and *George*. The youngeſt of them all was *George*: to whom afterwards (as ſhalbe elſewhere deliuered) the barbarous Turkes gaue the name of *Scanderbeg*.

Iohn Caſtriot the father of Scanderbeg.

**Voiſana the mother of Scanderbeg. Alias, *Lord of Polagre which is a part of Macedonie and Bulgarie.*

George Caſtriot ſurnamed Scanderbeg.

But ere we proceede further, I hold it not amiſſe to ſet downe that which (as I haue read) was both by prodigious ſignes and wonders foreſhewed, and by many perſons prognoſticated touching the future glorie and renowme of this famous *Epyrot*: albeit I doubt not, but there be many who will make a ieſt and mockerie thereof as of an olde wiues tale, and a matter meerely fabulous. Some ſay that his mother vpon his conception did dreame, that ſhee had brought foorth ſo great and huge a Serpent, that the ſame hauing well neere couered the whole Empire, did ſtretch out her head ouer the boundes of *Turkie*, and did deuour and ſwallowe them vppe with her bloudie throate: dipping her taile in the ſea towardes the coaſtes of the Chriſtians: and eſpecially towardes the confines of the *Venetians*. This dreame being recounted vnto her husband, he conſidering the qualitie of the caſe, helde it a vaine and friuolous thing to ſeeke out the meaning and ſecret thereof, either by the ſuperſtitious viewe of the entrailes of beaſtes, or by ſeeking to the Oracle of *Apollo* for the interpretation thereof: but hee comforted his wife with an incomparable kinde of ioye, giuing her to vnderſtande by an euident coniecture: That of her ſhoulde bee borne a perſonage of that excellencie, that ſhould make himſelfe renowmed by armes and warre-like exploites: who ſhould be a grieuous and heauie enemie to the Turkes: a happie Captaine and fortunate leader to the Chriſtians: a true defender of the faith of Chriſt: and ouer and aboue, one that ſhould during his whole life, beare great honour and reuerence to the ſtate of *Venice*. The hope and expectation of the carefull father, and of others was in nothing fruſtrate. For the infant being come into the worlde, did exceede farre and beyonde all compariſon that which was preſaged of him. For on his right arme appeared the forme of a ſworde ſo naturally imprinted, as if it had beene engrauen by the handes of ſome cunning and artificiall workeman.

Scanderbeg his future glorie and renowme prognoſticated by diuerſe prodigious ſignes and tokens.

A notable and euident signe of the reputation which hee shoulde purchase by armes. O the notable bountie of nature which euen in our natiuity doth giue vs aduertisements and in our bodies doth imprint the ensignes and tokens of that which is to ensue & happen vnto vs. This infant being growen to a lad of some yeres (assoone as his age would permit him) began to exercise his bow and other weapons, giuing such proofe of his forwardnes in the first rudiments and apprentishp (as it were) of his tender yeares, that the signes of his future vertue and valure did easily discouer themselues in the eye of ech man sufficiently: and in his youthfull race also there did from thenceforth appeare in him more and more, such an ardent desire to frame his life in goodnesse and vertue; and so comely and elegant a cariage in his behauiour, with a certaine shewe of religion, euen then promising a reuerence and regarde vnto the faith of Christ; that all men had their eyes and their regard fixed vpon him. He onely was the man whom both father and mother, whom his brethren, and the residue of the inhabitants of that countrie did with a secret kinde of astonishment euen admire and wonder at. Of him were all their discourses: of him did the people murmure in all places as of the most rare and excellent paragon of that age. Ouer and aboue these presages of his fortune, he had euen by nature a certaine goodly and stately feature of bodie, which did (as it were) season and grace all his actions. But of a graffe so likely and towarde (if it be lawfull so to terme him) the destinies did not permit the doubtfull parents to gather any frute answerable to their desires. For after that *Amurath* had ranged *Greece* vnder the yoke of his obeisance, and had turned his Ensignes against *Macedonie*, hauing afflicted it with a long and tedious warre, and reduced it to the point of extreame miserie: *Iohn Castriot* being wearied with the trauell of continuall warres, and weakened by the ceaselesse discommodities of those troubles: was in the end constrained to entreat and sue for peace: the which he obtained vpon condition, that he should deliuer all his sonnes to the Turke in hostage. A more grieuous and intollerable seruitude, or a more deadly & ignominious bondage could they not haue imposed vpon any parents. For what solace or cõfort could they reape by such a peace? and what contentment could they take of their dignitie and estate, which was preserued by such meanes, so lamentable and grieuous? Notwithstanding what is it which the wretched desire of life, and the greedie thirst of raigne and Empire will not perswade timorous and fearefull men to yeeld vnto? So fared it with these vnfortunate old folkes, that they loued rather to cõmit themselues to the mercie of a most felonous and false enemie, and vtterly to deprive themselues of so pretious pledges: then to attende with some delay the extreame ruine of their fortunes, which were euen then tumbling to decay and confusion.

George Castriot deliuered in hostage to the great Turke.

Thus was *George* (together with his brethren) deliuered in hostage to the Turke, causing farre greater sorrowe and lamentation for him alone then for all the others both in publique and in priuate. All this notwithstanding, the father was nothing deceiued of that hope which he had erst conceiued of his sonne. But at the time of his departure from him, after many & often kisses and sweet embracements, he cast himself vpon him as more pitying his misfortune thẽ any of the rest: and daily & deuoutly did he pray vnto God, that the attent & expectation which he had in him, might not become frustrate & in vaine. And euen amongst the cõmon people there wanted not some, who (wishing vnto the lad the yeares & strength of mans estate with long life) did seeme euen to propheſie that *Amurath* should in him nourish a domesticall enemie, and the confusion of his owne house and family. These young Princes were no sooner conueyed to *Ottoman*: but they foorthwith felt the first frutes and proofe of his infidelitie, in that (violating the faith and promise which he had giuen

Ottoman the surname of the great Turke.

to

to their parents) he caused them speedily to be circumcised according to the lawe of *Mahomet*. The manner of which ceremonie (for that the knowledge thereof is not vnpleasant) I hold it not impertinent in this place, briefely and particularly in some sort to recite it. The Turkes doe herein obserue a custome and vsage not much differing from that of the Iewes, but onely in this one thing, which is added vnto it by the institution of *Mahomet*. And that is: That before anie be circumcized, (if he be of reasonable yeares and discretion) he is brought and placed in the middest of some great assembly: and there, by the commaundement of their Priest (whom they call Darnisse,) he holdeth vp his forefinger, and lifteth vp his eyes towards heauen crying with a high voice, to the intent he may be easily heard and vnderstood. *La, Ila, La: Mehumet Resulam.* Which is to say, God, God, God alone, and *Mahomet* his Prophet. After that, his foreskin being cut off by one skilfull and expert in that art, he is presented to the people, and his first name being chaunged, they giue him a new. Immediatly wherupon, all the standers by both more and lesse (if the party circumcized were either a Christian or of any other religion) with exceeding great reioycing doe contribute money vnto him: and they magnifie him, kisse him, and embrace him: and from thenceforth, there is an house assigned for him of the publique charge, with sufficient prouisions for him to liue vpon.

The Turkish ceremonie in their circumcision.

But it shall not be amisse, if (digressing a litle from my matter) I discourse somwhat of the Turkish & Mahometan religion: setting down both the state & diuersitie of the orders, condition, and degrees of their Priests and religious persons in that sect & profession. The first, and those which are of the most strict rule & order amongst thē are called Darnisses: (of whom we haue before made some mention) & we may compare them to the Fryers obseruants. But these (in the time of *Baiazeth* their king the sonne of the last *Mahomet*) being detected of diuers foule offences & enormities which they had committed: were by him banished and exterminated: because that (vnder pretence of deuotion & holines) going about on begging, and retyring themselues into deserts and solitarie places, they did beset the highwaies & passages, by which marchants, pilgrims & trauellers were to passe: and espying occasion & oportunitie (no otherwise then as theeues & robbers) they fell vpon them, wounded & murdered thē, and then stripped them out of all that they had about them: The report wherof being come to the eares of the *Ottoman* Prince, he was so highly prouoked and displeased therwithall, that he caused all of them (as is said) to be cut in peeces & to be destroyed, minding that the memory of thē should haue bin for euer extinguished. Next to these there are a second sort, whom the Turkes in their language call the *Hozes*: who may well be likened to the Friers conuentuels. And last of all after them are the *Talasmans*, whom they haue for their third order: and they do enioy the last place among them, and are like to the order of Priests Seculars. Besides these three kinds, there be not any other orders, degrees, or manners of Priests or religious persons, in the sect or religion of the Turkes: but the whole charge and administration of the Priesthoode, ceremonies and holy rites of their religion doth appertaine vnto them only. But now returne we to the subiect of this Treatise.

The diuers orders & estates of Priests in the Turkish religion.

Darnisses.

Hozes.

Talasmans.

These young Epirots hauing their first names changed at their circumcizion, had others giuen thē according to the custom of that nation. *George*, (whether that it were by chance & casualtie, or were it, that there was in him a kind of appearance more remarkeable then in the others, promising some thing which should proue in him most rare & excellent) was surnamed *Scanderbeg*: That is being interpreted, *Alexander the Lord*, or *the Great*. Inestimable & great was the ioy which was made about *Amurath* at the circumcision of these yong Epirots (as is cōmonly seene with vs when any one

George Castriot circumcised and surnamed Scanderbeg, by the Turkes.

leauing the filth and infection of Iudaisme doth embrace christianitie and the light of saluation.) And they had ample and large allowance ordayned them for their expences and maintenance.

The disposition, education, and vertuous inclination of Scanderbeg amidst the Turkes.

But the gentle disposition which did naturally flourish and excell in *Scanderbeg*, and his tender age (for he had scant attayned to nine yeares) did render and make him more acceptable and agreeable vnto *Amurath* then any one of the rest. Thereof it proceeded, that he wanted not good masters and teachers of all sortes according to that age which was most apt and fittest for all the Sciences. And therefore in a verie small time (his spirit being prompt and readie to apprehend all things) he had learned the Turkish, Arabian, Greeke, Italian, and Sclauonian languages. As his force encreased by little and little with his yeares, so did he take delight in nothing more then to acquaint himselfe with all those vertuous exercises which were fit for the warres, without letting any one thing to ouerpasse him wherein he had not some knowledge and insight. And sometimes with his sworde, sometimes with his bowe and arrowes, both on foote and on horsebacke, he gaue forth daily and almost incredible proofes, of an agilitie, disposition and readinesse of his bodie most maruellous: alwaies enterprizing some act or other of great regarde more then was ordinarie for one of his age. And first of all, assoone as the force and strength of his members did match the forwardnesse and fiercenesse of his courage, and that he could shewe himselfe of sufficient abilitie to support the trauels of the warres, he framed himselfe to gaine the fauour and good will of all men, but especially of the Prince: vsing daily to make challenges to his companions in open and publique shewes and often spectacles of and in all manners of combats and martiall contentions: and commonly he bare away honor and estimation, making those exercises the path-way to his future glorie, and to the increase of his reputation. At length being growen to a goodly stature and full strength of bodie, and being come to ripenesse and perfection of yeares, he did betimes and with facilitie accustome himselfe to all labors and trauels befitting a strong and able bodie, were they neuer so difficult: as to endure hunger, thirst, cold, heate, watching, and such like. By the daily practise whereof, it is not to be doubted but he made himselfe most apt and able for the warres, and so grewe to be complete and accomplished in all militarie vertues: and fit to be employed in all martiall seruices.

Adresse.

Ieux de prin.

The first aduancements, seruices, and preferment of Scanderbeg.

This was the occasion, that the Sultan (not willing he should any longer continue about him in the state of a priuate person) determined to aduance him: and euen in the beginning he honoured him with the dignitie of Sanziack: (which is the second degree after the Bassaes, and is of greater or lesser authoritie, according to the largenesse of power which it pleaseth the bountie and liberalitie of the Prince more or lesse to attribute and impart vnto it.) To *Scanderbeg* with that new degree was giuen the conduct of fiue thousand horse: and his brethren in like case (being aduaunced to the like charges, and sent abrode into diuerse countries, and employed in many affaires and seruices of the warres, grewe all of them to be very famous and renowmed.

Scanderbeg made Sanziac, with a charge of 5000. horse.

But *Scanderbeg* had scant attained to the age of eighteene yeares, but he was sent into *Asia* by the commaundement of the Sultan, iointly and together with other bandes and forces: where by a most happie and fortunate beginning, he made the first assaie of his vertue and good successe in warre, embrewing his right hand with a great desire and delight in the bloud of the enemies. Thenceforth in many broiles of one sort and other, which happened to be raised in those quarters: there was not lightly any expedition made, but that *Scanderbeg* continually was there in person with his regiment. And both he and his companions returned from them victorious to their Lord

Natolia.

the

the *Ottoman*. In all which exploites his forwardnes, his vertue, and his fortune were daily obserued, and principally marked of all men both in generall, and in particular: all the honor of the victorie, all the good successe of the warre was cast vpon him by the report of all men without contradiction: and in a manner without any mention of the chiefe, or commaunders of the armie. And to him alone by the fauour and acclamations of the souldiers, was adiudged the triumph and the glorie of the enemie vanquished.

As yet had not enuie (hatefull and repining at others vertue) assailed nor gotten hold on the heart of the Turkish Prince: and albeit both the maners and the state of this noble *Epirot*, were a fit subiect for this humour and maladie to worke vpon: notwithstanding his youth being as yet but of simple and meane experience, and his affections in that age being not caried away with any immoderate, or greedie desire of glorie: but hauing conceiued onely a kinde of liking & loue of honor, it rather purchased vnto him the fauour, grace, and good will of all men. And therefore euen *Amurath* himselfe did singularly grace and honor him, both with good and gratious wordes, and with great and bountifull gifts and fauours. Short was the abode of this young gentleman in Court, by reason that (as seldome are the Turkes without great affaires) there came newes of new troubles, and tumults in *Asia*, whereunto *Scanderbeg* was appointed: being chosen by an vniuersall decree, and the good liking of all men, to haue the commaund as Generall ouer the whole armie, with all the honors appertaining to that place in regard of his former desertes, and for that he had borne himselfe so well in the forepassed warres. He had no sooner accepted the charge, but he did easily surmount the glorie of his former actes, by the quicke and speedy defait and discomfiture of the enemie: which he atcheiued with notable good successe answerable to his great diligence. First, ouer and aboue the honest and worthy testimonie giuen by his souldiers, he brought home vnto *Ottoman* most apparant and euident tokens of his valure and good fortune: namely, great numbers of prisoners: the spoiles of those which were slaine: very many Ensignes of the enemies: and such abundance of engines and instruments for the warres, that it exceeded beyond all opinion. His owne troupes remained sound and entire, and in a manner without shewe of hurt, so as touching the vanquished, sufficient markes were to be seene of their distresse. but amongst the vanquishers there was scant any appearance whether they had beene at any fight, or that they had come from the warres. But *Amurath* did not so much wonder at the happie successe of his worthy deedes, as he did admire his wisdome and prudence. For in the commendation of his good happe, fortune might iustly claime a part, but in the frute and benefit which proceeded from his wisedome and prudence, by good and sage counsels: the dexteritie of his owne iudgement might challenge that as proper to himselfe onely. Through the occasion of this victorie greater forces being appointed vnto him, he was againe sent backe and inioyned to abide in the same Marches, till such time as he should haue reduced certaine townes and peoples in those quarters vnder the subiection of the Turkish Emperour, wherein fortune did not any way faile this young souldier, but that euery thing succeeded speedily to his minde and hearts desire. All things being ended and accomplished to his liking, and the Empire of *Ottoman* being enlarged: yea farther then he had in charge, or was commaunded: He beganne from thenceforth to purchase vnto himselfe a great name and maruellous renowme euen amongest straunge and fortaine Nations.

Scanderbeg made Generall of an army in Asia.

Scanderbeg returneth home with victorie.

Sentence.

Scanderbeg sent againe into Asia, and returneth with victorie.

Being returned to *Andrinople*, though there were no more enemies to be heard of abroad, yet there wanted not some at home. For so it happened, that there arriued out

The citie of Andrinople was the chiefe seate then of the Turkes.

of *Scythia* a certaine aduenturer, more faire and arrogant in outwarde shew and countenance, then valiant and braue in fight and combat: This gallant defied and challenged all the Court of the Turke, demaunding if there were any one who durst encounter him in armes, and to proue himselfe in fight against him. And this was the order of the combat which he offred: That both the champions naked in their shirts being shut vp in a streight and narrow place, with their swordes only should make triall to whom the hazard of the victorie would befall. This rash and inconsiderate plot had this Tartarian laide, and made choise of, either because he was prodigall of his bloud and life, or, it may be, of a vaine hope and conceite, that none durst accept the chance and hazard of a daunger so ambiguous, and of an act so vnaduised: by meanes whereof his happe might be to beare away the praise, and to obtaine some great rewarde without endaungering himselfe in combat. *Amurath* also had proclaimed and promised to the conquerour a certaine prize of great and rich value, that he might by all meanes possible, animate some of his seruants in hope of so great a rewarde to accept the challenge: as if indeede the onely fruite and glory of the bare victory alone would not haue allured and drawen men on to vndertake the combat. This notwithstanding, there was none but did altogether dislike and abhorre the purchase of honor and estimation, the meanes whereof were so deadly and detestable. Only our *Albanois* surmounting in haughtinesse of heart, and abounding in courage, whereas all others stoode (as it were) amazed and astonished, he aduaunced himselfe, and pressed foorth toward the *Scythian*, & thus spake vnto him: Either shalt not thou, O *Scythian*, beare away with thee this goodly prize and glorie, without the losse of thine owne bloud, or else being made more honorable and glorious by my death, thou shalt be enriched with these spoiles, and ornaments: vp then and receiue vnto thee an enemie which thy owne desire hath sought and purchased. And albeit these kindes of fight be more befitting and proper to fierce and sauage beastes, and that valiant men may and ought with honestie to refuse them, once notwithstanding let it be lawfull for me to contemne and neglect the safetie of this my person, in regarde that thy selfe oughtest to haue had as great reason, as I, to keepe thy lymmes and thy life from daunger and destruction. But vile, and of no account is the safetie of the bodie to that man which hunteth after praise and vaine-glorie. This day therefore I also will make a present of my bloud vnto *Amurath*, and the rest of my companions. The *Scythian* being no whit abashed nor terrified, thought with most braue & fierce words to haue affraied and appaled him, calling him boy and childe (for he was not as then but in the prime of his youthfull yeares, and the soft downe had not yet budded on his chinne, nor made his faire and smoth face to become rough.) Then being conducted towardes the Sultan, with loud and high clamors of the people: and the field being appointed for the combat according as the Barbarian had demaunded: both of them were incontinently shifted out of their garments, hauing not so much as their shirtes to couer them: and thus leaping all naked into the place, by this new and vnwonted kinde of spectacle, they made all the standers by to regard them with admiration. And howbeit that *Castriot* both by his voice and by his countenance did bewray in himselfe a wonderfull resolution and assurance, notwithstanding an incredible kind of care intermingled with griefe did assaile the hearts of the regardants, and at one instant both the age, and the comlinesse of his person, ioyned with a gratious and pleasing cariage of all the parts of his bodie, had drawen them both to fauour, and to pittie him. Goodly, high, and eminent was his stature, his armes so seemely as the like had scarce bene seene: his necke strong and somewhat bending, such as is much commended in great wrastlers: his shoulders large and maruellously well spred: his visage of colour faire

A challenge of combat made by a Scythian to the Turkes.

The combat of Scanderbeg with the Scythian.

The description of Scanderbeg his person.

faire and white (and as it were ſtained with a litle tainte of purpure): the caſt of his eies ſtraight, & pleaſant, without bleamiſh or imperfection, & in all points correſpondent and agreeable. Theſe corporall perfections did him great ſeruice to his other vertues, and the good qualities of his mind, which ſeemed to be augmented & increaſed by them. The two champions thus reſolute and well aſſured, being furniſhed with ſhort daggers, (for longer weapons would not the ſtreighneſſe of the place permit) made their entry into the field, & were there left with great ſilence on all parts. It is not to be imagined that here needed any great counſel and aduiſe, or any rare and extraordinarie hardines and reſolution, but onely a certaine promptitude, and readines, and a quicke and deliuer agility of the hand. Both of them now ſtanding vpon their gard, and ech readie to offend the other, the *Scythian* gaue the firſt charge, and onſet vpon his enemie: againſt whom dreſſing and bearing the point of his dagger, he ſtroke at his belly with intent to haue ſtabbed him: *Scanderbeg* bending his bodie in all partes, and bowing it arch-wiſe almoſt in forme of a bow, with his left hand ſeized on the right arme of the barbarian, and ſtayed the blow: and in the ſame inſtant aduancing his poignard, at one blow he cut his throat, and that with ſuch dexteritie, as he deuided all the arteries of it aſunder. So that with his tongue yet ſtaggering and ſtuttering in his head, he tumbled to the ground, litle wanting but that he filled al the place with the maſſie hugenes of his bodie. But being ſoone and ſpeedily remoued by thoſe that ſtood neere at hand to behold the fight, and diuerſe of the Courtiers alſo flocking together full of ioy and gladnes about the Victor, they led him ſafe and ſound vnto the preſence of *Amurath*, vnto whome (being exceedingly ioyous of his good happe) with his hands yet all bloody, his champion preſented the head of the dead *Scythian*. Then were deliuered vnto him the rewardes ordained for the partie that ſhould obtaine the victorie, which he accepted (as it were) vnwillingly: proteſting that he did not hazard himſelfe in that enterpriſe, neither for gold nor ſiluer, but onely to maintaine the honor of the Court, and to repreſſe the arrogancie of the barbarian. So great was the modeſtie of this braue Epirot, that thereby he allured vnto him more and more the good will of ech perſon: the naturall bountie and dexteritie of his gentle heart aboliſhing the enuie and hatred, which the excellency of exceeding vertue doth vſually engender in men of his ſort and calling. I hold it not amiſſe here in this place alſo to recount one other exploite which he atchieued with no leſſe honor and commendation, and with like courage by force of armes. At ſuch time as he followed *Amurath* into *Bithynia* in a voiage which he made thither rather for his pleaſure and recreation then vpon any occaſion of warre. There were at that time in the citie of *Burſa* (which is at this preſent the capitall city of the empire of *Aſia*) two *Perſians* named *Iaia*, & *Zampſa* being of a very faire & goodly ſtature, & moſt ſumptuouſly apparelled, (as is the manner of that nation) they came to ſeeke out the Turkiſh Prince & demanded entertainment in his ſeruice. Ech of thē pleaded in the behalfe of the other, and by magnifying and extolling their owne acts, the one ſought to further the others ſute with mutuall teſtimonies and ſoothing vp of ech other, that it ſeemed to proceed more of a kind of impudent and ſhameleſſe audacitie, then of any valure or reſolution in them. At laſt *Zampſa* the younger of the two ſpake vnto *Amurath* in this manner. To the intent (moſt mightie and puiſſant king) it may not be thought, that we are come, furniſhed onely with glorious ſpeeches and great wordes to demaund thy pay, and that (the certaintie thereof being vnknowne vnto thee) we be not condemned of vaine arrogancie, nor of fooliſh hardineſſe and forward temeritie: behold here we are readie to make proofe before thee of our courages, if not haughtie, yet at leaſt deſirous of honor and glorie. Though there be here many braue men, and full of va-

The victorie of Scanderbeg.

The ſecond combat of Scanderbeg againſt two Perſians.

» lure, we chalenge them all to take armes, that it may be tryed whether we be worthy
» or vnworthy to liue vnder the commaund of thy greatneſſe. Then ſhewing that they had no other armes but their horſe, ſword, launce, and ſhield, and that their bodies were not otherwiſe armed: they ſayed that they would combat only thus appointed. *Amurath* (as he was both courteous and gracious) after he had ſpoken vnto them with a kind of benignitie, he promiſed them that they ſhould want nothing which on his part might be conueniently yeelded vnto them. And then turning his head, and looking here and there round about him, he ſtayed to ſee if any one would receiue the chalenge. But perceiuing that euery man ſtood ſtill and mute, and that all his ſeruants did by their ſilence bewray a ſecret confeſſion and acknowledgement of their faintneſſe & backwardnes, ſuppoſing it would be ſmally for his honor & reputation, if the preſumption of thoſe *Perſians* ſhould ſo reſt vnpuniſhed: caſting his countenance vpon *Scanderbeg* as being well acquainted with his hardines and fierce courage, by meanes whereof he made no doubt, but he would vpon any termes vndertake it though the
» perill were very doubtfull and hazardous: he thus ſpake vnto him. What is thy cauſe
» of ſtay (my ſonne) in whom all vertue and valure doe abound ſo exceedingly? This
» doth belong to thee, and the glorie of this victorie doth tarrie for thee. Go to then,
» once againe at this time let the gallantiſe and brauery of thy youth, and thy inuincible
» arme, be made yet more famous and memorable, by ſome notable act in this ſpectacle.
Litle entreatie needed to encourage him to this attempt: for hauing kiſſed the prince his feete (according to the Turkiſh cuſtome) he called for horſe and armour to be giuen him, and iſſuing forth (with great applauſe of the people) into the middeſt of a large plaine appointed for the combat, with a braue audacity he called his enemies vnto him: demaunding of them what order they ment to obſerue in the fight. The concluſion was, that *Iaia* ſhould firſt aſſay his fortune, and if he were victorious that then the fight ſhould be determined, but if he were vanquiſhed then his companion ſhould ſucceede him, and at all aduentures to abide the hazard of the like condition. *Scanderbeg* would not refuſe their order, albeit the kings ſeruantes (who accompanied him into the liſtes) did allcage the inequalitie of the order, affirming that it was againſt reaſon that the party which had the victorie againſt the one (if he hapned to be either weary or wounded) ſhould endure a ſecond enemy freſh and ſound: notwithſtanding (after that the preſſe of people was auoided out of the place) the trumpet gaue the ſignall of the battell, and the champions ſet ſpurres to their horſes, fetching a full courſe ech againſt the other. Then the *Perſian* hauing faſtned his lance in the ſhield of his aduerſarie, bare himſelfe cloſe coutched with all his force full vppon him, thinking to haue throwen him from his horſe, and therewithall he brake his ſtaffe vpon him. On the other ſide, the *Albanois* (who ranne onely at the head) did miſſe altogether in his courſe, by meanes whereof, both the one and the other hauing runne in vaine, they held on their cariere, ech paſſing beſide other that they might afterwards betake them to their courtelaxes. But *Zampſa* hauing loſt all patience (without tarying for the iſſue and euent of his companions fortune) aduaunced himſelfe, and coutched his lance againſt *Scanderbeg*: who on the other ſide quickly perceiuing the danger, and that it was not now time with booteleſſe termes of expoſtulation to accuſe his enemie of diſloyaltie, prepared himſelfe to aſſaile him manfully, and preſsing hard vppon him with his launce, he pierced him cleane through the throate. Scarcely was he laide on the ground, but that *Iaia* running haſtily thither, and with an horrible voice addreſſing himſelfe againſt *Scanderbeg*, with his ſword in his hande, it litle wanted that he had not ſlaine him, but he ſpeedily gaue his horſe the turne, and returning vpon him with his ſword likewiſe drawen, he ſuſtained the force of his enemie cõming againſt him.

him. And as they redoubled their blowes twice or thrice ech vppon other, enforcing themselues to drawe blood one of the other, *Scanderbeg* lighted vpon his right shoulder neere vnto his necke, and with one onely blowe he gaue him so deepe a wound that he had well neere cut it off: and the vnhappie horse trailed along the bodie of his vnfortunate master almost parted asunder. Thus, these two stout and hardy warriors (to the great contentment of the beholders) came to their end by the hand and prowesse of one man alone: but had they auoided the death in the conflict, yet could they not haue escaped the wrath of *Amurath*, for that so cowardly and traiterously they had surprized his champion, and tooke him at the disaduantage. *Castriot* was conducted towardes the *Sultan* charged with both their heades, as being triumphant in a double victorie. From thenceforth all his former exploites in the warres, and the remembrance of the *Scythian* lately conquered (albeit fresh in memorie) were now cleane forgotten, and did vanish away to nothing in respect of this new purchased glorie: both the Emperour, the great Scigniours, and all his companions in generall did honour him with diuerse large and bountifull presents: calling him the auenger, and the author of their honor and reputation.

Scanderbeg his victorie of the two Persians.

It may be that I haue dwelt ouerlong, and beyond all measure vpon the deedes of this worthy person: but in my opinion the praise and commendation of men of war and the commemoration of their actes in particular; is a principall point which doth wholly and especially belong vnto them. For that which is done in the warres, others haue their part and interest therein: but these exploites did *Scanderbeg* atchiue with his owne proper hand: and therefore my desire is (if it must needes be) that our discourse should be noted rather to exceed in being superfluous, then to seeme ingrate in not giuing him his deserts, & the rather, for that I mind to be but briefe in other seruices effected of like nature and condition, of which also I am presently to intreat. That which he did in the sight of *Amurath* at the taking of *Nicomedia*, and *Prusia*, and at *Ottrea* a good towne in *Asia* is nothing inferiour vnto his former deedes, whether we regard the daunger, or the greatnes of the fact: for he was the first man that mounted on the wall, and displaied his ensigne on the rampier: and entring the towne in maner all alone, he was the chiefe cause of the winning of the same. Likewise being sent into *Europe* against the Christians: sometime against the Greeks, and at other times against the Hungarians, he did more often purchase the renowme and estimation of a sage & prudent Captaine, then of one too venturous and ouer hardie. If he saw any necessitie that hee must needes ioyne in battell, and that he could not either refuse it without suspition, or giue it without griefe: he would before all things, desire of God, that it might be far from him to purchase honor by shedding of the blood of Christians, & to keepe him from vsing crueltie towards them: for in outward apperance only, and in his externall habit, he was a Mahometist, but inwardly, and in his hart, he did most constantly obserue the faith and profession of a Christian. Neuertheless as often notwithstanding as he was enforced to marche against them, he did euer seeke by all meanes possible, as litle as might be, to endomage them: prouided alwaies that he did not thereby wrong his owne forces of which he had the command and gouernment. By meanes whereof, he did beare himselfe so well, & did his deuoire in so good fashion, and did so fully discharge the dutie of a good and politique Captaine in all seruices of charge both within the campe and in fight, that euen the Christians themselues did not maligne him any whit the more for it. And this his moderate, stayd, and aduised behauior seemed to proceed rather of true discipline and prudence militarie, then of any fraude, ignorance, or want of courage: and continually did he gouerne himselfe with such arte and dexteritie, that he would neuer suffer himselfe (if he could chuse)

to be beaten: and yet by all meanes possible, would he giue oportunity to the Christians to saue themselues: or (if he could not do otherwise) he would take them prisoners: holding it farre more tollerable for them to endure seruitude and bondage, then to be put to the sword, and vtterly to be destroyed. When he would exhort or encourage his souldiers at any time, he did it with such a grace, & so effectually (were it in campe, or in the middest, and heate of fight) that he would worke in them both shame and feare almost at one instant: and afterwardes in the furie of fight he would order all matters so subtilly by the liuelinesse of his spirit, and the state of his armie should be disposed so cunningly, that the preseruation thereof (seeming to be with a certaine difficultie, and by his extraordinarie vertue) did afterwardes purchase him more honour and estimation with *Ottoman*, then others could obtaine by many a notable and famous victorie. From thencefoorth there was none that went beyonde him in credite and authoritie about the King: and no man was more agreeable, and better accepted amongst the souldiers, by reason that he was courteous, familiar, and friendly, not challenging to himselfe in particular, the honour which was gotten in common, but attributing it to the whole companie. Whatsoeuer money came to his handes he would distribute bountifully, and dispend liberally; iudging the same (and not without cause) to be of great efficacie and force to drawe vnto him the mindes and goodwill of men: and the surest bond to tie the heartes of the popular sort vnto him. Euerie man of his owne free will and motion, and without call, would gladly haue beene ranged vnder his enfigne: and for the loue of him would expose himselfe freely to the hazarde of all perilles. But fortune did not long forbeare to powre foorth her venome: for *Iohn* the father of *Castriot* in this meane time happened to dye in *Epire*, whereof *Scanderbeg* being aduertized, albeit by these lamentable tidinges (according to his naturall dutie) he conceiued exceeding sorrow in his minde: yet did he neuer discouer by any open and apparant signes of sadnesse or mourning, the secret dolour and griefe which lay hidden within his heart. For so it was, that vsually hee called the *Sultan* his verie father and soueraigne Segniour. Hereupon *Amurath* (neither more nor lesse then as if he had beene the lawfull heire of the realme of *Epire*) did speedily dispatch thither *Sebalis* with a strong garrison: and caused him to seize vppon *Croie*, and other places of importance: and by this meanes all at leisure, and without effusion of blood, he obtained the peaceable possession of all the fortresses and strong holdes of that kingdome, the inhabitantes thereof being either of small force, or ill prouided to maintaine their libertie, and being not well able to hinder the *Turke* in the right and interest which he pretended to the succession of *Iohn* their deceased prince: because he had all his sonnes in his custodie, and at his owne disposition, hauing purposelie gotten them into his handes: to the intent the scepter comming to be voide, and without heires, he might in the end vsurpe it vnto himselfe. *Voisaue* (who after the death of her husband did continue in her house with her daughter *Mamisa*, who was left vnto her as the onely wretched remainder of that miserable realme) by the appointment of *Amurath* had a certaine small portion of land assigned her in *Macedonie* for the prouision and sustentation of the residue of her aged yeares. And the report is, that she departed this life in an extreame age, before the comming of her sonne into *Albanie*, vnto whome she left her sayed daughter vnmarried, after that she had long and carefullie kept her in the estate of a virgine, and afterwardes she being by him prouided of an husbande was reestablished in her former place of dignitie.

Iohn Castriot dieth.

Amurath vsurpeth the kingdome of Epyre.

Voisaue dieth.

Looke with what courage this generous youth had borne and concealed the griefe

griefe of his fathers death: with the like did he dissemble all things whatsoeuer. *Otto-mans* on the other side, nothing doubting but that this his dealing would be verie hardly digested both by him and his brethren who were then residens is his Court (as hauing reason to expect the possession of that crowne appertaining vnto them) continued his disloyaltie towardes them, and made away the brethren of *Scanderbeg*, causing them (as many haue affirmed) secretly and closely to be poysoned. And afterwardes conuerting his thoughts vpon *Scanderbeg*, he cast diuerse wayes & deuises in his minde how he might not disfurnish his Realme of so worthie a person (of whom, as of another *Hercules*, he did serue his turne in all difficult and perillous aduentures) and yet assure him selfe in the meane time, and remaine free from the burthen and danger of that suspition which did mightily perplexe him. In this humour and affection he called *Scanderbeg* vnto him, and (as some say) with a long discourse fitted to that purpose, began to comfort him, as well for the death of his father, as for the miserable and vnhappie ende of his brethren: and withall, he made offer vnto him (if so be he had a desire not to continue anie longer in the state of a subiect) that he should either haue his fathers kingdome, or some other rich estate in Asia, and prayed him nenertheless that he would not leaue and abandon him, especially being encombred with so great affaires and so manie warres: for that abiding with him, he should haue at his owne disposition and in his owne hands, all the best, and most excellent meanes, which might make him glorious and honourable, and might render his life most happie and fortunate. The fraud and cunning of this old foxe being soone discouered by this youth, he tooke no long time to aduise himselfe, but with a readie and subtle wylinesse framing his countenance to his speech, he made him this answer. *Iohn* my father, and all my brethren do liue in thee most soueraigne king and most bountifull *Amurath*: as long as I may remaine neare thy person, neither anie desire of my countrey, nor the regard of any kingdome shall enter into my mind being sufficiently contented. Albeit then thou do presse me at this instant to accept these gifts, or rather burdensome charges, willingly do I hold my selfe contented in the great magnificence of thy spirit, and I will gladly embrace the liberalitie of my Prince his fauour. But this is my full resolution, to liue continually vnder the wing of thy Maiestie: and assure thy selfe that hardly, or not at all, will I be of anie other minde. Besides, old age (which is vnprofitable and vnfit for the warres) will soone suppresse and mortifie my courage (though otherwise inuincible) from any such desire. My present yeares are farre fitter to beare the charge of the warres, then to sustaine the waight and burthen of a kingdome: and more fit is this hand to manage armes then a royall scepter. Giue vs therefore some enemie, ô *Amurath*, that we may more cheerfully receiue a kingdome conquered by our vertue, rather then that which should come of thy gift and liberalitie.

Scanderbeg his brethren poysoned by Amurath.

Amurath his double dissimulation in vndermining the thoughts of Scanderbeg.

Scanderbeg his answer to Amurath.

The king tooke singular pleasure at his speeches, and so great credite did he giue vnto his wordes, that he heaped promise vpon promises, endeuouring to fill him with hopes, and the expectance of great matters. From that time forward the *Albanois* began to feele the maladie and griefe which did dayly spreade it selfe more and more: and notwithstanding that with singular discretion he did dissemble all things, yet did not that make him negligent, but that he did looke nearely vnto him selfe, and tooke great care for the safetie of his person: and the more he was in doubt of the tyrant, the more did he studie to purchase the fauour of the commons, and the affection of the souldiers. Neuertheless being vncessantly occupied in some one or other tumult in the warres, he did euerie day adde newe matter to make him selfe renowmed, and no lesse did he growe to be enuied. For he could

Scanderbeg his wisdome and prudence.

not so easily preuent the faithlesnesse of men, either by the modest shew of his mind, or by his liberality and ordinary curtesie: but that with the time euen vertue it selfe did engender the contrary to his desire. In so much that there were some in the Court, who (not able to endure the apparaunce of so great vertue in a straunger, euery day more and more increasing) as soone as they perceiued that *Amurath* did any thing encline or hearken vnto them: they would daily slaunder him behind his backe, giuing their Lord to vnderstand for certainty, that the sumptuous expences which he bestowed vppon the common sort so bountifully, and the fauour of the people which he sought for so ambitiously, were a ready meane to raise him in power, puissance, and authority: Alledging moreouer, that he being suspected by those in court, it was a good and sufficient proofe of that which he did inwardly intend and aspire vnto. All this it was easie to perswade the Prince, and the rather for that the accusation of his magnificence and his large expences, did openly shew it selfe to be true according to their surmise. Also the old age of the *Sultan*, being of it selfe fearefull, iealous, and suspitious, did curiously interpret all other matters to the worst; in such sort, that a certain doubt did by litle and litle engender in his spirite, causing him to be mistrustfull not only for the Realme of *Albany*, but also for the soueraignty euen of his own Empire. And his conscience being confounded and conuinced by the gilt of his owne misdeedes and wickednes, and the iealousie which he had of his estate ill gotten, made him repute all things ful of trechery and infidelity: and to suspect his most inward and familiar frends as most dangerous and secrete enemies. This his suspition being augmented, he began secretely to hate *Scanderbeg*, and to beare a more watchfull and intentiue eye vpon him: to see if he could by any couert and close meanes cut him off, and worke his confusion; not that his wicked and pernicious will wanted power and liberty to doe any mischief, but because he had no reasonable cause, nor sufficient colour to procure his death & destruction. To oppresse him wrongfully and by violence he was afeard, because he saw him so well beloued of all men generally; and for feare least he should alienate the hearts of others, and by an example of such cruelty, shut vp and take away in time to come from his Kingdome, the hope of all vertues and good deserts by any straungers: by which meanes principally the *Ottoman* Empire had bene amplified, and raised vnto his greatnesse.

Scanderbeg enuied, slaundered, and suspected in the Turkes Court.

This Seruia, Bosnia, and Russia is called by the Turkes Segueia.

But whilest these things were thus a doing, other affairs of greater waight and importance happening abroad, did sucke and swallow vp these domesticall suspitions & distrusts: for open warre was proclaimed against *George* Lord of *Misia*, commonly called the *Despot* of *Seruia*. The king of Turkes desired nothing more then to commit this charge vnto *Scanderbeg*, and that for two speciall considerations: The one, because he could not finde any man, whose seruice in his affaires was so fortunate as was his: The other, for that knowing him to be hot & forward in the war, and prompt & ready to hazard him selfe to all dangers, he did well hope that he should see him miserie in some one encounter or other against the enemy; as in armes it doth oftentimes betide to diuers. For this cause hauing leuied his forces, *Castriot* was sent against the *Misians*. This was at that time, that he dealt worser with the Christians, then he was accustomed, for feare least in temporising, & attending some fit oportunity of retrait, if he should not take the occasion to ouercome when it was offered, he might minister matter of suspition to *Amurath*, who was already enclined to take any impression of mistrust in his iealous and suspicious head. Oftentimes therfore he defeated the *Despot*, and put him to the worse, returning in all conflictes with victory to *Andrinople*. Againe, at such time as the said *Despot* had newly repaired his forces, and did begin to make head againe, and to reenforce his army; *Scanderbeg* being dispatched against him

Scanderbeg sent with an army against the Despot of Seruia.

him with more lusty forces, did vanquish him in battell, and put his army to flight. And hauing razed many of his holdes and fortresses: he ledde backe his souldiers loaden with the spoiles and rich booty of their enemies.

These tumults abroad being appeased, the old wretch by the like pursuit of his former detestable desseignes, did againe addresse himselfe and conspire against him, who had bin the author of so notable a victory, and of the rest, and tranquillity of his estate. To this end he caused the same time a solemn Iusts and tournement to be proclaimed both on horseback and on foote, promising gifts and rewards of great value to them that should beare away the prize: to the intent that by this deuise and policy he might expose and put *Scanderbeg* to all perils and extreme dangers. But as his counsails were abhominable, so did they appeare to be vain and of no effect: For albeit great numbers both of subiects and of strangers, all hardy, actiue, and able men did daily present themselues to this triumph: yet did *Scanderbeg* continually shew himselfe amongst them, & with an admirable hardines & brauery, and no lesse good hap held against all cõmers, and as one fatally predestinated to be victorious, he alone did cary away the honor & the prize, with the extreme wonder and singular favor of all men. The vnmatcheable vertue in this gentle warriour, which might haue sufficed to asswage and mollifie the arrogancy & fiercenes euen of his enemies, could no whit bend the corage of *Ottoman* alone to any curtesie or clemency, but his distrust ech day growing more forcible, his heart also began to be enraged & enflamed with anger & hatred, making him to bethink with himself more ardently, how he might by some other secret kinde of death dispatch him. But why am I thus caried away in the pursuit of these vain reuenges, & fooliſh counsailes of *Amurath* on the one part, & the prouidence of *Scanderbeg* on the other part? why rather do I not in a word attribute the safety and preseruation of this man vnto God only? Assuredly he it was that confounded the spirits & senses of *Ottoman*: he it was that raised vp those disturbances of the wars, and new commotions in *Misia*: finally, he it was that stirred vp the arms of the Hungarians, to the intent that this mans life (being vowed and destinated to maintaine the dignity of the Christian religion) should not be abridged & cut off: and that the ancient liberty of *Epire* might once again be reuiued: for had not a kind of diuine power interposed it self in this case: there is no doubt but that *Amurath* had attained to the height of his intent and desire. Did he want any means to bring him to his end? might he not haue had a thousãd deuises with which (without the least fear of sedition) he might haue circumuented him? where were poisons? where were secret traines & ambushments? where were false and slanderous accusations, which are the ordinary weapõs of tyrants to execute their malicious and mischieuous attempts? *Scanderbeg* hauing with great facility discouered these trains & secret practises, & perceiuing that (if he cõtinued long about the prince) he should hardly be able to auoide his snares, he found it high time to bethink himself how he might aduance his affaires, for the recouery of his fathers estate by some good & vertuous exploit, & by the subtelty of his own spirit (a thing which he had alwaies conceiued in his thoughts by the sweete remembrance of his liberty) he deuised some honest colour to quit him selfe of the seruice of *Amurath*, & vnder pretence thereof, to return one day into his own natiue country, so greatly by him desired: where all men with one mind did attend and wish him with a vehemẽt & generall affection: yet did he neuer impart this his determination to any man liuing: neither did any person euer discerne his hidden conceite, either by word or by any other signe, notwithstanding that there were many, & especially of the *Albanois*, in whõ he might haue reposed speciall confidence, by reason of their ordinary frequenting, & long familiarity together: & especially some of them, who after the decease of *Iohn* his father (inuited thereunto

Amurath conspireth and practiseth the destruction of Scanderbeg.

Scanderbeg sollicited by the Albanians to the recouery of his estate.

aſwell through the bruite of his great renowne, as for the deſire they had to recouer their libertie) were come vnto him on the behalfe of the principall and chiefeſt perſons in *Albanie*, to offer him the meanes, occaſion, and oportunitie, together with the aide of the ſubiects, to pull his fathers crowne and ſcepter out of the hands of *Amurath*. Notwithſtanding, knowing how great the inconſtancie and lightneſſe of men is, and conſidering the greatneſſe of the perill, he diſſembled it verie wiſely, and the rather for that (holding it a verie eaſie matter to get the poſſeſſion of all other things) yet he had his minde mightily perplexed and diſtracted, how he might recouer *Croie*, which was his principall care. The Turke had furniſhed it with ſo ſtrong a garriſon, that it was impoſſible to gaine it by armes or by force, but onely by art and induſtrie. It was alſo the chiefe and capitoll citie of the realme of *Albanie*, ſituated vpon the creſt of a moſt high and ragged mountaine, and on all ſides almoſt inacceſſible, being ſo fortified by art, and ſo defended by the naturall ſite thereof, that (except it were by famine onely) for an enemie to vſe any other force or violence againſt it, it might be held meere folly, and a verie mockerie. By meanes whereof, if the mind of *Scanderbeg* were at any time ſounded in it, he would commend their affection, and the remembrance of their libertie not yet wholly extinguiſhed in the hearts of their nation: But he alledged the wonderfull power and puiſſance of the Turke: telling them, that his gouernement was not grieuous nor inſupportable, and that it was but a follie and meere madneſſe, raſhly to begin any tumult or commotion, where was wanting ſufficient forces to bring them to a good concluſion. And that they ought not to account of that libertie, the poſſeſſion whereof would be of ſhort continuance, and for which they ſhould afterwards be brought, not into the like and ſo eaſie a ſeruitude, but into a bondage, and reſtraint of libertie farre more grieuous and intollerable: bringing themſelues in the end to be murthered and maſſacred as ſacrifices to appeaſe the wrath of the Prince, who would be mightily incenſed againſt them, by reaſon of their rebellion. And yet did he alwayes comfort and cheere them vp, promiſing them, that according to the credite and authoritie which he had with *Amurath*, he would procure, that their yoke might be gracious, and his gouernement ſo moderate as might ſtand with the condition and ſtate of their affaires. Thus did he diſcreetly prouide on all partes both for them and for him ſelfe: and did continually temporiſe, finely plotting & deuiſing the way and oportunitie how to eſcape and get away; no more nor leſſe then as a poore priſoner, who attending with great patience and deuotion ſome ſedition within the place of his reſtraint, and a generall aſtoniſhment of all perſons, by meanes whereof, whileſt euerie man is buſied in extinguiſhing the fire of the diſſention, he may in the meane time ſtrike off his fetters and breake priſon: and (aſſuring thereby his libertie) it may be the meanes to auoyd the hard ſentence of the rigorous and ſeuere iudge.

Scanderbeg his wiſedome and ſingular diſcretion.

True it is, that fortune did not long hold his deſire in ſuſpence, for whileſt theſe things were thus in doing, the *Deſpot* of *Miſia* (of whom we haue lately ſpoken) was reeſtabliſhed againe in his eſtate, as well by the reuolt of his owne ſubiects from the Sultan, as by the forces of his neighbours, and the ayde of his friends ſometime chaſing and expelling, & ſometimes cutting in peeces ſome of the Turkiſh garriſons. By occaſion whereof the Sultan being grieuouſly incenſed againſt him, & perceiuing that to bring him to reaſon he muſt not from thenceforth any more commit the conduct of his affaires to other chiefes & commanders: he determined to go thither him ſelfe in perſon, and hauing leuied a moſt puiſſant armie, hee marched againſt the *Miſian*, with purpoſe vtterly to ſuppreſſe and deſtroy him: the which did verie ſoone and eaſily fall out, euen according as hee wiſhed: for that the *Deſpot* being

Deſpot of Miſia reeſtabliſhed in his eſtate, and expulſed againe by Amurath.

farre

farre inferiour vnto him in power and puissaunce, did (as it were) at the first stroke, loose all his holdes, and places of strength, and flying into *Hungarie*, left all vnto him, without any one droppe of bloud shedde in defence thereof. Some say that *Ottoman* in this voyage, did aide him selfe with the counsell and seruice of *Scanderbeg*, rather then of any other in his Court: as of one, who by his happy conduct in many other warres forepassed in those quarters, had gotten more knowledge and experience of the places, and of that countrey, then any other whatsoeuer. But as yet for all that, could he finde no fitte occasion to effect his owne desines and purposes, howbeit that the time was not now farre off to accomplishe it. For *Amurath* had scarcely brought backe his troupes to *Andrinople*, and licensing them to depart, had scant broken vp his Campe; but a publique bruite and report began to grow of new troubles, and emotions of the Hungarians, and of other daungers approching, farre more furious then the former. For the misfortune of the *Despotte* by the mediation of *Iulian* the Cardinall of Sainct *Angell*, (whom Pope *Eugenius* had sent into *Hungarie*, and had expresly giuen him in charge to labour the king to that effect) made *Vladislaus* king of *Hungarie*, to arme him selfe for the reestablishing of the *Despot* in *Missie*. The Turkishe Emperour being enformed of this practise, did speedily assemble his forces, and put them in a readinesse, to the number of foure score thousand fighting men: and before that the Christian army should make their entry into *Missie*, he caused the *Bassa* of *Romania* named *Carambey*, and *Scanderbeg* iointly, with twenty thousand men to set forward into *Hungary*, and there to meete them are they approached any nearer. He (according to his accustomed manner) with the body of his army, and all the baggage, followed after them faire and easily. On the other side, it was a goodly sight to see the Ensignes of the Christians, both for their number, and for the brauery of the souldiours and the Captaines, who were no lesse then thirty fiue thousand fighting men; but especially the great *Huniades* that famous Captaine, commonly surnamed *Ianeu*, whose very name alone (as hath bene reported) had many times foiled and vanquished the Turkes. One thing notwithstanding did much abate the courage and fiercenesse of our forces: and that was because for default of bread, the souldiers hauing no other but boyled wheate to liue vppon: they died for the most part sodainely, through a certaine violent flixe of the body, caused by this kinde of victuall. The *Bassa* therefore hastening with his troupes, did incampe him selfe neare to the riuer of *Morauia*. *Huniades* not able to endure this brauado, first of all he sent certaine espiailes to get notice, and to bring him tidings of the approach of *Amurath*: and as soone as he could make any true coniecture of his forces, and of his determination, with tenne thousand men, the best appointed of all his hoast, leauing the King behind in his campe, he passed ouer the *Morane*, and with notable violence, went to charge the Barbarian, who at the first approach being somewhat astonished, did a little recule, and giue backeward: but all sodainely perceiuing and contemning their small numbers, he attended the comming of *Huniades*, and receiued him to the fight. *Castriot* (who now spied the time and opportunity fit to accomplish his desire and determination, which he had before conceiued in his minde, and did seeke with all his power the ruine of the Turkes) euen in the beginning of the battell did put him selfe with his owne bandes by litle and litle to the retrait, and afterwards by plaine flight, did turne his backe before the enemy: striking into the others by his example a feare and terror, and withall a certaine perswasion to do the like. And indeed the *Bassa* was much terrified by this accident, either because he saw so braue a man, and one so resolute in the warres, now contrary to his wonted manner, prepare him selfe

Vladislaus king of Hungarie, aideth the Despot against Amurath.

Scanderbeg & Carambey sent by Amurath against the Hungarians.

Iohn Huniades.

In Bulgary.

Battell of Morane, betweene Huniades and the Turkes.

The rowte of Scanderbeg.

rather to flie then to fight: or because he was in doubt that he was deceiued and betraied, in regard whereof he charged the enemy more faintly and with lesse stomack. This was the occasion that the Hungarians being encouraged (as it appeared) by the feare of the other, without any great force or effusion of bloud, brake and scattered the battell of their enemies, who abandoning their armes, and baggage, their Captaines and Ensigns, without any care of their companions: and hauing no other recourse but to their heeles, endeuoured to saue themselues by running. *Huniades* pursuing the aduantage of his victory, neuer left killing so long as there rested any for execution. Euery place was full of mountaines (as it were) of dead bodies heaped together: all was filled with feare and tumult, especially at the sacking of the pillage and the ransacking of their campe. Of prisoners there were about a foure thousand: amongest others there was one taken aliue, who was in chiefe accompt & authority of the great Turk. The *Bassa* with a very small company had much adoe to escape. Then *Scanderbeg* as one carefull and diligent in his enterprise, hauing first communicated and imparted it vnto his frends (amongst whom was *Ameses* his nephew, a yong man of singular hope and appearance of vertue, the sonne of *Reposius* afterwardes by the Turks named *Carragusa*, by a wife which he had maried before he was empoisoned by *Ottoman*) and now seeing the fortune of the Turke to decline towards a change, and their army defeated, he laid hands vpon the Secretary, which was neerest vnto the *Bassa*, (vppon whom of purpose he had borne good espiall) and hauing stayed him, with a good corage he caused him to be fettered, compelling him speedily, after some refusall, yet through feare of his life, to endite for him counterfeit letters to the Gouernor of *Croy*: by the which it was enioined him in *Amurath* his name to consigne the place into the hands of *Scanderbeg*, as newly appointed and deputed to haue the entire charge & guid thereof: making him also to set downe in writing many reasons seruing to that intent and purpose, for the better confirmation of the matter, with some appearance of truth and probability, to draw the Gouernour and his people the sooner to credite it. The letters being written, both the Secretary, and all the rest which were taken together with him, were presently put to death, to the intent that the matter might the longer remaine concealed from the great Seignior: and not they onely, but as many as fell into the hands of *Castriot* had no better fortune. So that this army of the Turkes was almost all brought to nothing: for that those also which escaped the fury of the souldiers, comming (by meanes of their dispersed and scattering flight) into the handes of the Paisants by one and the same death made an end of their daies. A great number of the souldiers Albanois who were present at this encounter, after they had intelligence of the act of *Scanderbeg*, as they went here and there wandering and dispersed, aswell to auoide the hand of the Conqueror, but principally pricked with the desire of their native countrey, did gather themselues neare vnto him: and in an instant they were found to be a troupe of three hundred good and able men. *Huniades* and his people charged with inestimable spoile and booty, did retire themselues to their companions. I may not here let passe in silence that which some haue seemed to affirme: That *Scanderbeg* had before hand had some intelligence with the Hungarians, and by secret messengers had acquainted and instructed *Huniades* of all matters in particular, & that he was the cause that made him hasten with his forces. Howsoeuer it was as I dare not auerre it, so I doe not greatly stand vpon it. But this I beleeue well, that all things were guided and directed with singular prudence and good aduise: and the event and issue of the matter (which many times is a true Iudge of our actions) doth authorise and confirme this opinion. But leauing *Hungary* for a season, let vs draw backe into *Epire*, whilest in the meane time the renowme of this great losse, and the newes

Turkes ouerthrowen by Huniades.

Ameses, sonne of Reposius, alias Carragusa.

Scanderbeg craftily vppon the Bassa his Secretary: and causeth him to write letters for the delinery of Croy vnto him.

of

of this notable discomfiture is posting towards *Amurath*.

The victorious *Castriot* hauing fully satisfied his wrath, and accomplished his vowes and desire vpon his enemies: and hauing likewise rather adorned then charged his souldiers with honourable spoiles: dislodging from thence with very long iournyes, he arriued with his troupe into the vpper *Dibria* the seauenth day after. This towne is seated in the confines of the *Tribullians*, seauenty miles from *Croie*, and is very famous amongst the *Epirots*, for that it bringeth forth men very actiue and valiant: and it was singularly esteemed and fauoured of *Scanderbeg*, by reason of their fidelity, and many commendable seruices which they had done for the defence and protection of the state vnder *Iohn* his father, at such time as he was molested by *Ottoman*. Other towne or fortresse there is not in those Marches towardes *Macedony*, but onely *Sfetigrade*: but the people of the country dispersed throughout mountaines, and vallies without any enclosures of walles, doe preserue them selues by the onely naturall fortification of the places against the violence and iniuries of their enemies. *Castriot* then therefore first of all made some stay, not holding it conuenient to passe further, till he had ordained and set in order certaine affaires of some consequence and importance as you shall heare. Hauing sent (very secretely) for some of the principallest in the towne to come vnto him (for he had a speciall care to conceale, and keepe all things secret, and therefore had so disposed his iourney, as he might arriue thither in the night) he discouered vnto them the secrets of his thoughts, and he obtained al things to his content, not so much as one person being found, (as the report goeth) that would in any thing gainesay his demaund, either for feare of the grand Seignour, or for mistrust of an act so dangerous, or of his owne disposition, as some would haue done. But on the contrary, their owne desire so long time nourished, the incomparable reputation of himselfe, conceiued by so many yeares (which was a great furtherance vnto it) and withall the loue and singular desire which they had of liberty, had wonderfully wrought him into the good grace and fauour of euery man. All therefore in generall, which were about him (as it were) in emulation each of other, sometime with great ioy and triumph: sometime shedding of teares through excessiue gladnesse, with long embracements, some kissed his handes, others his face, one the head, another his feete, yea and al parts of his body, seeming to be rauished with the ioy of his good fortune: and shewing the singular contentment which they had in the resource, and restitution of the *Castriots* name and maiesty. And presenting vnto him all the means of their vtmost power, and ability, they offered the same vnto him: both their bodies, their hearts, their children, and whatsoeuer was of any better accompt, and value then other euen vnto their liues. The first thing that they tooke order for, was to set good and speedy watch and ward, for feare that (duting these affaires) some aduertisement should come from the Turke to the gouernour of *Croy*, which might discouer the practise. It was aduised also touching the leuy that should be made, what forces should take armes at the first signal and token that should be giuen them. Of the three hundred horse which he had brought with him, reserning but a very smal number (with which he determined to ride to *Croy* to present the Packet to the Gouernour, and to receiue the gouernment) the residue he sent before, and well neare as many of the *Dibrians*, who knew all the passages of the country, willing them very closely to ambush them selues in the woods, and thickets next to *Croy*, til such time as he had gotten possession of the towne, and that then he would couertly let them in to cut the throates of the Garrison. All things being well disposed and in order, the selfe same night that he came thither (it was in the end of Autumne, when the nights began to grow long) he whom the ardentnes of his desire did make impatient of delay, and who held that the least stay, was

Scanderbeg is receiued into Dibria. People of Missia on the weastermost part thereof: after whom succeeded the Bulgarians.

of great importance to endanger his enterprise, earely in the morning before the breake of day, he departed from *Dibria*, accompanied with his troupe of horse, and his baggage, and certaine of the Dibrians who attended him, and he drew directly towards *Croy*, with as great speede as might be. And as he approched towardes the towne, willing by this deuise to set the better colour vpon his deliberation, and to make it seeme more probable, he commanded on the way that *Amese*, with two others as his seruants, should goe before to cary the newes vnto the Gouernour, and to aduertise him, that he with his traine was not farre off. The young man being of an excellent quicke spirite, and good courage, and so well dissembling him selfe both in habite and in speach, as if he had bene a Turke naturall, was receiued into the towne, and went speedily to finde the Gouernour: vnto whom, (hauing after their maner) done his reuerence, with a good grace he began to make mention of *Scanderbeg*, saying that he was his Secretary, and with great modesty told him withall, that his master and his traine onely, would be there very speedily. As God would, that which *Amese* deliuered, was from point to point beleeued, and from thence forward the *Barbarian* began to prepare and make him selfe ready to depart: and before that he had either read the letters, or had any notice of the will and pleasure of his Prince, he trussed vp his baggage, and prouided to dislodge: in such sort, that *Scanderbeg* being come, and the Packet opened, and the letters read, credit was giuen vnto the same, and they obeyed thereunto, according to their tenour and contents, and the *Albanois* was receiued with great ioy. Then were called before him (as is the vse) all the ordinary garrison, and the auncient inhabitants of the towne of all ages and estate. His great renowme being dispersed ouer all partes, made him much esteemed and welcommed of euery man. The Turkes loued his naturall disposition because he was popular and familiar, by occasion whereof, all of them tooke it in good part to be vnder his command. The *Croians*, who saw before their eyes the race of their good Prince, did forthwith take heart and courage, and (neither more nor lesse, then as if they had presently bene deliuered from some long captiuity and misery) they began sodainely to conceiue in their inward thoughtes and wishes, the secret counsailes and enterprise of *Scanderbeg*. And in especiall, some of those who were of eldest yeares amongest them, and did as yet retaine their auncient desire, carying in their mindes the apparaunt signes of his vertue shining in him from his infancy, they would discourse of his education, the beginning of his birth and nativity, and the curious presages of his parents: yet was there not any one of them all the while, that durst open his conceite vnto the new Captaine, nor yet betake him to armes, till they saw that he him selfe did aduaunce forward, and set in foote as chiefe and leader to regaine their liberty. It was concluded betweene *Castriot* and a few others, that some should stirre vp the youth of the towne, and when time serued prouoke them to take armes: and it was forbidden them to make any signe or token of alteration, till that the succours of the men at armes, (which lay neare the towne in ambushment) were let in within the gates: the which being enioyned them to be done secretely, and in the dead time of the night, was put in execution, and they were brought into the towne. The portes being shut, the streetes, the crosse wayes, and all the strongest passages being filled with armed souldiers, the Turkes not knowing any thing of their counsailes, or at least for feare dissembling it: and the errour of the night augmenting the feare of the daunger, *Scanderbeg* gaue the signall to beginne the massacre. The first thing that was done, was to oppresse the Sentinels, who being dispersed vppon the walles, as the manner is, in litle standings or cabinets of woode, were easily subiect to their violence, and soone

The gouernment of Croy, resigned vnto Scanderbeg, by the Gouernor.

The Massacre and butchery of the Turkes at Croy.

put

put to the ſword, others being diſpoſed in their places. With no leſſe furie the priuate houſes being forced open, the bands of *Croie* were the firſt that marched, *Scanderbeg* himſelfe doing the office both of a commander and a ſouldier. At the ſhutting vp of the gates, many being ſurprized ſuddenly, had their throtes cut in their beds. But the alarme being come from one and other to all the reſt, a great number being wakened, ran preſently to armes according as the tumult, and the darkneſſe of the night did giue them leaſure: and rendring them ſelues vpon the place, they endeuored to caſt themſelues in order of battell, with intent either to die honorably, or by making head a while againſt the enemie, and gaining one of the ports, to ſaue them ſelues by flight. This notwithſtanding, all the paſſages being ſhut vp, and both the one and the other of their deſſeignes being aſſayed in vayne, they ſaw them ſelues on all partes murthered and ſlaughtered as beaſtes. Thus the hope of all flight being taken away from them, and being depriued of all good and honeſt meanes to dye with honour, they had recourſe to cryes and lamentations, which they had long forborne: and with teares (abhorred of all generous hearts) they called for mercie to *Scanderbeg*, praying and adiuring him to make a ſtay of further ſlaughter, and not any more to deface and ſtaine the fortunate beginning of his eſtate with bloudſhed: and that he would make choyce rather to let them liue, and to reſerue them to a ſeruile eſtate of bondage, for the further increaſe and ornament of his triumph: then to diſgrace it ſo with the ſhew of their bloudie & ſlaughtered carcaſſes: and by too too much crueltie to diſhonor this day of ioy, and the aſſurance of his eſtate with their innocent bloud, howſoeuer iuſtly ſpilt; that they had not merited any ſuch thing: that they had not deſerued the ill will and malice of the people, nor had bene iniurious to any; but that they had as friends (rather then as enemies) inhabited and conuerſed with them in the towne which was committed vnto them by *Amurath*: and that for their part they would not from thenceforth debarre any man from regaining their libertie, but laying downe their weapons and their armes, they did proſtrate them ſelues inuocating the mercy of the vanquiſhers. On all ſides were heard horrible and fearefull cryes, clamours, plaints, howlings, ſighes, threats, and lamentations full of confuſion. In the middeſt of the heate and furie of the maſſacre, *Caſtriot* with all his power cauſing his ſouldiers to retire, and to ſound the retrait, was eaſily moued with the pitifull voyces of theſe miſerable ſuppliants: and he deferred the courſe of his proceedings till the morning following: in hope that this people ſo beſet on all ſides, and ouerwhelmed with infinite miſeries and miſchiefes, might peraduenture either by faire or fowle meanes, by flatterie or by threats, be brought and drawen to embrace the Chriſtian religion. Neuertheleſſe for all that, wiſely ordering his companies, and appointing to each man his place, he commanded to keepe good watch, for feare and doubt of ſome ſurpriſe that might be made by the enemie. Him ſelfe in the meane time rode directly to the port, accompanied with *Ameſe* and ſome others that followed them: and there ſent and diſpatched him away with certaine *Dibrians* to carrie the tidings to *Dibria* vnto them who were of his faction, how that *Croie* was his owne, and of all the reſt which paſſed: admoniſhing them all in generall to take armes, and to ſollicite their allies and neighbours to the recouerie of their libertie: and that they would not faile (during this troubleſome change, and vnexpected aſtoniſhment on all partes) to expell and driue away the garriſons of the enemies: eſpecially now that *Amurath* did not yet know any thing, and whileſt he was occupied in the wars againſt the Hungarians. And as for him, that as ſoone as he had cleered the towne of the Turks, & ſet the ſtate thereof in good peace and quietneſſe, he would incontinently be with them, with the beſt and braueſt troopes that he could poſſibly aſſemble. The next morning

at the sunne rising, being desirous to make an end of that which rested vndone within the towne: he caused it to be cried by sound of trumpet, that all those which would be baptized, and become professed Christians, shoulde retire them selues neare vnto him without armes: and they should both haue their liues giuen them, and be indifferently admitted to all places of charge and dignity within the towne. But all those which should neglect and refuse this fauour, should be held for enemies, and it should be lawfull for euery man to punish them with all extremity of cruelty. The terrour of this Proclamation did not much moue their wretched soules and obstinate mindes, and few there were that did hearken vnto this good and wholesome counsaile (so liuely were the old preceptes of their auncestors fixed in their feeble spirites: and so deepely had they taken roote, and were (as it were) engrauen within their bones, that they could not be disswaded from them.) Most willingly therefore did they make choise, that their miserable bodies should accompany their guilty soules to destruction, rather then they would enioy the exceeding clemency both of God and men. The Turkes therefore, desisting from prayers, for that the condition propounded vnto them by the Christians, seemed vnto them very vnreasonable, and hauing recourse vnto a vaine and booteless flight, they did rather delay then auoide their torment, by reason that the corpes du gard of armed souldiers disposed on all the wayes, did easily oppresse them being amazed and dispersed. And albeit that many of them enraged (as it were) when the hideous image of imminent death and destruction did present it selfe to their eyes, did with their naked swordes make them selues a passage in some of the streets through the middest of their enemies: yet could they not for all that, auoide the handes of the rest, and though they ranne here and there as birdes shutte vp in a cage, and did wander by all the crosse wayes of the towne, hauing no way to escape, yet were they ouerthrowen by the souldiers comming vppon them: or else did they murther them selues with their owne weapons. For it is sayed that some of them were slaine by their owne hands: others getting into the Temples and sacred places to hide them selues, were drawen out by the souldiers desirous of bloud, and were made (as it were) a sacrifice for the common liberty. Libertie was in euery mans mouth, and euery where sounded the sweete name of Liberty. Many of them being not yet for feare gotten out of their houses, but keeping themselues within dores, did there shedde their owne bloud, excepting such as retiring them selues into the inner and most secrete partes and corners of their houses, did for a time beguile the souldiers notwithstanding all their wilinesse and diligence: a great number of them also had refuge vnto *Scanderbeg*, not for that the feare of so hideous a spectacle, had withdrawen them from their former intention, but onely to prolong (as long as they might) the course of their vnhappy liues. For this fury being appeased, and the tumult ceasing within the towne, euen as *Castriot* was in making preparation to haue them to be baptized, the most part of them with faire intreaty and supplications did not cease to importune him, that he would not against their wils force them therunto: that well they might faine themselues through the feare and horror of present death to yeeld them selues to be Christians, but that they could not forget the auncient lawes and ceremonies of their Elders; that they meant not obstinately to oppose them selues nor resist against any of his commaundementes, though it were to present them with a cruell death: neuertheless, that this could not enter into their thoughts, because that such ceremonies and traditions ought to be vsed to such as are willing, and not with constraint and violence. And they required him by the faith which he had plighted vnto them, and by the reuenge

The obstinacy of the Turkes.

which

which he had sufficiently of late taken of their parents and brethren: that he would at least wise make them Messengers vnto *Amurath* of this straunge hap and marvellous accident.

Scanderbeg his wrath together with his arms being abated & laied aside, and seeing them all disarmed, and with their handes erected to humble themselues before him, was easily intreated to giue them both life and liberty, albeit he did not esteeme this faithlesse and infidell nation worthy of any fauour and compassion. But litle ioy had they of this benefite, for that at their departure out of the townes, their destiny did deliuer them to the indiscretion of others outrage, and to the mercilesse greedinesse of the communalty. As for those that were baptized (of whom there were some) besides the exceeding shewes of ioy and triumphe made by the townes-men for their conuersion: they were abundantly also prouided of all necessaries, as of houses, victualles, pensions, and all other seruiceable commodities at the publique and common charge. Notwithstanding, it was ordained that good gard should be had of them, till such time as the new seale of their Religion were knowen to haue taken roote and increase within their hearts, being as yet but fresh and newly begun: and principally for doubt least vpon these alterations they should attempt some kind of treason. Of all those which afterwards did come forth of diuerse holes and secret places, some lighting vpon such of the inhabitants, who were of a more milde and curteous disposition, were kept prisoners, hauing promised great summes of money for their raunsome: the rest were killed vpon the place.

The towne of Croy reuolteth from the Turke the fame of Scanderbeg.

These things thus accomplished, and all things chaunged and reformed within the towne, the standards and ensignes of the Turkes being either torne or burnt whersoeuer they were found, and all tokens of their remembraunce being vtterly abolished and defaced: *Castriot* speedily dispatched some of the best and most apparant persons in the towne throughout the next places, depending of the iurisdiction of *Croy*, to acquaint them with all the successe of his dealings, and to make them all to take armes. But they needed neither messenger nor solicitour: almost all of them were found ready in Armes, attending onely for some one to be their chiefe and leader to their resolute and courageous stomackes. And therefore in a moment with a good and sufficient troupe of souldiers enrolled, passing from thence further on, they went forwardes to incite others to doe as they hadde done. The Garrisons of the Turkes with whome they encountred, were all put to the sword, and when they had gathered on all parts, such numbers of men as they thought sufficient, they tooke their way backe againe to *Croy*: where *Scanderbeg* in the same house, hauing made all his companies to march together, by long iourneys, arriued at *Dibria*, where he found *Amesa* with an other good troupe of souldiers, and all things in good peace and quietnesse: For hee had a good while since chased and expelled from thence the Garrison which the enemy hadde in that place. The old Gouernour of *Croy* was in like case slaine and all his family, without sauing any one of them, and his baggage ransacked. But now before all other matters, and ere hee pursued the conquest of the surplus of his estate: *Castriot* ordayned two thousand good men vppon the Frontiers neare to *Sfetigrad*, and the mountaine *Mocre*, as well to stoppe vp and debarre the issue of the enemyes which should be found within his prouince: as also for to fortifie and defend the passages, if any forces should happen to be sent thither by the *Sultan*: For on that side was the way more at hand, and more frequented to come from *Macedony* and *Thrace* into *Epire*. Himselfe with the rest of his troupes, descended into base *Dibria*,

Moſes Goleme

In this place Fortune preſented vnto him amongſt others a worthy perſonage, notable for the nobilitie of his bloud, and for the haughtineſſe of his courage: one *Moſes Goleme*, by whom afterwards *Scanderbeg* was aided as a principall companion, both of his vertues and his trauailes in many high and difficult enterpriſes. After this he viſited the other places and fortreſſes neare adioyning, the which for that they neither were enuironed with walles, nor defended with any great numbers of Turkes, did giue him (as you may imagine) eaſie acceſſe and entrie. From thenceforth all others which remained, of what age ſoeuer (as hauing quited all other care, and ſetting their minds on nothing but armes) did wholly betake them ſelues to follow him, and called him the Protector of their libertie. Libertie founded in their mouthes, and liberty was all their hearts deſired.

Scanderbeg diſcomfiteth the Turks that make head againſt him in Epyre.

Whileſt theſe things were thus in doing, many Turkes (as I haue heard) being rallied and aſſembled together out of diuerſe quarters, came in troupe to encounter the Chriſtians, and to aſſay the hazard of fight with them: but the victorie was no leſſe impoſſible to them, then it had bene before to their companions. The reſidue then knowing that it was bootleſſe to attempt by force to make any reſiſtance againſt him, rendred themſelues vnto him: and caſting their armes downe at his feete, they choſe rather to make a triall of his faith, then to feele the weight and puiſſance of his arme. To the intent therefore, that by exerciſing rigour againſt perſons diſarmed, and who ſubmitted their neckes vnder the yoke of his obeyſance, he might not incurre the eſtimation of a man cruell and bloudie minded, as alſo to draw vnto him the hearts and good will of his owne ſubiects; by this humanitie and dexteritie of his ſpirit, he referred them to the diſcretion of his ſouldiers, putting it in their choice, & giuing them the power either to pardon or to puniſh them. In vaine were all prayers, and in vaine were all exclamations to perſwade the courages of his men at armes, whoſe eares were deafe, and would not hearken vnto them: for but a verie fewe of them were reſerued aliue, and ſuch as of whom they hoped to haue great ranſomes. *Scanderbeg* did neither openly approue, nor in his heart did he condemne this ſeueritie: yet it was that which he moſt deſired, doing alwayes the like, to the intent he might altogether aboliſh the name of Turkes out of the prouice. For the reſidue of his affaires, becauſe he could not be preſent in all places, and for that the preſent occaſions did require expedition and extreme celeritie, he made a diuiſion of his troupes. Some of the chiefeſt young men he ſent into diuerſe parts of the countrey here and there, to diſpatch that which remained: as to ſtirre vp their confederates, and to preuent their enemies. *Ameſe* with about two hundred men was appointed to enter within *Croie*: for he was certified that there were not ſufficient forces to gard the place: and yet was that to be regarded as their principall garriſon. Him ſelfe riding and poſting into all quarters, ſometimes on one ſide, ſometimes on another, and hauing a verie carefull eye to all occaſions, he employed and ſpent certaine dayes for the recouerie of ſome other places, and to gayne by his preſence the amitie and good affection of all parties.

Turkes yeelding themſelues priſoners to Scanderbeg are referred to the mercie of the ſouldiers, who put them to the ſword.

Scanderbeg aſſaileth & proſpereth for the recouery of the ſtrong holds & fortreſſes of Epyre from the Turkes.

There remained one onely point, but of greater labour and difficultie then all the reſt, and that was the ſubduing of the other townes: in the reducing of the which to his obeiſance conſiſted no ſmall importance of the recouerie of his eſtate. But for that they were all defended by good and ſtrong garriſons of the *Sultan*; it was adviſed that the fort ought to be enterpriſed with more puiſſant and brauer forces: and with mature and readie deliberation. For this cauſe it was concluded, that all thoſe whom he had departed and deuided into ſundrie quarters, and vpon diuerſe charges, ſhould reenforce, and with as much ſpeede as might be, augment their bandes with freſh ſupplies:

supplies: and this done, they should repaire incontinently to *Croy*: *Scanderbeg* himselfe tooke his way thither forthwith, and there continued attending their comming. Litle distance of time was there betweene his arriuall and theirs, and the report hereof did drawe manie others also into the action. For manie noble and excellent Captaines, especially of his allyes, came to seeke him speedily and well accompanied: amongest whom were *Musache de Angeline* (so called by the common sort) being his Nephewe by his sister *Angelina*: and the two *Streeses*, *Goiche* and *George* brethren, his Nephewes also by his sister *Iella*, and *Gyne Musache* the husband of *Vlaica*: for *Iohn* his father before his decease, had married all his daughters to diuerse Princes and great Lordes of the countrie (excepting *Mamisa*, who was giuen by *Scanderbeg* to *Musache de Thopie*, after the recouerie of his Realme, and the pacification of his estate.) Also from *Steuen Cernouiche* (who had espoused *Mara* and had by her many goodly children) he wanted not ambassages to visite him, and to congratulate his good fortune and prosperitie: besides great succours that he sent him both of men and money. More then these there did gather & assemble together from houre to houre, such a concourse of people comming & resorting vnto him, that they came at length to exceede the number of 12000. men on his parte. *Castriot* being notably encouraged by this fauour and good affection of his friends and subiects, and seeing them fully prest, and readie to march, he would not set forward, vntill he had in full counsell deliberated vppon his affaires, and that he had vsed some exhortation vnto his armie. Thus therefore, or the like in effect, he spake vnto them.

Musache de Angeline.

George and George Streeses.

Gyne Musache.

Musache de Thopy the husband of Mamisa.

Steuen Cernouiche the husband of Mara.

I see not here (braue Captaines and valiant souldiers) any new & vnexpected matter, nor more then I haue heretofore in my minde coniectured, or that my hopes did make promise of vnto me, as often as I called to mind the auncient worthinesse of this Nation, and your singular deuoire towardes my deceased father. For (be it spoken without presumption) of my selfe I neuer doubted but that I should alwayes retayne the same minde, and the selfe same loue and affection to my countrie: and that I should be alwaies of like courage for the recouerie of our publique libertie. In like manner your desires, your vowes, and your wishes were in effect together with mine ioyntly, but as one and the same thing. For manie times (whereof willingly and freely I doe delight to make often rehearsall) you did by all manners and meanes of affection and dutie conuite me vnto this charge whilest I was yet abiding about *Amurath*. Peraduenture in your opinion I might seeme to haue beene forgetfull of my countrie, to haue forgotten mine owne honour: and it might be, you thought me careless of our deliuerance and freedome, at such time as I sent you home to your houses charged with sorrow, without any certaine hope, without anie apparance or likelihoode of anie generous or honourable thought seene or discerned in me. Certainely (my good citizens) by that dissembled remissnesse and default of mine, I prouided both for your suretie and mine owne securitie: the estate of our affayres being then of that qualitie and disposition, as they required rather to be put in execution, then to be consulted on: besides that I haue in you a greater necessitie rather of a bridle to restraine you, then of spurres to pricke you on to the recouerie of your libertie. True it is that I concealed from you my deliberations, but the cause why I so long forbare to make knowen vnto you my readie will and affection, was: not for that I either suspected your loyaltie, or that I had not sufficient knowledge of your good hearts (for your selues were the first that entred into this dangerous course, and made me acquainted with the secrets of your thoughts) but that which turned and withdrew me from it, was the frailtie of mortall men, and the inconstancie of mens mindes: the which, as in all other actions

The oration of Scanderbeg to his souldiers.

» it is brittle, variable, and inconsiderate: so must it be drawen with force and vio-
» lence, and not guided by any gentle entreatie and vsage to seeke and purchase liber-
» tie. For it is in nothing stable and constant, neither doth it obserue any good or-
» der or direction, and if there fall out any the least occasion or opportunitie, which
» may giue any hope or plausibilitie for the purchasing thereof, or for the attempting of
» it onely: not a thousande swordes, not a million of perils, not manifest death and ap-
» parant hazard to loose both life and goods might haue diuerted and turned vs from
» our purpose. But after that the matter once in vaine attempted, had made knowen
» your endeuors, either must you haue endured a most cruell punishment, or a bondage
» farre more hard and intollerable, all hope had beene quite taken from you in time to
» come, and the oportunitie once let slippe had beene lost for euer after: so that this fact
» must haue bene enterprised once for all, and if it had not succeeded at the first, all future
» means to accomplish it had bene vtterly lost without any hope euer to returne againe.
» For this cause (I will speake it freely) hardly durst I trust my selse with my owne
» conceipt of my enterprise, neither could I thinke my selfe assured in that I had com-
» municated it to my owne thoughts: I mistrusted least my tongue, impatient of a
» case so important, should discouer it to the very walles of my priuate chamber, wit-
» nesse thereof is *Ameſe* my Nephewe, my chiefest friende and counsellour at that
» time, and the faithfull companion of my trauels, and some fewe besides him, whose
» faithfull and forward assistance and diligence did vs good seruice in the execution of
» this action. For albeit we liued together and familiarly (as it were) in one and the
» same course of life: though we did eate at one and the same table, and though wee
» did in a manner (as it were) breath ioyntly with one and the same soule: neuer-
» theleſſe, neither they nor any man aliue did euer heare me mindefull of my coun-
» trie, but onely in the warre of *Hungarie*: neither was there euer anie man that
» heard me vse any speech, or to vtter any one worde at any time, which might
» argue mee to be a Christian or free man, till such time as I sawe and perceiued
» that I might freelie doe it, and without all feare of daunger. Well therefore
» might you (O *Albanians*) haue sought and found out some other person (as this Pro-
» uince was neuer destitute of most excellent spirites) whome you might haue made
» the author of your libertie: and who might haue more aduanced your meanes and
» courages thereunto: but it pleased you, and it may be, God would haue it so, that you
» should attend this your deliuerance rather by me, though somewhat with the latest
» then to go seeke out others, or by your owne vertue to purchase and obtaine it. It
» was not any griefe vnto me, neither did the magnanimitie of my minde, albeit
» nourished to libertie, suppose the time any thing long or tedious, to be helde in so
» long subiection, and to haue my courage kept vnder by the villanous Barbarians: be-
» cause I did still liue in hope that you should one day see me in the state wherein I
» nowe am. But why doe I vnder your patience vsurpe vnto my selfe this name
» of a deliuerer? It is not I that haue brought hither libertie vnto you: but
» here haue I founde libertie, scarce had I set my foote within your countrie, scarce
» had your eares heard the founde of my name, but that all of you made haste to
» meete me: and you did in a maner contend who should be the formost to come vnto
» me, no otherwise then as if you had heard that your parents, your brethren, or your
» children had beene reuiued from death to life: and as if one had tolde you, that
» all the Gods had beene arriued amongest you, you did euen at the first preuent
» me with such a number of good and officious regardes, and you did surcharge me
» with so manie demonstrations and arguments of your exceeding ioy and gladnesse,
» that in my opinion, the seruitude and dutie wherein I stande bounden vnto you: is

no

no lesse then the libertie which I haue gotten and purchased by you. It is not I « that haue giuen you this Empire and Seigniorie, it is not I that haue giuen you « this citie, it is you that haue giuen it vnto mee: it was not I that did put armes « into your handes, I founde you readie in armes: I found you euerie where bea- « ring the shewe of libertie, in your hearts, in your countenance, in your swordes, « and in your launces: and (as most loyall tutors and gardians ordained by my fa- « ther, you haue put the Scepter into my hande with no lesse faith and diligence, then « as if you had kept and preserued it for me euen till this day: and you haue brought « me by your labour and carefulnesse into the possession of my auncestors without a- « ny effusion of bloud. Now therefore (in the name of God) doe you leade and con- « duct me to the recouerie of the rest which is yet remayning in the hande and posses- « sion of others. The greatest part, and in a manner the whole worke is already by you « accomplished: *Croy* is recouered, and the territorie thereof wholly reduced vnder our « obeisance: the *Dybrians* and all the people in generall are now vnited vnto vs, the « name of the enemy is banished and exiled out of the countrey, onely the townes and « strong holdes do rest vnsubdued. If I consider their discommodities, how al places are « either taken by vs, or besieged, and howe nothing is left them but the enclosures of « their walles; I haue hope of good successe: but if I contemplate the difficultie and « strength of the places, and the force of the garrisons placed in them by the Tyrant, « it behoueth vs either to vse some notable policie to surprise them, or singular resolu- « tion and obstinacie in forcing them. But hereof we shall better and more conueni- « ently both consult and determine, when we come vppon the place in the face of the « enemie, and our armes in hande, then nowe that we are absent, and our mindes al- « together doubtfull and vnresolued. Let vs then march on and aduance our ensignes « speedily, let vs take vnto vs the courages of conquerours: fortune shall seconde our « endeuours, which hitherto in all our actions and in all places hath singularly both « accompanied and followed vs. *Petrella* is the place wee must first set vppon, not « that the same is inferiour vnto others in the strength and naturall site thereof: « but for that (being neerer to this citie) I haue good hope that it will be the more « terrified by the fame and report of our good fortune which we haue had at *Croie*. « Manie are the spectacles which are presented before their eyes both of your valure, « and of their owne calamitie: it may happen that these thinges may somewhat « moue and appale them, but if the conceite of these will not make them to trem- « ble: that which shall be wanting, assuredly our owne resolution and obstinacie « must and shall supply. For this is one thing we must holde resolutely and to build « vppon; That if this place be not caried and if we come not therein to the ende « of our desires, we must neuer thinke to returne any more vnto our houses. Let « vs trie therefore by all meanes, by arte, cunning, and policie: by paines and trauaile, « by patience, by the sworde, and by golde and siluer, that by our successe in this, « we may finde the beginning and commencement of our good fortune: and we « may make it the first good signe and augurie of our victorie. If it please God « that we enter by force, we must remoue all pittie and compassion of these obsti- « nate Miscreantes, and wee ought rather to vse the victorie with all obstinacie « and seueritie, for the greater discouragement of those that shall rest vnsubdued. « If by composition and without bloud, wee can by any meanes gaine it, then is « it requisite, that wee carrie our selues towardes them in all courtesie, and vse « them friendly and fauourably both in generall and in particular: to the intent wee « may make others the more tractable, and keepe them from being too obstinate « and desperate. «

The siege of Petrella.

The modestie of *Scanderbeg* by this Oration was principally made knowen, and it was highly commended of all the armie, neither was his aduise and counsell in any point, either chaunged or ill accepted. *Moses* with three thousand horsemen, as vauntcurrers were sent before to *Petrella*, being followed neere at hande by *Castriot*, who led the residue of the forces. Some say that hee caried with him certaine ordinaunce founde within *Croy*, the sooner to astonishe those within the towne: But others doe affirme, that the whole seruice was enterprised and ended without anie helpe of artillerie at all. For my parte, if it be true as some saye, that he reconquered all his estate within the space of one moneth onely: hardly can I beleeue that hee would charge and trouble himselfe with such a trayne of cariages, especially in the winter, when all the wayes were so hard frozen, and so full of yse, that neither horse nor man could easily trauell, but with great difficultie: though they had beene little or nothing at all loaden and burdened. The armie of the *Albanoys* being arriued before the walles, and the companies quartered into diuerse partes, the towne was quickely enuironned to the most aduantage that might be deuised: the greater parte of their forces were lodged in *Tyranna* the greater, so named by reason of a lesser seated neere *Croye*, for that the place thereabouts seemed most conuenient and next at hande to encampe in. The besiegers and the besieged were both of one minde: neuertheless *Castriot* endeuoured first of all by faire and courteous speeches, and by great and large promises to sounde their determination: and hauing made choise of one of his owne companie, faithfull and expert in this facultie (and whome he had brought with him of the reliques of the warre of *Hungarie*, into *Epyre*,) hee sent him vnto the *Petrellians* to offer them ouer and aboue the safetie of their liues and baggage, anie other reasonable composition vpon condition that they would render vp the place: and in case they would abide with him, and exchaunge both their lawe, and their maister together: or if they had rather to returne to their owne Prince againe, that he should promise all of them good store of siluer, besides rich gifts vnto the Gouernour.

Tyranna the greater.

Composition offred to the garrison of Petrella.

This souldier being of a quicke spirite, and verie subtell, with speeches fite and appertinent to the purpose: finding this people alreadie enclyning to yeelde themselues, brought them to such reason as himselfe desired: and he tooke not the beginning of his perswasion concerning *Scanderbeg*: but in regarde of the mishappes and great businesse of *Amurath* vppon his discomfiture in *Hungarie*, and the conspiracie of the Christians against the Turkes: And then with a firme assurance he came to the instructions of his Captaine often times insinuating for a colour into the mindes of the hearers the prosperous fortune of the garrison of *Croye*, and the miserable condition of the others who laie dispersed throughout all the corners of the Prouince, and were left and abandoned for foode vnto Wolues and dogges in the open fieldes. The trueth of these perswasions beeing in parte heard, and in part seene with their owne eyes, they were soone and verie easily beleeued, and the conditions were accepted: that they should freely depart with their armes, bagge and baggage: as for other presentes they regarded not. The Gouernour therefore appointed certaine to treate with *Scanderbeg* vppon this point, and to ratifie the agreement with solemne oath. All matters beeing concluded and ended, the Barbarians departed: there was a newe garrison receiued within *Petrella*, and the Prince of *Albanie* being mindefull of his promise, after he had honoured and kindly entreated the enemies with good speeches, he furnished them with money, horse, and victuals, and after sent *Moses* with certaine horsemen

Petrella yeelded.

to

to conduct them to the frontiers of *Epyre*, for feare least they should suffer some outrage by meanes of secret ambushmentes or open violence on one side or other by his owne followers, as diuerse others had suffered the like vsage. Beholde nowe in the discourse of these affaires, howe the exceeding and wonderfull good fortune of this Chiefetaine doth bewray it selfe no lesse then his singular and excellent vertue: and as God did succour him in preseruing him from the traines of *Amurath*, when he abode with him; In likecase I may iustly averre, that at the verie time of his setling and reestablishment in his Signiorie, he did not onely fauour him, but did also fight for him. The towne of *Petrella*, though small in circuit, is notwithstanding inexpugnable by reason of her situation, both for the nature of the place, and the height of the mountaine, vppon the toppe whereof it is seated: besides it was aboundantly prouided of men, armes, and munition. Neuertheless in the winter time (being a verie hard and vnfit season for the siege of townes) it made so little resistance against him, that hee lost not in the winning thereof so much as one souldier, nor (as the common saying is) a worde waste or in vaine. Herein also haue we to commende his singular patience which stoode him to great purpose, and his bodily strength, which was hardened to all trauailes, besides the infatigable and vnwearied vigour of his spirite, whereby he executed all offices and dueties of charge, with great promptnesse and celeritie. But to the matter: The fortresse being regayned, and all thingrs necessarie ordayned and prouided, he made not anie abode there, not so much as a day, an houre, or anie moment of time: but at the verie instant trussing vppe his baggage, hee ledde his forces against the other townes so speedily, as though they had fledde away before him. All places were couered with snowe, the faces of his men were euen shronke with colde, their handes frozen, their bodies benummed and almost senseleese: yet would he suffer no man to enter into the towne sane onely the garrison, neither would himselfe set foote within it, to make others as it were ashamed by the example which himselfe gaue them. But one thing there is reported of him of farre greater maruell, which I may not suffer to be forgotten, and that is, that from the first day in which he entred into *Epyre*, euen to the perfect and full recouerie of his estate: it was neuer knowen that he slept at any time full two houres in a night, which may bee reputed a miracle proper to a bodie of some diuine nature, and to a supernaturall force and vigour. It may well be that he attayned to this patience of labour, and sufferance of hardnesse, by a custome in often watching, by daily exercise, and by the greatnesse of his forces. Some doe holde (which the auncients also did excuse in that great personage *Papirius Cursor*) that he was a great eater and drinker. His vse was in fight to combat with his arme bare and naked: and he tooke no care either of heate or colde: a thing (it may be thought) more marueilous then credible to all posteritie. But let vs nowe returne from whence we are digressed.

Scanderbeg most fortunate

The situation of Petrella.

The properties of Scanderbeg.

The next course taken was directly to *Petralba*, distant 30. miles from *Petrella*, and as much from *Croy*: and from *Petrella* to *Croy* was fiue and twentie miles. This castle is in *Emathia*, vpon the height of a mountaine, the which besides that it is of small entertainement, and not able to yeeld any great relieue or sustenance, can not be forced but by famine onely. Moreouer hauing the riuer of *Emathy* neere vnto it which washeth the foote of the mountaine; it is the cause that it yeeldeth vnto the place no lesse ornament and beautie, then defence and commoditie. No sooner had the souldiers planted their ensignes before this towne, but that those which helde it, did yeeld it vp by one of their companie, whom they sent purposely to *Scanderbeg*:

Petralba, and the description thereof.

and they had the like conditions graunted and accorded vnto them as had the *Petrellians*: and as inuiolablie were they obserued, certaine of the *Epyrots* being assigned them for a conuoy to their garrison at their dislodging from the towne against the violence of the countrie inhabitants. The towne being furnished with all things necessarie, scant had they any leasure to breath themselues, but that they marched on with the like heate and furie to *Stellusa*: being distant from *Petralba* fiue and twentie miles, from *Petrella* fortie, and from *Croy* fiftie, or thereabouts. This litle hamlet likewise, notwithstanding that it meriteth no great commendation for her greatnesse, yet may it with good right be accounted of, by reason of the naturall fortification, and the pleasantnes thereof, and the healthfulnes of the aire. In the plaine champion fields of *Armathia*, there runneth out a very high mountaine seated as if it had bene of purpose in the middest of a valley, the toppe of the same being excellently well enuironed with walles maketh this castle. In this place our *Epirots* being arriued about the sunne setting, nothing was done for that day, but they attended the day following. Early in the morning *Castriot* hauing sent his Heraulds to the besieged, they had nothing but wordes, neither was there any certaine answere giuen them: for the Barbarians being distracted into diuerse opinions, it litle wanted but that they had fallen into a mutinie by reason of the obstinacie or (to speake more properly) the firme resolution of the Gouernour; who contradicted the others, vpon the capitulation and agreement, perswading the multitude to stand to their defence. Notwithstanding being vanquished by the greater number, and yet not willing to accept the reasonable offers made him, he was in the end constrained to receiue a yoke farre more disgratious, vile & pitifull. For the souldiers being not able to disswade him by words, they led him bound and pinioned with others of his faction vnto *Scanderbeg*, and contenting themselues with the same conditions as the former, they deliuered the place into his handes. Vnto these more then to all the rest did the Christians in all friendly sort vse notable bountie and liberalitie. The greater sort of them by reason of their crime and treacherie committed against *Ottoman*, would not returne into their own countrie, but did still continue in that place: of whom some were baptised, and the residue were left to their owne libertie and discretion to vse their religion at their owne choice and pleasure: not any one of them wanting maintenance and entertainment of the publique and common charge.

Petralba yelded.

Stellusa and the description thereof.

Stellusa yelded vnto Scanderbeg by the garison, who sold their gouernour prisoner.

There remained yet vnrecouered the citie of *Sfetigrad*, the which in the Sclauonian language signifieth, the holy citie. Thither therefore without any stay made at *Stellusa*, the Prince of *Epyre* marched with his armie making all the speed that might be: this towne being seated in the vpper *Dibria* on the frontiers of *Albanie*, vppon an high mountaine (as we haue saide also of the former) and it stoode aloft and verie eminent as the nest of an Eagle, being well neere as great in compasse as *Stellusa*. All these places by vs before mentioned had not any founders of any great antiquitie: for those which the ancient kings of *Macedon* and *Epyre*, and other strange Princes had sometimes builded; as *Meandria*, *Heraclia*, *Togla*, *Nicopolis*, *Echina*, *Leucas* and certain others: they had bene destroyed and razed by the enemies of the Latines, or (as we may more fitly terme them) the firebrandes and plagues of mankinde, the *Gothes* and *Gallogretians*, at such time as they inuaded and ouerwhelmed the whole world. This was the reason that some of the inhabitants of the countrie, & the particular Lords of places long time after that being desirous to recule and reassemble in one the multitude most miserably dispersed, and to reduce it into some forme of a Prouince: for that they knewe it to be a matter of some difficultie to restore the reliques and ruines of those auncient townes; and if they were repayred, yet they would be neuertheles

Sfetigrad besieged.

Of the antiquitie and originall of the chiefe townes of Epyre.

still

ſtill ſubiect and expoſed to all calamities and iniuries of enemies to come, as they had bene in times paſt (they being for the moſt part ſeated in the plaine and open champion) they made choice therefore of the toppes of mountaines for their ſeates and dwellings, and there did they build theſe fortreſſes of ſo ſmall and litle compaſſe: both becauſe the ſite and platforme of the ſaid mountaines would not yeeld them any larger ſpace or circuit for their walles: and to the intent alſo they might the more eaſily be defended when any enemies ſhould come to aſſaile them. And although that *Croy* (as the capitall and chiefe citie of the realme) be farre more beautifull and larger, beyond all compariſon, then all the others: neuertheleſſe I find that he which founded it was one named *Charles*, a man rich and very wealthy, of the noble family of the *Theologes*, the which (at the ſame time that *Scanderbeg* did enioy the ſouereignitie of *Epyre*) had the Gouernment, ſeigniorie, and lordſhippe of *Semia* or *Scodra*, which is a part of the ſame Prouince ſufficiently famous and notable, and lyeth betweene *Tyranna* and *Durat*.

The founder of Croy.

Semia or Scodra.

Tyranna, Durat.

Aſſoone as *Caſtriot* was come in ſight of the enemie, after he had deuided his companies ech in his quarter, and that he had ſet good watch and ward on all partes of the campe, he demanded parley with them of the towne, and to prouoke them the more by examples, he made knowen and put them in mind from point to point of all that he had done at *Croia*, *Petrella*, *Petralba* & *Stellusa*: and chiefly of his liberalitie & gratious viſage, and entreatie of the garriſon of *Stellusa*: and on the other ſide of the captiuitie of the gouernor of that place: whom they ſhould ſhortly ſee executed with others that were likewiſe obſtinate. This meſſage did aſtoniſh euerie one of them, & aboue all, the captain of the garriſon: who hauing before his eyes the ſignes & markes of other mens fortunes, durſt not beginne to declare and open his aduiſe, nor yet to make anſwer to the enemie, miſtruſting the inconſtancie of the common multitude, and the mutable mindes of the popular ſort being for the moſt part nothing reſolute. Wherefore hauing honorably receiued and feaſted the Herauld: he addreſſed himſelfe to his ſouldiers with great modeſtie and beganne thus to ſpeake vnto them. How thinke you valiant men & faithful ſouldiers? or what ſhall we ſay to this ambaſſade of our enemy? Then one of the ſtanders by (wel perceiuing the intent and meaning of the Gouernor by his ſpeeches) with his ſword drawen, and ſhaking it aloft as he held it in his hande: Captaine (quoth he) ſeeing thou doeſt terme vs valiant and faithfull: and doeſt repute *Scanderbeg* for our enemie: this my ſword ſhall make anſwere for vs all. What reaſon hath any man to alleadge here vnto vs ſo preciſely & expreſly that which hath paſſed at *Croy* and at *Stellusa*? do they thinke thereby to feare and terrifie the courage of men free and reſolute? As great diuerſitie as there is in the countenances of men, and as different as are their viſages: ſo great varietie is there in the habilitie and dexteritie of their ſpirites. Ech man is wiſe to himſelfe: or ech man is fooliſh in his owne actions. Neither the Petrellians, nor the Stellusians receiued any lawes of vs, nor were they commaunded by vs: no more ſhall they commaund or preſcribe lawes vnto vs. Let vs take heed that the examples of theſe ſlaues ſo baſe & infamous do not any way enter into our harts ſo valiant and generous. Courageous mindes do highly diſdaine, not onely in caſes that are ſhamefull and reproachfull, but euen in honeſt actions, to imitate the deedes of other perſons: but ech man liueth after his owne guiſe and diſpoſition. Let it be that the Gouernor of *Stellusa* ſhould be ſacrificed before our eyes, and that his companions ſhould be likewiſe maſſacred: what, do you thinke that we alſo ſhall die in their bodies? or that our ſpirits ſhall be extinguiſhed in theirs? or is it likely that our blood can be ſpilt in the? O moſt happy rather are thoſe bodies, & moſt venerable are their ſoules, who of an excellent deſire and affection to keepe their faith

Sfetigrad ſummoned by Scanderbeg.

The oration of a common ſouldier to the garriſon of Sfetygrad perſwading them to hold good against Scanderbeg.

» and their libertie, haue equally contemned both gold, siluer, the sword, and all things » else which the wretched nature and condition of mankind doth either affect or is af- » fraid of. Returne therfore messenger backe againe to our enemie, and carrie this mes- » sage to thy Generall from a priuate souldier: tell him, That if this be his intention, to » impose vpon vs any termes of commaund, let him shew vs the strength of his arme » which as yet by men of courage is nothing feared nor redoubted: it may be that if god » be not for vs, he may by force bring vs in subiection: but by perswasions of good » words to draw vs thereunto I am sure he shal neuer do it. Moreouer it seemeth in this » case that your *Scanderbeg* is not the man he is reported to be, namely: of a spirit gentle » and courteous, readie to pardon, and no lesse iust to his enemies then to his owne. For » wherfore then is the gouernor of *Stellusa* detained prisoner? who for his king, for his » faith, for his libertie: freelie, valiantly, iustly, and as became an honest man hath deli- » uered his mind and opinion? wherfore is he reserued to be butchered by the hands of » the executioner? he hath not deserued to be put to the sword nor to suffer death: who » so honorably hath neglected his owne safetie, and sought the hazard of death for the » preseruation of his libertie. The souldier was heard with great admiration of all of them without the interruption of any person, till he had ended his speech of his owne accord and disposition. Incontinently there beganne a great tumult of infinite peo- ple assembled round about him, clattering their swordes and bucklers together with great noise: and after this signe and token followed a mightie clamor of such as did a- low and approue his discourse. The Turks Gouernor being the better assured and en- couraged to see his souldiers so well resolued, licenced the Christian Ambassador to depart: and at the same instant bending all his care and studie to prouide for the sure and safe keeping of the towne, he commanded his souldiers to withdraw themselues euerie one to his place, and where his dcuoyre did call him. And although order had bene taken before in manie pointes for the defence of the wall: he altered notwith- standing the whole order and course thereof, and disposed otherwise of it, either aug- menting or changing things as neede required. Besides in the middest of his prepara- tions he would euer and among vse exhortations and good encouragements: telling them, That they now gaue manifest proofe and shew of that wherof himself had euer conceiued a certaine hope and assurance: that the examples of other places which had so faintly & so cowardly yeelded their necks to the yoke of the enemie ought so much the more to increase their constancy and perseuerance: that they should thinke vpon the great rewards and recompence prepared for them by *Amurath*, if that they alone » in all *Epire*, and in the middest of the disloialtie and treacherie of all others, did man- » fully stand to the defence of the name, the libertie, and the empire of the *Ottomans*. On » the other side if want of courage or cowardise should carrie them from regard of their » dutie, they should haue iust occasion to expect from him farre more rigorous and hard » intreatie then those of *Petrella* or *Stellusa*: for that the infidelitie of the others was in » apparance more excusable, because they seeing thēselues besieged, & on all parts hard » beset by the enemie, and in the very hart of the enemies countrie, seemed to be euen » forced to render themselues: whereas they, being but vpon the limits and frontiers of » the enemies dominions, & being couered & protected with a place of greater strēgth » and inpregnable, could not alleage those vaine excuses and faint pretences: especially » for that euen in an instant they might haue succours from their Prince, wherwith to » make their enemies forsake & raise their siege. A further cōfort he gaue thē in this also, » that the winter (an vnfit season to beleager any place) would make their trauels but » short & of small continuance, for that he firmly beleeued, whē the enemies should haue » notice of their last resolution, they would not in hast make any attempt against them,

The Gouernor of Sferigrade encourageth his souldiers, seing them resolute to stand to their defence.

nor be so fooliſh hardy as to thinke to force their walles, but would retire themſelues incontinently.

To theſe perſwaſions be added a deed of no leſſe prudence and policie, and that was (for feare of ſome treacherous mutinie and conſpiracie) to put out of the towne all the Chriſtians and ancient Citizens: of whom diuerſe had bene ſuffred to remaine both there and in other townes by the *Sultan*, who had appointed the ſuburbes for them to lodge in. Theſe things thus prepared and diſpoſed, they within the towne did reſolutely attend the enemie. Whileſt theſe things were in doing, *Scanderbeg* hauing intelligence of the anſwer of the defendants, and the artificiall oration of the ſouldier, ſmiling at the conceipt which he had propounded, he ieaſted at it in theſe termes. Behold (ſayed he a braue ſouldier if his deedes be anſwerable to his wordes: but God willing we will ſend him alſo to keepe companie with thoſe happie ſoules of the *Stellusians*. This ſaid, he cauſed the Gouernour and other priſoners to be brought before him, vnto whom, preſenting the image of the crucifix, ſome were conuerted: *Deſdrot* and the reſidue were executed. When they came to conſultation concerning the aſſailing of the towne, there were three ſeuerall opinions ech differing from other. The firſt was, that there ought not anie attempt to be made at that time againſt the citie; for that all places were couered with froſt & ſnowe in ſuch ſort that it made the mountains inacceſſible, the ſouldier being hardly able to keepe his footing: for which cauſe, they held it much better to deferre the ſiege till the ſpring, by reaſon of the difficulties of the winter. Others were of the minde that choice ſhould be made of the beſt and moſt picked ſouldiers; that ſcaling ladders, artillerie, and ſuch like inſtrumentes of aſſault ſhould be prouided, and that the obſtinacie of the defendants ſhould be encountred with the like in the aſſailants: and that they ought not to take any further time of breathing or delay vpon the matter: after the manner of ſmall and fillie birdes, who vſe to attend the pleaſantneſſe and temperature of the ſpring tide: that they ought in any caſe to beware how they did giue time to the enemie wherby they might be ſuccoured and relieued by *Amurath*. But *Moſes* (folowing the middle way & a meane courſe betweene both the one and the other of theſe opinions) did conclude, that neither ought they to attempt the aſſault of the towne, nor yet to quit and abandon the ſiege: and that this was to be done in an other manner and faſhion then they had aduiſed, and that was, that thoſe forces (which they were to entertaine and to keepe in a readines vpon the borders for other accidents and occurrencies, might alſo ſerue and commodiouſly ſupplie the neceſſities and wants of the campe: ſo as the ſiege neede not altogether to be broken vp, but they might in the meane time hold the enemie ſhut vp within their hold: and ſo by litle and litle prolong the ſeruice to a time of more oportunitie, and ſo ſhould they take from them all leiſure and meanes to take ſpirit and courage vnto themſelues. This opinion being ſo indifferent was generally approued, and the execution thereof committed vnto the author thereof by *Scanderbeg*, who cauſed to come thither the regiment of two thouſand horſe (which was not farre off) all well appoinſted and verie willing to the ſeruice: and he adioined vnto them another thouſand, leauing *Moſes* with all theſe forces to continue there before the fortreſſe. The reſidue of the armie with enſignes diſplayed retired to *Croie*: there alſo a councell being held, the opinions were verie different touching the ſum and principall point of the whole warre; the moſt of them being verie vnwilling and greatly grieued and diſcontented to quitte and leaue their armes, but did perſwad him to follow the victorie, and to inuade the enemies countrie, and to winne ſomething from the *Ottoman* Empire. Others did alleadge the time ſo contrarie: the ſnowe, yce, and raynie weather ſo vnpleaſant and wearieſome, that hardly could the

The gouernour of Sfetigrade patteth all the Chriſtians out of the towne.

Deſdrot the Gouernor of Stellusa executed.

Diuerſity of opinions touching the ſiege of Sfetigrade.

Moſes left to keepe the ſiege of Sfetigrade.

ſouldiers endure them, and therewithall the fieldes all parched and dried vp with extreame colde ſo as they would not be able to yeeld them any food or paſture for their horſes. *Caſtriot* aſſenting vnto this latter opinion, to the intent they ſhould ſee how he tendered the ſafetie and good of his ſouldiers, and that during the time of this delaie he might the better intend to the fortifying of the countrey which he had conquered, licenſed all men to depart hauing firſt rendred thanks vnto his ſouldiers in this or the like language:

The oration of Scanderbeg vnto his Chieftaines and ſouldiers.

I know not (my companions) whether I ſhould firſt or laſt praiſe and commend in you your vertue or your good fortune: this latter hath bene ſtirred vp by the former, and the former hath ſuccoured & furthered the latter, and by her induſtrie and celerity (a thing in warfare verie requiſite) hath made your counſels and your endeuors all one and equall. For this cauſe, I haue conceiued a moſt aſſured hope and preſage of the future renowme and glorious name of *Albanie*, and of your honour and reputation. What is there wherein fortune can hereafter refuſe vs? what is there but your patience will ſurmount and compaſſe? It is yet ſcant the thirteth day ſince that I (full of doubt and vncertaintie, and almoſt as one forgotten or vnknowen, by reaſon of my long abſence and pilgrimage) did happily arriue and ſet foote in this my natiue countrie poſſeſſed with infidels and miſcreants: of whom (*Sfetigrad* excepted) there is not nowe remaining in this prouince, neither the name, nor (if I may ſo ſpeake) not ſo much as the ſmell or odour. It is God to whom firſt and before all we ought to render thankes, that had ſo blinded the eyes, and ſhut vp the vnderſtanding of our aduerſaries, cauſing them to deliuer into our hands the poſſeſſion of ſo goodly and ſtrong forteſſes without any ſlaughter and blooſhed: next of all, your painfull patience and ſufferance hath merited great praiſe and commendations, which hath deſpiſed ſo many diſcommodities preſenting themſelues before you, as the menaces of the heauens, and the iniurie and roughnes of the winter, and yet without turning your faces either one way or other, till ſuch time as your noble thoughts and deſires long ſince conceiued in your hartes were fully ſatisfied and contented. I do well like and allowe your willing mindes on both parties, as well thoſe who iudge it needfull to purſue our victory, as thoſe alſo who thinke it good for a while to deferre our proceedings. For albeit there be nothing that ſhould ſtay the man that is magnanimious and valiant, but that vertue is accuſtomed to make her ſelfe wayes through fire and water (as the ſaying is) and through all places how ſoeuer vnacceſſible: notwithſtanding ſo long as no inconuenience do happen vs by our delay, you may well (without any wrong to your ſelues) haue a care to your bodies, and to conſider that they are made of no other then a humaine conſtitution. Retire you therefore victorious in a good and happie houre to breath and refreſh your ſelues: ſo ſhall you returne more gallant, ſtrong, and luſty, in a ſeaſon more temperate, to newe ſeruices and expeditions: then ſhall all of you haue the free vſe and your full of warres, of labours and trauels: then ſhall you finde a continuall emploiment in armes: then ſhall you receiue largely the paye and wages which you haue nowe ſo well deſerued. For if *Ottoman* ſit ſtill and doe ſuffer vs, to wage warre without diſturbance (as we haue begun alreadie) then will we ouerrun, ſacke, burne the tirant his countrie, and aſſay vpon ſome of the neighbour-garriſons: if we can get to be maſters of them. But if the *Sultan* (which I thinke moſt likely) doe proclaime warre againſt vs, we will then aduiſe our ſelues in the field by the countenance of the enemie, how and in what manner we are to proceede, and to demeane our ſelues againſt him. Neuertheles how ſoeuer we haue occaſion of ſeruice elswhere, it will behoue vs to giue the firſt attempt againſt *Sfetigrad*, and there to employ and bend our firſt forces: For I hold it no leſſe ignominious then vnſufferable, that the

infidels

infidels should continue there seiled and vnremoued to the great reproch & dishonor of the *Epirots*. But it is necessarie at this time, that we temporise for a season, for feare least in attempting with too great obstinacie the destruction and ruine of *Sfetigrade*: if the action should fall out to be vaine, & our attempt frustrate; we should retire with shame as ouercome and vanquished, and the enemie growing insolent would learne in a small time to contemne and despise our forces: and so should we haue to contend not against men onely, but euen against the heauens. I haue heard some ancient Captaines highly blamed, who by imprudence and want of experience in the arte military haue lost goodly armies, more by the discommodities of things then by the sword & force of the enemie. But beside all this, we haue the feast of the natiuitie of Christ our sauiour now at hand, & I am not of the mind that any thing should be enterprised during these festiual daies, nor that we ought to depriue any of life in a time wherein we our selues haue receiued life, & were brought vnto the light, but rather by our vowes and daily prayers (I may often repeat it) let vs yeeld thanks vnto God in all respectes for our liberty, for our estate and empire, for our wiues, for our children, for our selues recouered & freed from the bondage of our enemies. For my part (my good friends) if there be any thing wherein I am not able to be thankfull: I protest vnto you it is principally in that you haue brought me these excellent gages of so many gallant youthes, and haue honored me with the presence of so many valiant & braue Captains, whose companie is very agreeable and acceptable vnto me. My minde doth promise it selfe great matters, and all great good hap by the aide and assistance of such leaders. It is they who will giue me the meanes, themselues will giue me the matter and occasion whereby one day I shall be able to be thankefull vnto you according to the worthines of your deserts. At this time if there be any thing which may purchase you honor or reputation: speake it freely, vtter your thoughts and open your minds vnto me. For I assure you the acknowledgement of the greatnesse of your seruices, whereby I am bound vnto you, shall neuer faile nor be wanting in me.

The meaner sort of people, and some also of good qualitie, became so audatious by reason of this speech, & so shamlesse, that (as if they had feared least one of them should haue stepped before the other to make their demaundes) flocking together in great troupes, and pressing neere about him very rudely: they were not ashamed to make diuerse requests vnto him according to their seuerall humors & affections, some crauing to haue the pay of horsemen, some of footmen. Others desired money & horses: and some desired rents, reuenues & liuings: and many who vpon the change of the estate, had bene spoiled of their patrimony by the Turkes to giue it vnto others, were importunate to be restored vnto their possessions. That which could conueniently be done & without contention was liberally granted them: the rest which could not be without the iniurie of some other, was referred till some further oportunitie. The Captaines being dismissed, & *Scanderbeg* being entred into the towne with his own traine (for that there were many which followed him, especially his Nephewes and the Princes of his bloud.) The first thing that he did was, to cause to be enrolled and admitted into the communion of the Christian faith, by the Sacrament of holy Baptisme, *Amese* & some other of his companions, who came with him from *Hungarie*, and a great multitude also of Turkes, which were yet remaining at *Croy* and at other places: the same hauing bene before left vndone for the hast which they had to prosecute the warre. The solemnitie hereof being ioyned with the feast of Christmas, was celebrated with great ioy for many daies together. The inhabitants of the country both in publique & in priuate did send him according to the custome, many presents. Likewise the Princes his neighbors as they had of late presented him with many cō-

Amese and other of his companions Baptised.

uenient gifts fit for the warres, ſo did they now giue him the like of ſundry ſorts and kinds as fit ornaments for the time of peace and publique tranquilitie: namely, rich furniture, and othet pretious ſtuffe for houſhold: knowing well that in that eſtate of his affaires, and in the time of warrelike tumults, he had brought nothing with him but his armes.

The Turkes in Epire aſſemble in armes againſt Moſes.

This reſt did not *Caſtriot* inioy any time of long continuance, for euen in the chiefeſt time of the feaſt, & in their greateſt mirth: behold there came newes on a ſudden from *Moſes*, how that the Turks of that prouince which had fled into the places next adioining with a great troupe of their confederats & no ſmall number of the common ſort gathered together, were comming with all ſpeede poſſible to ſurpriſe him. Vpon this occaſiõ *Scanderbeg* himſelf haſtned preſently away, becauſe if it ſhould happen that he going before ſhould be drawn far off by the enemy, he feared leaſt either he ſhould be conſtrained to leaue & abondon the enterpriſe of *Sfetigrade*: or if he did determine to hazard the fight before the wals, he might be incloſed in the midſt betweene them and thoſe of the town. But ſee now the occaſion of al this tumult: theſe reliques of the *Turks* which were eſcaped out of the hands of our men, namely the garriſõs of *Petrella*, *Stelluſa*, & *Petralba*, (after that accident was paſt) perceiuing now by a kind of quietnes & delay, that all troubles of war did ſeeme to be laid aſide, & (as it were) aſleepe: and that *Scanderbeg* hauing broken vp his camp did keep his winter at *Croy*: & that *Moſes* with his troupes did abide both for the gard of the frontiers and the ſiege of *Sfetigrad*: they reallied & aſſembled themſelues together neare *Alchria* (a litle towne vnder the obeiſance of *Ottoman* in *Macedony*) and there hauing rayſed a great number of others, they tooke their way with great ſpeed directly towards *Sfetigrade*, pricked forward aſwell with a deſire of reuenge, as alſo to aboliſh towards their lord and maſter by ſome memorable act, their former default, & the ignominy of their forepaſſed infidelity. Now albeit the prince of *Albany* did not much trouble himſelfe with this rumour, not beleeuing that a number of ſuch raskals could or durſt be ſo hardie as to enter within his borders: notwithſtanding to the intent he might not (at his firſt comming to the crown) cõmit any act or make any ſhew of negligence, nor be ſeene to abandon *Moſes* in time of need, he mounted ſuddenly on horſebacke accompanied with thoſe who were with him at the feaſt, & about one hundred horſemen of the towne, & ſo went on to ſuppreſſe the ſuſpition of that danger which was thẽ in growing & beginning. But the matter fell not out to be ſuch as needed either much to be doubted or any great haſt or expedition to be made in it. For aſſoone as theſe gallants perceiued *Caſtriot* to approch, like as they did at the firſt ſet forward and aduance theſelues in feare and doubt, ſo being as ſoone and eaſily chaſed away and driuen backe, ſcant did they leaue any token or appearance of their tract or footſteps where they had paſſed. This their folly notwithſtanding procured them great miſchiefe. For the Duke of *Albany* being incenſed in that they (hauing bene the cauſers of this his iorney & diſturbance) had by their ſodaine retreate robbed and depriued him of ſo fit matter and occaſion to purchaſe honor & commendation, with a thouſand horſe which he tooke of the garriſon with *Moſes*, he made a rode ouer all the countrie, and ſuppoſing by this dãmage, that he ſhould draw forth the enemie and bring them to fight: he ran here and there courſing and beating the champion & plaine countrey: and like a mighty floud and deluge that ouerwhelmeth all things, he deſtroyed, haried, and ſpoyled all things and made an exceeding hauock in al places, in ſuch ſort, that alluring & delighting the ſouldiers by the ſweetnes of prey and booty, he largely prouided and furniſhed them both with victuals and munition for the reſidue of all the winter.

Which is Pharſalia, famous by the ouerthrow of th great Pompey.

The Turkes are chaſed away by the comming of Scanderbeg.

Scanderbeg maketh a road into the Turkiſh borders.

The end of the firſt Booke.

THE

THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE FAMOVS ACTES OF GEORGE CASTRIOT, SVRNAMED *SCANDERBEG.*

The Argvment.

AMurath might ilie perplexed vpon the reuolt of Scanderbeg, and the ouerthrow of his Armie, concludeth a peace with the Hungarians: and reſtoreth Miſia to the Deſpot. Scanderbeg enlargeth his conqueſts and dominions, and preparing for warres againſt the Turkes, confederateth him ſelfe with his neighbours. The princes of Epyre aſſemble in a generall counſell and Parliament at Liſſa, they elect Scanderbeg both king of Epyre, and chiefe Generall of their forces. Sfetigrade is yeelded to Moſes vpon compoſition. Halie Baſſa is ſent with an army of 40000. Turkes againſt Scanderbeg: who meeteth with him, ouercommeth him in a ſet battell, and then ouerrunneth and ſpoileth the Turkish Territories. The peace concluded between Amurath and the Hungarians is broken by the perſwaſions of Iulian the Cardinal & Popes legat, who cauſeth the king of Hungarie and the Chriſtians, to enter into league againſt the Turkes. The Nauy of the Chriſtians ſeize vpon the paſſages of the ſea of Helleſpont, to keepe Amurath from comming into Europe, who is buſied in warres in Aſia againſt the king of Caramania or Cilicia. Vladiſlaus writeth vnto Scanderbeg, to ioine with him in that warre againſt Amurath. Scanderbeg marcheth with an Army of 30000. to ioine with the Hungarians, but is hindered by the treſcherie of the Deſpot of Miſia. Amurath hauing corrupted certaine marchants Genowaies for money to tranſport his Army out of Aſia, paſſeth ouer into Europe, and marcheth againſt the Chriſtians, who encounter him neare Varna. The famous battell of Varna betweene Vladiſlaus and Amurath: wherein Vladiſlaus is ſlaine, the Chriſtians diſcomfited, and Amurath obtaineth a bloudy victory. Scanderbeg hauing burnt and ſpoiled Miſia in reuenge of the Deſpot his infidelity, returneth with his Army into Albany.

NOw that we are come to the end of domeſticall matters, it is requiſit that we returne to forraine affaires. When *Ottoman* was certified by true and certaine meſſages of the eſtate of *Hungary*, & how matters had paſſed in thoſe quarters, albeit Fame (which commonly is then moſt ſwift and ſpeedy when it bringeth the report of ſome miſhappe and miſaduenture) had before filled all places with the vncertaine rumour and tumult of feare and ſorrow, yet when he knew that the *Baſſa* was defeated by the cunning & ſleight of *Scanderbeg*, that his Army was diſcomfited, that there was ſcant left any one remaining: and that the other was eſcaped ſafe and ſound from the battel with *Ameſe* and others his complices and adherents, and had ſodainely poſſeſſed himſelfe of *Epyre*; *Amurath* I ſay, being touched to the quick, with deepe & extreme griefe for ſo ſorrowfull and heauy newes, was deſirous by ready & diligent ſearch & enquiry, to be enformed at large

of the discourse of the whole action, and of the reuolt of the *Albanois*, and aboue all of that subtell and wily deuise, whereby hee had gotten the false letters from the Secretary (for this no more then the residue) could be long concealed from him. The maruell and astonishment of a deede so audacious and desperate, and of a mischiefe, as it fell out, so sodaine and vnexpected, did so binde vp the vse of his tongue, and represſed his speech within him, that he was not able to speake any one word. Notwithstanding after a while, the passion being somewhat moderated, and comming to disgorge it selfe, and to breake forth in words and speaches: sometimes with threates and menaces, and sometimes with complaints and exclamations, he did digest and swallow vp with all possible and continuall vehemency this his wrath and indignation. Sometimes he would call him vngratefull *Scanderbeg*, sometimes wicked and lewd *Scanderbeg*: then would he reproach and obiect vnto him, that hee had

Amurath mightily perplexed vpon the reuolt of Scanderbeg.

„ now vomited forth the venome which had laine so long hidden in his stomacke,
„ that he would long before haue done the like, if he had had any oportunity and fit occasion for a counsell so furious and execrable, but that now he had espied the time
„ to accompliſh his wicked and vnhappy enterprise with most security and impunity:
„ euen in the middest of his most vrgent affaires, and when he saw him busied with
„ matters of greatest waight and consequence, whereof had ensued this his desaster and inconuenience in *Hungary*. Againe, at other times the subtill and cautelous tyraunt, to the intent himselfe might be the more pleasing, & better thought of by his subiects, and the other more odious and hatefull vnto them, woulde openly question and de-
„ mand with him self, what reason although (said he) there be no reason for a man to do
„ euil, should moue *Scanderbeg* to commit a crime so hainous and of such impiety? con-
„ sidering that being with him he was become great, and not inferiour to any both in
„ wealth and authority: and did as farre as his heart could wish, enioy the full con-
„ tentment of all things, which the couetous and vnstable minde of man could ima-
„ gine to clime and mount to, the supreme and highest degree of honour, as well in
„ warre as in peace. That there was neuer any straunger which had receiued so good
„ entertainement and nouriture in his Court, neither had the vertue of any Alien bene so highly recompenced and so honourably rewarded. Againe in one and the same instant faining and dissembling to the vtmoste of his power, and extreame discontent-
„ ment and impatiency of griefe and sorrow, hee would exalt the loialty of his prin-
„ ces and nobles, and would often exclaime, and with a loud voice affirme, that this
„ notwithstanding was a great good hap and benefit both for him and for the *Ottoman*
„ Empire, to see himselfe freed and discharged from so waighty a burthen as is domesti-
„ call fraud and treason: that it might be, he should haue bene surprised with some o-
„ ther poyson farre more daungerous, and with some mischiefe of greater dammage
„ and inconuenience, if this plague should haue beene suffered to grow or to continue
„ in his house any longer time: that nothing should now trouble his minde, and for
„ this fact, hee doubted not but it would aske vengeaunce both of God and man:
„ it being vnpossible that he should suffer such a crime to remaine vnpunished, by
„ which, contrary to all right and equity, with so wicked and lewd a minde, he hadde
„ giuen that victory to the Christians in *Hungarie*. For if he had had any cause or
„ occasion of reuenge against him, or any colour or pretence of iust discontentment,
„ for the detayning of his patrimony from him, and the inheritaunce of his fathers
„ kingdome: what could his Army doe to that, which with all horrour and cru-
„ elty he had brought to the Butchery, and had made it neither more nor lesse, then
„ as a sacrifice to the enemies? What hadde the innocent bloud of his subiectes de-
„ serued? And in briefe the poore Secretary, whereof was he guilty that he might

not

not escape the handes of this bloudy tormentor.

With such like discourses did the *Sultan* enflame the hearts of the Barbarians, who were already of them selues sufficiently animated against him. But nowe tidings being brought one still vppon an other from the partes of *Egypt*, it did more violentlie aggrauate and exasperate his sorrow at such time as it was tolde him that *Croie* was taken by *Scanderbeg*, that he was possessed of the other places and strong holdes of like waight and consequence, that the garrisons were slaine and destroyed, and in briefe, that the whole estate of his auncestours was remitted and reduced vnder his power and gouernment, with the incredible fauour and good liking of all the nation. Now albeit these matters went neare the heart of *Ottoman*, and did extreamely grieue him; yet hauing in a manner put all other things out of his minde, he bent and conuerted all his thoughtes to the warre of *Hungarie*. There was not any other matter or subiect of quarrell or enmity thought on, but that onely was it which all men did aduise him to prosecute: and which both the desire of euery man in particular, and the publique vowes and prayers of all in generall did earnestly long and wishe for. Yet did the diuerse and variable opinions of the greatest Captaines, hold the minde of the old man in some doubt and suspence: some of them who would not be perswaded there was any daunger, till such time as they should see all subdued by *Scanderbeg*, were of this minde, that it was best to marche with all their forces against the Hungarians, and that they ought not by faintnesse and cowardise to leaue the euent and triumph of all the warre, vnto those who hadde vanquished and were conquerours but in part onely: and yet that neither had they hadde that aduantage and victory of their fellowes, but onely by the treason and fellony of his owne followers. Furthermore that there was a great difference and no comparison to be made betweene the force of one Bassa, with a few vauntcurrers of some twenty thousand, in regard of all the puissaunce of *Ottoman*, and of the flower of *Asia* and *Europe*, and the huge forces which the *Sultan* hadde for the guard of his person, that these were not vsed nor accustomed to be ouercome and conquered. But others who did feare some greater ruine and mischiefe, were of a contrary aduise and opinion: affirming, that by how much the more the former did excuse the misfortune of the Bassa, laying it vppon the disloyaltie of *Scanderbeg*: so much the more was hee to be blamed in regard of the small number of the enemies; for that *Huniades* with lesse then the moity and one halfe of their number, and without any bloud of his souldiours, had giuen them so grieuous a checke and discomfiture. And whereas they compared the Bassa his forces, to the royall army, and the greatnesse of the imperiall hoast which they commended so highly: these on the contrary did alleadge and willed them to consider, the greatnesse of the power of *Vladislaus*, with the renowme of all *Hungarie* and *Poland*, besides the succours of the Italians guyded and conducted by *Iulian* the legate Apostolique, and the strength and forces of the Almaines: all which hadde not as yet any thing entermedled in this warre, but in very great deuotion did attend the occasion to enter into this warre with their vtmost power and ability. Besides that, the Christians would not now in time of neede and extremity, leaue or forsake the *Despot*, whose cause they had already so fauoured and vnderraken, till such time as they had fully enstalled and settled him in the seate of his auncestors. And last of all, that *Scanderbeg* who had newly declared him selfe for their enemy, was not to be despised and contemned, that there was none of them but knew very well of what and how great spirite and courage the man was, and with what good fortune (besides his singular experience in the warres) he was euer accompanied. That hauing

Amurath consulteth with his chiefetaines, whether it were more expedient to warr vpon Scanderbeg and the Epirots, or vpon the Hungarians.

in a moment extinguished the name of his aduersaries, he was now reentred and repossessed of al the estate of his father, without any charge or losse sustained: then what would hee doe hereafter when he had settled and assured the affaires of his Realme, and gained the hearts and good willes of his subiects? That it was not to be doubted but he would stirre vp all Princes Christian to enter into Armes, and would spare no trauels, dangers, nor watchfull labours to exhort and wring from him daily, some part or peece of his Empire. That it would argue great simplicity in the middest of so many enemies, both before and behinde and on all sides, and in the middest of so many forces, to looke for any other, then a very bad and most vnfortunate issue. The wisest way therefore and most expedient was, for once to yeelde vnto Fortune, for feare least shee did often triumphe ouer them, and to discouer and lay open vnto her one part of their body, for the better couering and safety of that which was most subiect and exposed to her violence and assaults. That warres are guided rather by time, then by force of armes, that they ought not to take it grieuously to render *Misia* vnto the *Despot*, to the intent they might by that meanes purchase a litle leisure, and (as it were) a time of breathing from so many losses and dammages sustained by the wars. But why should they speake of rendring *Misia*, when indeede it would be but lent him for a season? For at any time they might take it backe againe, and with more ease and facility, then it should be yeelded or giuen vnto them.

Amurath resolueth and concludeth a peace with the Hungarians.

These considerations did greatly induce *Amurath*, being before in doubt and vncertainety, to allow of this aduise and to doe thereafter. Notwithstanding fearing to be noted of pusillanimity and basenes of courage, if he should so soone and easily condiscend to this opinion: after he had precisely debated and discussed many reasons and arguments both on the one part and the other; in the end he yeelded, and (as it were) by a kind of constraint subscribed to this last conclusion. There was sent therefore an ambassage to the Hungarians with offers of *Misia* vnto the Christians, and of truce for ten yeares, according as themselues had demanded. *Huniades* who by reason of the weakenes and infirmity of the others, was in a manner left alone to mannage all the affaires both of peace and of war, perceiuing his troupes to be vnfit for the warres, did not refuse nor prolong the conditions offered by the Turks. There be some notwithstanding who affirm, that that great lord & fauorit of *Amurath* who (as we haue said) was taken prisoner by *Iancus*, besides, the summe of 40000. crowns agreed vpon for his ransome, had aduised to demaund *Misia* of the *Sultan*, assuring him that he would not refuse to grant any thing, by reason of the discomfiture & ouerthrow of his *Bassa*. This being an especiall proofe thereof, because in the preparation of his prouisions for the wars, this word had escaped from him amongst his familiars, that he would accord with the Christians, the which he did accordingly with the ambassadours, whom *Huniades* sent vnto him for the conclusion & ratificatiō of the agrement. Certaine it is (as some say) that *Amurath* hauing had perfect notice afterwardes, of the pitifull estate of our forces, it litle wanted but he had run mad for rage and anger: and he tooke such an extreame griefe thereat, that with the teares euen trickling downe his cheekes, he lamented that a victory so certaine and assured, through a vaine and foolish feare should escape him, and be taken out of his handes.

Misia restored to the Despot by Amurath.

Out of *Albany* all this while there came no new tidings, but onely of certaine roades and false alarmes made vppon the confines of the Turkish Empire, by occasion whereof, *Ottoman*, both for the discommodity of the winter, and because he had not yet well digested in his hart the peace of *Hungary*, who (as it was reported) were daily as yet in armes, till the *Despotte* were fully and entirely established in his estate, did put ouer the affaires of *Epyre* to another time of more opportunity, and caried himselfe

him selfe according to the time. For he was so extreamely perplexed and troubled in his thoughts, as he would daily walke vp and downe by himselfe alone, imagining & deuising from day to day vppon the variety and diuersity of the causes and reasons which brought vpon him, and continued these new impediments and hinderaunces one after an other, to the great good, welfare, and encrease of the Christians affaires. The which (God be praised) did daily grow better and better and were in good rest and happy estate. For this is a thing most assured, that the roughnesse and intemperancy of the cold and frosty weather, and the doubtfull faith of the Hungarians, did at that time yeelde our people great matter and cause of quiet. But the affaires of *Misia* being now compounded and settled by the retrait of the Hungarians, and the winter being past; what was it that then did hinder *Amurath*, that hee did not presently make shew of his hatred against *Scanderbeg*, and seeke some notable kinde of reuenge vpon him, in discharge of that malice, which had so long boiled in his stomacke? For before the thirtieth day of Iune, there was no motion of any war against him. It may be peraduenture that the courage of the olde man being abated by his losse in *Hungarie*, he made more reckonning and accompt of his ease then of the losse of *Epyre*, or of all the iniuries receiued by *Scanderbeg*.

Castriot hauing taken his leaue of *Moses*, returned from *Dibria* to *Croie*, where, being exempted for a while from the trauelles of warre (for the time would not permit him otherwise) he spent the better part of the winter in prouiding for the ciuil affaires of the weale publique, and in ordering the estate of particular occasions: where- 1443.
uppon seeing the spring to approach and draw on, he tooke with him *Ameses*, and some few horse besides, and went to leauie certaine forces, and hauing made a muster and taken the fielde with fiue thousand men, he drew straight to *Sfetigrade*. But what should he doe there? As the place was nothing changed in difficulty, no more was the enemy altered in obstinacy. Neither menaces nor faire wordes would profite any thing. Artillery or other engines hee hadde none, and if hee had brought any, it might be they had serued somewhat to abash and terrifie them, but litle or nothing would they haue profited him for the recouery of the place. On the other side to try his fortune with the manifest perill of his men, and (as it were) with their certaine and vtter ruine, seemed vnto him a course of great rashnesse and temerity. For this cause according to the best counsell and opinion, whereunto the greater part also did aduise him, leauing for a season all care of *Sfetigrade*, hee marched else where *The country about Sfetigrade spoiled and harried.*
with his campe, with intent to amplifie and enlarge the limittes and borders of his dominions. But first of all he spoyled and destroyed all things that bare fruite about the towne: depriuing the besieged of the benefite and profite of all the champion, and not leauing them any thing, but the onely bare and naked enclosure of their walles. It is reported notwithstanding, that certaine of the inhabitauntes of *Sfetigrade*, or of them which remained in the suburbes, came secretely vnto *Scanderbeg*, *Citizens of Sfetigrade pray Scanderbeg not to spoile the country.*
praying him in regard of their seruices past in the time of *Iohn* his father, that he would not vtterly destroy all things in this order, hauing not deserued it at his handes, but that he would cause to cease this spoile and hauocke, whereby in effect, they and not the enemy should be vtterly depriued of all sustenaunce and nouriture: That he had both leysure and other meanes sufficient to chastise the garrison of the Turkes, and to chase and dispossest them out of their holde: and that for their partes, they woulde most willingly watch for some oportunity, and giue aide and furtheraunce to this affaire, if they sawe any hope (were it neuer so small) to effect it. *Castriot* tooke pleasure to hearken vnto them, and hee condescended to their request. For what reason had he to doubt either of men that were Christians, or of those who hadde

bene the auncient subiects of his aunceſtors? For this cauſe, commaunding his enſignes to march, he turned his fury and rigour to other places.

There was in this prouince a goodly open and large country and circuit of ground, maruellouſly pleaſant, and wonderfully well peopled, with many townes and boroughes alſo, very plentifully inhabited. Thoſe of the countrey doe call it *Mocrea*, and it lieth towardes the Tribullians. Thitherwardes *Scanderbeg* leading his army, did adde the ſame to his dominion: paſſing beyond the boundes whereof *Iohn* his father was poſſeſſed. There was not any where an enemy to be found in all the countrey: for the Turkes before that time either had bene expelled, or had willingly auoyded and forſaken thoſe partes. The inhabitaunts and the reſidue of the nation *Albanois*, hauing quickely loſt the memory and remembraunce of *Amurath*, had enrolled them ſelues without being ſought vnto vnder *Scanderbeg*: and they marched vnder his enſignes, and vnder the Eagles in times paſt well knowen vnto them. For in his ſtandards which were Guelles, he bore an Eagle with two heades ſable. Theſe being the auncient armes of his family. From *Mocrea* paſſing on from place to place, ſometime ſhewing him ſelfe gracious and full of courteſie, and ſometimes fierce and terrible, he enlarged his conqueſtes from day to day, and made them farre more rich and ample: and giuing order and directions continually for ſome one thing or other, he would appoint guardes vpon the paſſages, and make prouiſions for the garriſons. Oftentimes comming and going to *Croy*, he would viſite all other places of importance, and be euer riding and courſing here and there in and out continually: ſeldome or neuer was he idle, but he would be preſent euery where, and there was no place or corner but he tooke diligent and ſpeciall notice of, mountains, hils, forreſtes, thickets, caues, dennes, and ſecrete lurking holes. All his thoughtes and deuiſe was vppon the warres, to ſee before hand how he might one day with litle loſſe of his men, make head againſt an enemy ſo puiſſant and mighty. That litle leaſure that was left him, was wholly ſpent in dayly roades and inuaſions to ſpoile and waſt the territory of the Pagans. He hated nothing ſo much, as that his ſouldiers ſhould corrupt them ſelues with idleneſſe, hauing this ſentence of *Fabius Maximus* daily in his mouth, that it was not good for an Army to continue long in one place, but that the often chaunge and ſhifting of their place and campe, was much more laudable, and would enable and make them farre better diſpoſed to all the actions and ſeruices Military.

Mocrea wonne and poſſeſſed by Scanderbeg.

Scanderbeg his Armes.

Induſtrie vi prudence of Scanderbeg in prouiding for the ſafety and defence of his dominions.

An Army not to continue long in a place.

Theſe things could not be ſo handled, but that *Amurath* muſt needs haue knowledge of them: for by this time there came vnto him many meſſengers from *Pharſalia*, and other parts of *Macedonie*: ſo as all partes of his pallace were filled vp with outcries and clamours: many reports being brought, and importing that all was loſt and vtterly deſolate; that *Scanderbeg* hauing obtained the poſſeſſion of infinite places, did dayly purſue his conqueſts with his accuſtomed fierceneſſe and crueltie. That long ſince both the one and the other *Dibria* had willingly rendred them ſelues to his deuotion, killing with their proper hands the Turkiſh garriſons, or deliuering them bound and fettered to their new Lord and maiſter. Theſe marches both of the neather and vpper *Dibria* did of old appertaine to *Iohn Caſtriot*: but he (as hath bene ſayd) being oppreſſed by *Amurath*, and by meanes of the peace which he demanded, had giuen him his owne children in hoſtage, and had reſigned vnto him both thoſe prouinces, which he quitted vnto him vpon ſome other conditions. Now theſe curriers comming (as is ſaid) to the court of *Amurath*, declared, that by meanes of the reuolt of the *Dibrians*, the Chriſtians would ſoone and eaſily come to be maſters of *Sfetigrade*: the which being ſeated in the vpper *Dibria*, where all was at their deuotion, did not

now

now know from thence forward where to find or haue any thing more or leſſe for the maintenance of the warre, or for the nouriture of his campe. That *Mocrea* and many other places had made themſelues a partie with them, which, although it had neuer vntil that day acknowledged the houſe of *Caſtriot* for their gouernour, yet either through the rebellion of the inhabitants, or for feare, or by conſtraint of miſchiefes endured, was now become ſubiect vnto *Scanderbeg*. Theſe aduertiſements did ſtirre vp and incite the tyrant to take armes, more of neceſſitie then of choler. Vpon this occaſion hauing with great diligence aſſembled his Counſell, & the matter fully concluded on, he commanded a puiſſant armie to be leuied: by the which without the aduenture or loſſe of any thing, he thought vtterly to aboliſh and extinguiſh the name of *Scanderbeg*, and to take vengeance of the reuolt of the *Albanois*, and of ſo many iniuries which he had offred him.

Amurath leuieth an army againſt Scanderbeg.

Caſtriot in like maner being certified of *Amurath* his reſolution, not onely by perſons vnknowne and ſtrangers vnto him (as in ſuch changes there do neuer want men of that ſort) but by ſome alſo who were his friends, of whom he had as yet good ſtore about *Amurath*, made and procured long before, and whom the change of fortune had no whit altered or changed. He (I ſay) as he had ſhewed himſelfe of an incomparable audacitie and confidence in expoſing himſelfe to all perils: ſo did he euen in the middeſt of them vſe ſingular prudence, ſage aduiſe, and counſell. For conſidering the greatneſſe and importance of his conceipts, and the weightie burthen which he had taken vpon his ſhoulders, and hauing ſome doubt and miſtruſt in him ſelfe, that he ſhould not be of ſufficient abilitie to ſuſtaine and beare it out for ſo long a time, nor yet be able to renew his forces ſo often as the greatneſſe of thoſe warres would requires: which he foreſaw (as a true Prophet) euen within the entrailes of *Epire*, and whereof he did but attend the comming euerie houre; he determined therefore to ſeeke out ſome ſtrange and forreine ſuccours, by meanes wherof he might more ſurely order his owne affaires, and by the ayde of many might be the better able to repell and keepe off the force and violence of the tempeſt that did ſo threaten him. Firſt of all therefore he reſolued to enter into confederacie, and into ſome ſtrict and perpetuall kind of alliance with the Princes and great Lords his neighbours, both *Albanois* and **Illyrians*. A thing indeed verie difficult to be effected, for that commonly men are naturally more prone and apt to diſſention and diſcord, then to amity and concord. Yet did this fall out vnto him very facile and eaſie, as both the iſſue and the diſcourſe of the matter will make it manifeſt.

Confederacy of Caſtriot purpoſed with his neighbours, for the reſiſting of the Turkes inuaſions.

Theſe are the Sclauonians.

But for that this treaty could not commodiouſly be handled with euery one in particular, neither by letters, nor meſſengers, nor by him ſelfe in perſon: it was therefore thought beſt, that a Diet and generall aſſembly of all of them ſhould be aſsigned and appointed in ſome place within the circuite of *Albany*; to the intent, that both the preſence of the parties meeting together, and their voices and opinions being reported and made knowen in common amongſt them all, it might be the better knowen by the aduiſe of the whole counſell, what courſe was moſt meete and expedient to be taken. In the choiſe of the place alſo he vſed no leſſe prudence and modeſtie: for none of all thoſe Princes were ſummoned to repaire to *Croie*, for feare leaſt it ſhould be thought he would ſtand too much vppon his greatneſſe, and would arrogate to him ſelfe the preheminence in their aſſembly: as alſo to auoide all occaſion of miſtruſt: neither did he conuite them to *Apollonia*, *Diana*, *Zabiach*, or any other towne appertaining to the name of *Albanie*: to the intent he might take from them all matter of enuy, backwardneſſe, or delay, which might haue growen if they had bene drawn againſt their willes out of their own territories: or elſe for feare that they

should disdaine to repaire to any place belonging to a straunger: because it might be they esteemed their owne townes of as much if not of more worthinesse then those of others. As there is a kinde of people, who doe preferre and prize anie thing of their owne, farre before the like of other mens. But there was the towne * *Lissa* (we ordinarily call it *Alessia*) distant somewhat more then two and twentie miles from *Croy*, and situated betweene that and * *Scodra*. This place was thought not vnfitte for this conuocation, both by reason of the conueniencie and commoditie thereof, as also in respect of the gouernement and dominion of the *Venetians*, being no lesse gentle and gracious, then pleasing and agreeable to their good likings: for this towne was of their appurtenances.

Lissa or Alessia.

Scodra, at this present called Scutari.

A generall parliament or assembly summoned of all the princes and Estates of Epire.

Thus were messengers dispatched on all parts to call them together, and to signifie vnto them the dayes & the place wherein they should assemble. Of those which were assigned, there was not any one that was vnwilling or negligent in comming: not one of them made any excuses or delayes, neither was there any businesse (as it happened) either publike or particular which caused any of them to faile or to stay away: but all of them hastened thither with exceeding readie and verie willing mindes. This was an euident testimonie what manet of men they would shewe them selues in time to come in other the accidents and occurrences of warre. But here it shall not be amisse for the readers a little to retire them selues, and that the grauitie of this historie be a while discontinued, and my selfe permitted a little to wander and to digresse somewhat from my purpose: for as much as my intent is to number vp (it may be somewhat too curiously) and by roll (as it were) to register the names of those persons, who did with their presence then honour that assembly and conuocation: or rather the dignitie and reputation of *Epire*: to the intent the posteritie may haue cause both to grieue and to maruell at the calamitie of the estate of *Albanie*, and at their vile and miserable condition, which shortly after came vppon them so sodainly, the image and representation of which thinges may serue in time to come for their instruction. Howbeit that peraduenture nothing ought to be taken as ill spoken or ill done, which a man doth with a good intent of seruice and piety towardes his countrey, his friends and fellow citizens: Notwithstanding before I come to recite the names of those who assisted this assembly, I hold it not inconuenient likewise to deliuer in this discourse, from whence the nation of the *Epirots* or *Albanois* hath deriued his originall.

The originall of the Albanois.

This is Comania subiect to the Tartarian.

Strabo.

Pius 2. Papa.

Tregus Pompeius.

Some say that the *Epirots* (who are also called *Albanois*) did in times past discend of the noble and auncient people and inhabitantes of *Italie*: who in like manner did possesse a certaine portion and part of *Colchida*. From whence if any doe alledge, that the language of *Epire* or *Albanie* is deriued, it may be that he is not deceiued in this opinion; seeing that we finde it written in *Strabo*: that there be in that place vsed sixteene sundry languages: and Pope *Pius* the second, a man singularly learned both in diuine and humaine studies, and some other moderne writers, (who haue followed *Tregus Pompeius*) are well neare of the same opinion. For *Tregus Pompeius* affirmeth: that the ofspring and beginning of the *Albanois* was from *Italie*, and he assureth vs, that the Albanians did follow *Hercules* at his departure out of *Italie* (after he had for a space kept those heardes and troupes of cattell, which he tooke from *Gerion* within the mount *Alban*:) and that they were ledde thence by him into this Prouince, being allured thither by the fertility of the herbage and pastures. Of these then are issued the *Albaneses* or *Epirots*, of whome a part made their aboade in *Peloponnesus* (which at this present is called *Morea*,) and part of them seated them selues in *Macedony*, or rather in *Albany* or *Epire*. Now of these at this time

Peloponnesus or Morea.

time was *Scanderbeg* the chiefe. A prince couragious and inuincible, who in our age had great affaires, and kept continuall warres against the infidels for the name of Iesus Christ, and did spend almost all his life in armes, fighting for the maintenance of the Catholicke faith: and many a time did he vanquish and discomfite in open field and plaine battell, euen with verie small forces, many and exceeding great armies of the Turkes, at the sight and presence of whom, the troupes of the Barbarians did scarse dare to present them selues. In summe, by him onely was this prouince for a time retained in their obedience to the Gospell of the Sonne of God.

Scanderbeg the chiefe of the Princes and estates of Epire his desires.

But returne we nowe againe to the drift of our discourse. *Ariamnites Thopia Goleme*, a man of singular renowme and authoritie, both for the continuall and ancient nobilitie of his bloud, as also for his notable practise and science Militarie; and for the maiestie and venerable regard of his countenaunce (a thing whereof the common sort make no meane reckoning) being accompanied with a gallant and goodly troupe of men both horse and foote, preuented all others by his great speede and diligence, and was the first that arriued thither to this Diet. This man in former times, hauing bene ill handled by the armes of *Amurath*, had submitted him selfe to his subiection, and had yeelded to pay him such tribute as it pleased the Turke to impose vpon him. But at this time taking courage a fresh, vpon the occasion nowe offered: brauely and couragiously he made knowen the hatred and discontentment earst conceiued in his minde, and the courage of his heart, which he had worthely retayned and preserued. And there was no man that was more forward, or that put too his helping hand, or that did conspire against the Barbarians with so great ardour and vehemencie as he did for the common libertie. Neither did he want anie meanes to worke the contentment of this his desire, and to satisfie his minde in that behalfe. And it seemed in effect that his forces linckt and conioyned with the others, had bene all sufficient to restore and to reuiue the good fortune of *Epire*: them selues alone hauing once bene of abilitie in a full and entire warre, to make head and to resist against the Sultan. True it is, that his puissance, power, and seigniorie did reach from the farther side of the riuer of *Aoe*, or *AEas*: (howbeit that the people of the countrey do giue it another name, calling it *Vanissa*) vnto the gulfe of *Ambrasia*, being in a manner all alongest the sea coastes of *Epire*. This is that *Ariamnites* which hath bene knowen by the surname of Great amongst the *Macedonians* and *Albanians*. For he did manie notable and memorable actes for the Gospell and faith of Iesus Christ against the Turkes, giuing them diuerse, and most shamefull ouerthrowes and discomfitures: and as long as he liued he did not cease to persecute them. He encountred *Mahomet* their soueraigne Prince and Emperour in the inuasion which he made vpon *Albanie*, and ouerthrew him, and plagued him most shamefully. For, assayling him within his campe, he gayned and wonne his ensignes which he had within his owne tent and pauillion, forcing him to flie away and to forsake that Prouince with notable dammage and ignominie. Next to him came *Andrevv Thopie*, a man famous for his race and valour, and of no lesse reuerence for his age, hauing there with him his two sonnes, *Comyne* and *Musach*, and *Tanuse* his nephewe: whose aunce stours (as we haue before written) were the first founders of *Croy* and *Petrella*. Their forces in like case were braue and goodly: and their Dominion was of as faire a circuite in *Epire* betweene *Tire* the lesser and *Epidamne*, which is *Duras*. And besides these places and demaines (which hauing lost their ancient and first names, are by the inhabitants called *Scuria*, *Musachiene*, *Cherabie*, and *Farca*.) They were acknowledged also for Soueraigne Lordes of the *Cymerians* and *Vlixians*. This countrey is mountainous, and right

A Catalogue of the Princes of Albany assembled in counsell with Scanderbeg.

Ariamnites Thopia Tributarie to Amurath renounceth him and reuolteth to Scanderbeg.

The strength, puissance and acts of Ariamnites.

Riuer of AEas or Vanisse.

Gulfe of Ambrasia.

Andrew Thopy.

Comine.

Musache.

Tanuse.

Tire the lesser.

Epidamne or Duras, once Dirrachium.

Cymerians.

Vlixians.

Corfou.

Cymera.

againſt *Corfou*. It is inhabited with a people fierce and vnconquerable, if not warlike and martiall, (we call them commonly the *Cymerots*.) Theſe haue not commonly the aſſurance and defence of anie other ſuccours by anie matter, meanes, or arte, but onely the naturall ſtrength and fortification of the places themſelues. This people hath euer and with good ſucceſſe contemned the inſolencie of the Turkes: and after the death of *Scanderbeg*, when *Albanie* was ſubiected and ſubdued, with a ſingular libertie and freedome of nature, they liued long time without the knowledge of anie forraine yoke: and at this time (as I vnderſtand) hauing voluntarily called vnto them and made choyſe of certaine garriſons and companies of *Spaniards* out of *Apulia*, they haue betaken them ſelues to the obedience of one chiefe Lord: and they doe liue in a moſt excellent forme of pollicie. *George* the nephewe of *Streſe*, and the ſonne of *Balſee* was there in companie alſo: *Iohn* and *Boye* his brethren being left at home, becauſe their young yeares did make them vnable for the warres, and vnfit to be called to counſell. Betweene *Croie* and *Liſſa* laye the territorie that theſe did enioye, in a ſoyle both large and rich, and no leſſe pleaſaunt and delightfull. From the *Muſachees* (for ſo is the familie ſurnamed) there came verie manie; all which, as they were of one and the ſame diſpoſition, and of a like conformitie of minde with *Scanderbeg*: ſo did not they hold their eſtate and ſignioric anie way ſeparated or deuided, but ioyntly and together with him. Ouer and beſides theſe, there preſented them ſelues the two magnanimous and valiant Princes *Nicholas* and *Paule Ducagin*, each of them in armes and well appointed: but *Paule* was knowen aboue the reſt by a certaine ſingular obſeruance of religion. They were Lordes of a countrey which the *Epirotes* call the vpper *Zadrime*, on the other ſide of the riuer of *Dryne*, euen to the higher *Miſia*: a region verie ſpacious and fertile, watered with fountaines and moſt wholeſome brookes, and inhabited with a people moſt fierce and warlike. In this place are to be ſeene manie tokens and ſhewes of antiquitie, townes, buildings, and famous temples, manie of which are now defaced, and throwen downe euen with the ground, and ruinated from the toppe to the verie bottome. And more then that, within the heart of this region doe remaine and appeare certaine monuments of marble, vpon which might be read the names of manie Emperours both *Romanes* and others: and amongſt them there were ſome markes alſo or teſtimonies that *S. Paule* the Apoſtle had there preached the lawe of the Sonne of God vnto that people.

George Streſe Iohn & Boye Streſe.

The familie of the Muſachees.

Nicholas and Paule Ducagine.

Zadryne.

Thither alſo came in like manner *Luke Zacharie*, who afterward followed the part of *Scanderbeg* with the like courſe of felicitie and good fortune, and with a ſingular good will and affection did perſeuer therein euen to the ende. This man being worthie of a greater heritage, was poſſeſſed of a reaſonable large portion of ground within the vpper *Zadrime*, together with the towne of *Daina* founded by his anceſters, and deſcended vnto him by right of ſucceſſion. This is a pretie litle towne planted vpon an high mountaine, as are almoſt all the townes of *Epire*: yet is the territorie of it fat and rich, of an excellent good aire and healthfull: full of veniſon and fowle, and well repleniſhed with all kinde of trees and fruites. The pleaſant riuer of *Dryne* maketh his courſe on that part which lyeth towards the Weſt. The which prerogatiues and excellencies of that place haue bene celebrated by the auncient writers, with a kinde of contention, and with ſo great diligence and perfection, that there is not almoſt left for them which come after, anie matter worthie the ſpeaking of. Neuertheleſſe although many things at this day (as it falleth out) haue diſguiſed and blemiſhed the former grace and beautie of it, yet peraduenture it ſhall not be amiſſe if I alſo for my part doe at this time in a word or two intreate of it. The ſtoud of

Luckly or Luke Zacharie.

Daina.

The riuer Drias or Drinon.

Dryne

Dryne (as some say) doth deuide *Epire* from *Dalmatia* and *Sclauonie* or *Illiria*: and is no whit inferiour in greatnesse to the famous riuer of *Po* in *Italie*. It hath his source or head amongst the peoples of *Macedonie* towardes the North, and with a swift course doth water the walles of *Lissa*: and then within a while entermingling her streames with the waues of the sea, it doth discharge it selfe into the Adriatique sea, or gulfe of *Rizique*, or *Catarrea*, ioyning neare to *Acroliſſa*, whereallso it embraceth an Island being some seauen miles in circuite, which at this present retayneth the name of *Lissa*; by reason that the towne of *Lissa* (which in auncient time was seated on the other side or bancke of the riuer) hauing bene burnt and destroyed by the Turkes: and the multitude which inhabited the same, making their retraite thither, did in this Island make their continuall abode, as in a place of greater suertie, which was the occasion that together with them selues, they transported thither also the name of their old towne and citie. Ouer and besides these, there was also in the same assemblie, *Peter Spaniard*, a Prince of happie fortune, and a most happy father of many goodly children: for he had there with him of his sonnes, *Alexia*, *Bosdaira*, *Vroa*, and *Mirqua*: each of them being of equall height and of a goodly stature all alike, and wonderfully resembling each other, both in conditions and naturall disposition. In this companie also was *Lech* or *Luke Dusman*, and *Peter*, with other pettie Princes their neighbours, vnder whose commaund and obedience were the *Peonians* and vpper *Pelagonians* euen vnto *Misia*: and the *Sardoicians*, besides certaine small villages and fortresses neare about *Drinaſta* and *Baleſia*. Not long after these, thither came also *Steuen Zernouich* with *George* and *Iohn* his sonnes, worthie children of so great and honourable a person, and of so worthie a father: to him did appertaine the strong and well fortified townes of *Xabiac* and *Falcon*, with their territories most large and spacious, lying in *Sclauony* or *Liburnia*. The most noble and auncient common weale of the *Venetians* did not make any default, but did make their appearance also: for vnder their Empire, besides the city of *Scodra*, were many townes of great fame and renowme, and a good part of *Epyre*. To conclude, this great company did draw thither with them others of the most principall amongest the youth and flower of all those quarters, who aswell for their owne particular interest, as for the publique and common good, did come to offer their persons and best meanes against the Turkes, for the honor, the safety, and the preseruation of their countrey.

Epire deuided frō Dalmatia and Sclauonie by the riuer of Dryne.

The gulfe of Rizique or Catarrea Acroliſſa.

The Island of Lissa.

Otherwise Peter Span.

Lech or Luke Dusman.

Drynaſta. Baleſia. Steuen Zernouich, George and Iohn. Xabiac. Falcon. Sclauonie, or of old Liburnia. The Venetians

Now come I to the Oration of *Scanderbeg*, the which when those (who were called to the counsell, were gathered together in the great Church at *Lissa*: he began in this manner. I would to God (fathers and princes most debonaire and religious) that the credulity and light beliefe of vs Christians, would once draw to an end, and that we would once waxe weary of the faithlesnesse of the *Ottomans*, or to speake playner, that their infidelity more then barbarous, might from henceforth be made open and manifest vnto vs. For as concerning my selfe, being at this day peraduenture ill thought of, as the motiue and occasion of these new troubles: neither would I haue disturbed the tranquillity of this estate, nor haue sollicited you to expose your liues to the inconueniences of armes, nor to the last and vtmost extremity of all things: were it not, that *Iohn* my father (whom God pardon) a Prince in other things wel aduised, had not giuen too too much credit to the faire words and speaches of this periured & disloyall *Amurath*, at that time, when vnder the pretence of a deadly peace he obtained of him for pledges (as liberally as he demaunded them) his owne proper children in hostage. But wherefore do I complaine me of my father? This error and this destiny is common vnto all Princes Christian. What shall I say of the Greekes, the Misians, and others of our faith and profession? This ouer great facility of credi-

Oration of Scanderbeg to the Princes of Epyre, in the assembly at Lissa.

" " " " " " " " " "

» ting and beleeuing hath without doubt ruinated & destroyed all of them: in such sort
» that on the tyrants part, they haue nothing at all left them, but the repentance of their
» simplicitie and ouersight. Neuertheless whilest I powre forth these my plaints, and
» do in my mind carefully repeate these cautels and treasons of *Ottoman*: yet withall as
» long a I do contemplate and cast my thoughts vpon you, and do consider your pru-
» dence, and the vnitie of your minds and affections, this doth greatly strengthen me,
» and biddeth me be of a good hope, seeing that hardly or neuer he hath subdued or de-
No'e. » stroied any people either nation, but* by deceipt & fraud only, or by their proper ouer
» easie beliefe and credence, or by their ciuill dissentions and domesticall hatreds. Go to
» now: let anie man here tell me, whether *Ottoman* did euer by his prowesse atchieue
» anie great conquests, and whether the innumerable prouinces and infinite realmes
» which in our time he hath gotten and purchased, haue bene annexed vnto his crowne
» by force of his armes and puissance: let them account and recken vp the number of
» those his triumphes and victories. Shall *Epire* then, being so inuincible, so flourishing
» in armes, so repleniſhed with Princes, with valiant Captaines, with so many warlike
» and stout peoples, so vnited and agreeing within themselues; shall *Epire* I say, onely
» through this our credulitie be made the subiect of his outrage? How greatly the Bar-
» barian doth estimate and redoubt your vertue, I my selfe can giue you most certaine
» and assured testimonie: euen I, who haue liued with him many yeares both in warre
» and in peace. They would not euen now enterprise nor vndertake the warre against
» you, but that verie necessitie doth constraine them to it. Now what good or great
» matter can be effected or executed by a courage that is forced & violently drawne vn-
» to it, any braue and resolute souldier will soone tell vs. But howsoeuer this affection
» and matter of so iust griefe, do carie me away in speaking vnto you, yet I am not ig-
» norant, but that there be many who hauing bene now of a long time accustomed to a
» peace (though smally honorable) will be highly aggrieued and discontented when
» they shall see themselues inuited by me to participate with the miseries and mischiefes
» of warre: and they will not sticke to say; That whatsoeuer be the fortune and successe
» of our armes, yet nothing can be done without the expence and losse of their bloud.
» In like case me thinkes I see how the mothers will be discomforted, when they shall
» see their children sent to the daungers and hazardes of the warres: the wiues will be
» heard to lament with great griefe and sorrow, for the care which they haue of their
» husbands safetie: and the verie infants left at home in their houses, will seeme to crie,
» for feare they should be made orphanes: all men generally will call me cruell, and
» will detest me (which I can not thinke without horror) as a new authour of warres,
» of perils, and of bloudshed and murther: whereas they ought rather (be it spoken
» without vaunting) to name me the Occasioner and preseruer of their libertie. But
» neither am I so careless of the publique and common good, nor so carefull of mine
» owne priuate profite and interest, that I can endure to heare so manie complaints a-
» amongst you, nor to see so many mischiefes light vpon you all in common: but that
» if this my counsell (most worthie Princes and Lordes) seeme not good and to your
» liking: or if this occasion of entring into armes be not found profitable for the weale
» publique: or be not held honourable by all of you, I will be readie and willing to
» yeeld vp vnto *Amurath* (if you thinke it good) both *Croye*, and all the reliques
» of this vnfortunate Realme and Kingdome, desiring much rather with the parti-
» cular daunger of mine owne life, to prouide for your suretie, then to taigne with
» the publique detriment and dammage of all of you. One thing onely there is, the
» griefe whereof doeth greatly presse me: and that is, the miserable condition of my
» people, and the innocent bloud of my cittizens, whome my heart can not suffer

to

to be offred vp as a sacrifice to the enemie without a chiefe, without a gouernour: seeing their faith and loyaltie presenteth it selfe daily to my remembrance, of the which at the time of my restitution into this kingdome, euen of late they haue left sufficient and good proofe vnto all ages that shall succeede hereafter. But what? O immortall God! (giue me leaue my lords to speake freely vnto you) Is there any reason that your fellow citizen and countrie man should still abide with the tirant, in the middest of so many dangers and euer dwell in so damned a religion, as a continuall fugitiue from his natiue countrie, rather then to spend the rest of his life in *Epire*, in the place of his natiuitie, in the societie of Christians, and in the middest of you his owne countrie men? Or is impossible that I should be in *Epire*, and there to see and endure hereafter, that the seate of my aunce stors, the sceptre of my father, our sepulchers, our temples, & especially (if I may so speake) that our Gods should any longer remaine vnder the tirannie of the circumcised miscreants? alas, doth it seeme a small thing to you, that I haue euen vntil this day seene their hands filled with the blood of my subiects: that I haue dwelt so long with a wicked and vnmercifull bloudsucker, and haue spent well neere all the best and most pleasant season of my age in manifest & certaine danger of my life? From henceforth let vs (seeing God hath so permitted it) let vs I say, be ashamed of our condition. It is a great shame & infamie for vs any longer to endure those for our masters (so do our mishaps constraine me to call them) whom in the time of our fathers, one base and ignoble towne of *Scythia* could scarcely suffer for slaues and villaines, so contemptible were they at that time: and being accustomed only to rapine, theft & robbery, they haue encreased euen till this day, wherin they haue growen so hardie, as to threaten & menace Christendom with all kinds of extremitie. Wherfore (most magnanimous and courageous Princes, assure your countrie, your wiues, your children: defend them, and restore them to the true repose of a quiet libertie & tranquilitie. But if your owne estate seeme vnto you tollerable; at leastwise betake you to rightfull and iust armes, for me and in my behalfe, not for an *Albanois*, not for the sonne of a Prince, not for your kinsman: but for a poore exile and banished person. I speake not to men that will refuse a iust and lawfull warre: but I would haue you my masters to defend him, whō *Iohn Castriot* (a Prince not careless of your good welfare) if he were now liuing, would recommend at this present vnto your valure and fidelitie. And if for all this, my calamitie doe not yet moue you, but that you preferre an ignominious peace, before an honorable warre; I will haue recourse to my owne Nation, to my owne people and citizens, being resolued to submit my selfe quietly to the hazard and aduenture which fortune shall send me: and with those only who with so constant & free harts haue vowed and consecrated their owne liues for my saferie. But neither will you (most courteous Princes) as I thinke, forsake & abandon me: for to what end are all of you here assembled in such deuotion, if it be not for the warre, seeing that you cannot serue your selues of me to any other vse or purpose? You I say, will defend me, though it were euen against your wils: when you shall vnderstand, that this land afflicted by *Amurath*, shall implore & craue your aide and assistance, when you shall know that the enemie insolent & puffed vp with victorie, will subuert & ouerthrow your Seigniories & your libertie: & with a bloudy throat, & full of rage, & with polluted and sacrilegious hands, wil run & make hast furiously to sucke & swallow vp your bloud. But let me intreat you, not to stay and attend these extremities: doe not you make so long stay and tariance, till you see some comming (then perhaps it will be too late) to implore your succours: but euen now rather, and presently conioyning your forces with our forces, & your armes, with our armes: let vs driue and compell the enemy speedily to take the field, or let vs be the first to rush

» vpon him, and to inuade his territories. Then if he ſhall once ſee vs vnited: ſure & cer-
» taine it is, that either he will change his thoughts: or if he do aduenture to march for-
» ward, he may well, to his coſt, looſe and come ſhort of his wretched and greedy deſire
» of victorie & conqueſt. For doe you thinke, that I in the meane time with the troupes
» which you ſhall commit vnto me, will remaine ſhut vp and reſtrained within the en-
» cloſures of any walles, and that as one of a faint courage and degenerating from my
» anceſtors, I will hide my ſelfe in ſome corner? or that from ſome high place or tower
» amongſt children, I will take vp my ſtande to beholde the enemie ſpoyling of your
» fieldes, and ſuffer the deſtruction of your landes and liuings and ſuch like calamities?
» No be you aſſured, that ſuch cowardize ſhall neuer come within my heart: the ene-
» mie ſhall ſee me daily & continually euen in his face with my enſignes, with my ſoul-
» diers, to trie the fortune of his aſſaies and attempts; not in plaine battell & open fight:
» but (God aiding me) by ſome other better kind of pollicie, and it may be, with verie
» litle and ſmall loſſe of my men, I ſhall make the deſſeignes and audacitie of *Amurath* to
» turne to ſmoake and to vaniſh away to nothing: and that from hencefoorth he ſhall
» haue enough to do, and be conſtrained to giue ouer his quarrell, and to leaue his bag-
» gage vnto you for a prey and bootie; at leaſtwiſe if he loue not to ſee his campe (after
» long continuance in his enemies countrie, in the fields of ſtrangers, and in the midſt
» of many diſcommodities) to be brought to that paſſe, as it ſhalbe rather in eſtate of an
» armie forced and beſieged, then of a beſieger & one that forceth others. Vp then (no-
» ble and moſt Catholique Princes) let vs ſet aſide all delaies, let vs viſite the Prouince,
» let vs ſet downe good lawes & orders of diſcipline, let vs leauie and muſter our ſoul-
» diers, and let vs lead on our forces, that when the infidels come in ſight, and the ſound
» of the trumpets doe call the ſouldiers to the battell, we be not then vnprouided, and
» to ſeeke for counſell, when there will be no time for it. Let vs make ſhewe vnto the
» poſteritie, and let vs make it knowen vnto all ages to come hereafter, that we are men
» worthie of a Chriſtian Empire.

The oration of *Scanderbeg* being ended, all the great perſonages in the aſſemblie did generally addreſſe themſelues vnto him, as the authour of their freedome and reputation: and all with one accord approuing his ſpeech, with infinite praiſes & commendations did exalt & extoll him euen to the heauens. For this cauſe there was not any, who did not willingly commit vnto him al the charge & weight, and al the conduct & managing of this warre, chooſing him alone as chiefe and ſuperiour. Euerie one did conſigne vnto him his ſubiects and his armes, teſtifying thereby & by his high clamours, that to him only was due the honor of this ſouereignetie; the only name of whō, as of another *Alexander*, was able to defend that litle angle & corner of *Macedonie* againſt all the aſſaults of the enemie. And more then that, the perfection of his skill & ſcience in armes & the art military: his maruellous prudence & counſel euen befitting & worthy an Emperor: his long experience practiſed in the manners & cuſtomes of the barbarians: his diuine iudgemēt confirmed by daily vſe & long experience, did enflame the harts of them all with a certaine and aſſured hope of victory. But after ſo many goodly offers made vnto him, the principall and chiefeſt was this, which *Aryamnites* in the preſence of the whole aſſembly, did preſent vnto him, for he after he had raiſed himſelfe out of his ſeate, and with a good grace and eloquent oration had exalted the rule and gouernement of *Iohn* the father of *Caſtriot*, the counſels and deliberations of the ſonne, and the happie beginnings of his vertue and good fortune, then frankely and freely did he offer vnto him a yearely tribute: which he preſented vnto him in this or the like language.

Scanderbeg choſen generall of the warres againſt the Turkes by the Princes of Epyre.

That which *Amurath* did exact and take of me euen till this day, during the time

that

that I preferred an ignominious peace before a deadly and fatall warre: and whileſt I did loue a ſhameſull libertie, better then the warres accompanying and occaſioning my misfortunes: the ſame doe thou receiue moſt valiant Prince by the conſent both of God and man; receiue (I ſay) the gage and pledge of a good heart, if not ſo great and magnificent, yet at leaſtwiſe not ingrate and vnthankefull. I adiudge it and giue it thee freely, for the libertie of *Albanie* and mine owne, for the maintenance of our eſtate, of our crowne, our people and our children: praying thee that from henceſoorth, thou wouldeſt vſe in common with me, my men and my forces, and if there be any other thing which either my fortune or my vertue ſufficiently tried and knowen, haue reſerued vnto me from the handes of ſuch an enemie. And this which I doe preſent vnto thee moſt redoubted Prince of the *Albanois* (for let me be the firſt to call and acknowledge thee by this name) and moſt worthy defender of our libertie, I doe offer it thee without exception of time, both in warre and in peace.

Oration of Aryanniti offering him ſelfe tributarie to Scanderbeg.

Viz. Amurath. Scanderbeg chooſen king of Egypte.

Immediatly vpon this act, many others moued by a certaine iealouzie, did of their owne motion ſeſſe and taxe themſelues, becomming tributaries vnto him, according to the qualitie of their power and abilitie. *Andrewe* and *Tanuſee* his Nephew were inferiour to none of them in liberalitie. And by this meanes a great ſumme of money was gathered at that inſtant for to defray the charges of the warre. And it may be (as the report ranne in thoſe partes, that the reuenue of *Scanderbeg* did amount to more then two hundreth thouſande crownes by the yeare. But be it that that which he poſſeſſed within the Prouince, was of a more large compaſſe and circuit then any other Prince, yet it can not be gainſaide, but that hee was ouerchargeable and burthenſome to his ſubiects in exacting vpon them alone this huge ſumme, eſpecially in a time of warre kindled on all partes without ceaſing, and the inhabitants (as a man may ſay) with one hande holding the plough, and with the other the ſworde. Yet ſome man peraduenture will alleage, That he did ſupplie a great part of that charge, by the benefite of certaine excellent good ſalrpits which he had in the part of the countrie called *Campupeſcupi*, betweene the mountaine and the place named *Selite* on the one ſide, and *S. Nicholas de la Pierre*, on the other ſide. The which countrie is verie famous or rather infamous by reaſon of a notable deſaſter and great miſhappe that befell the Romaine Senate, who were once there beſieged, at ſuch time as *Ceſar* being Dictator, did take armes againſt *Pompey*, and his owne natiue countrey. But to our purpoſe: The reſidue of the companie who were not of power and abilitie to furniſhe him with taxes and ſubſidies, did promiſe him the imployment of their perſons liberally and freely, and their continuall labour and trauell. The Venetians, becauſe they woulde not derogate anie thing from the maieſtie of their greatneſſe, would not taxe them ſelues, nor bee tyed with the reſidue to the aduauncing out of anie certaine and ordinarie contribution: but they promiſed to be readie at all times to ayde and helpe them with victualles, and anie other kinde of ſuccours. Nowe after that this worthie perſonage had beene made thus beholding vnto them by an infinite number of prayſes and officious courteſies (according as all of them did ſtriue therein, either more or leſſe to ſurmount each other) and after ſolemne and publique prayers and proceſſions generally made for the better ſtrengthening and fortifying of the league: ſome of the companie did accompanie him to *Croie*, and the reſt retyred themſelues to their owne homes. The firſt that was appointed to come thither was *Moſes*, who (hauing ſo ſtreightened and neere preſſed *Sfetigrade*, that it was rendered vnto him by compoſition) had beene called backe with his troupes

Princes of Epyre ioyne in league to aide Scanderbeg.

Reuenewes of Scanderbeg more then 200000. crownes by the yeare.

Saltpits belonging to Scanderbeg. Camp-peſcupi. Selite. S. Nicholas.

Sfetygrade yeelded to Moſes.

from the frontiers, excepting a few, who were left there vpon certaine mountaines to keepe good watch: besides those whom he had put in garrison within the towne. These bandes did not exceede the number of fiue thousand men, for that *Castriot* at his comming from thence to the former assembly, had licensed many of them to depart; by meanes whereof without any delay commissions were made and dispatched and many great men sent abroad to leauy souldiers on all parts.

Haly Bassa sent with an armie of 40000 against Scanderbeg.

Whilest these things were thus a doing within *Epyre*, you may not thinke that the braynes of *Amurath* also were vnbusied, or that he did forget any thing touching the subiect of this warre which hee had enterprised with such hatred and fiercenesse of courage. He had nowe raised an armie of fortie thousande horse, all men of choise: and he had committed them to *Haly Bassa* one of his leaders, a man as valiant of his person, as in matters of aduise and counsell well tryed and approued: and who for his sufficiencie had attayned manie high degrees and great charges of honour in the warres: in so much that the brauerie of the troupes, and the reputation of the Chieftaine, did giue them an easie hope and good assurance of a happie and fortunate successe. There was no other talke to be heard amongst the Turkes, but of this armie and of the warre of *Epyre*: and such was the opinion and conceite of all in generall of this iourney, that whosoeuer had heard them, would haue iudged, that *Scanderbeg* had beene alreadie taken prisoner: and that hee had beene euen nowe going to suffer punishment and execution. So doe wee see sometimes in the siege of a towne, that the assaylantes before it be taken, doe thinke to haue the victorie without bloud: and they doe often fall to contention amongst themselues about the parting and deuiding of the spoile and bootie. For it is a propertie vsuall and accustomed in the spirites of mortall men, to reckon without their hoast, and to promise themselues great matters without paine or difficultie. For this cause euen in *Epyre* there was nowe nothing but disorder and confusion by reason of the troubles which seemed to approch: for the brute of the comming of the Bassa made all things seeme greater and more fearefull, then they were in truth and in deede. A man might haue seene on all sides those that dwelt in the fields, hasting to saue themselues in the townes, and driuing their cattell before them: the Burgesses fortifying their walles, and appointing gardes for their portes, as if the enemie had beene alreadie discouered: the olde men quaking and trembling would put the young men in minde of their countrie, their wiues, their children, and of the honour of God and their religion especially: they would cry vpon them to be of good courage and hardie, and they would neuer cease to inflame & animate them that they might the better doe their deuoire and dutie. Neither was the weake and tender sexe of women free from this publique feare and terror, but that it did embolden them to runne out into the streetes amongst their armed husbands: sometimes stirring them vppe to vertue and manhood, by their iust and pitifull lamentations: and sometimes in extreame care running to the temples and holy places, and making their vowes, prayers, and orizons vnto God before the altars, for the preseruation of their countrie. And the litle children also astonished with their mothers teares, would crie out more and more with all extremitie.

A notable description of the tumult and confusion amongest the common people where an inuasion is expected.

As for *Scanderbeg* none of these newes, neither of the arriuall of *Haly*, nor of the enemies armie, nor the astonishment of the cõmon people, did any thing at all moue him: but he made a mocke of the vaine attempts of *Amurath*, & of the foolish feare of the *Albanoys*. Hauing therfore aforehand ordered all things throughout the prouince for feare least too great license & neglect of the enemy should abate the courage of his souldiers, & diuert them from the care & regard of the war, he did so deale & persuade with

with them, that he enflamed their harts with so generall a confidence, & did put them in so good a hope of victory, that they were neuer seene to desire any thing more then the comming of the Turkish generall, ech of them hauing a kind of enuie and desire to make proofe of their deuoire and valure: and by the generall and particular desert of them all to leaue vnto their Prince a large and ample testimonie of their loyaltie. In like manner in this one thing did *Scanderbeg* also shewe a notable example of his maruellous courage and assurance, giuing all the world occasion of wonder: yea and *Haly Bassa* his enemie, if he had in any sort considered of the fact, I doe not doubt, but it would haue made him greatly abashed. For whereas many fierce and warrelike peoples and nations did resort vnto him in great abundance from all partes: so as he might well haue made, not one, but many great and mightie armies: he, after he had cõmended & magnified their good affection, would not admit any but the choisest of them, and did retaine with himselfe only eight thousand horse, and seuen thousand foote. The ouerplus both of the old bands, and of the new encrease he licensed to depart: of whom notwithstanding he disposed some in certaine places for diuerse accidentes and occurrences. Euery man wondered and was abashed at this deuise of the Prince so hardie and aduenturous: but my opinion is, that this his act proceeded of some doubt, least if he should haue had the disgrace to be ouercome in set battell, he should afterwards want the meanes to relieue himselfe. And this was the occasion (as I beleeue) that he did furnish so many fortresses with forces and garrisons, as being willing to reserue them for a supplement and remainder of defence in time to come, against the inconueniences of an ouerthrow, and by meanes wherof, he might by way of surprise, extort the victorie out of the hands of the enemie, beginning perhaps to waxe insolent in their prosperitie. Notwithstanding he was neuer heard to speake of any such matter, but he did continually and with a cheerefull countenance promise himselfe an assured good fortune, and a successe in all things answerable to his desire, which maketh me to thinke and to affirme, that this only was not the reason, why he retayned at that time so small forces. But I beleeue that it proceeded of a singular confidence which remained in him: a thing commonly seene, especially in great and excellent natures, who very seldom or neuer doe find themselues abused or deceiued by fortune. For this is to be marked, yea and to be admired in *Scanderbeg*, that almost continually and with verie few and small forces, he obtained against the infidels so many and often victories, as it is almost incredible. This is it, which hauing oftentimes rauished and held me in suspence, hath made me in this history to deliuer many aduentures to the posteritie, the truth wherof had not yet sunke into my owne mind and opinion. And yet (it may be) hereafter it will not be amisse nor inconuenient to beleeue them: because it can not be denied, but that some ages doe bring foorth strange cases and accidents, to the intent we should haue some matter to maruell at. And that this is true, we may beholde a principall example of the like valure and good fortune: if we looke no further then euen in the same age, to *Hunyades*, who so many times in a manner all alone, did foile and confounde the puissance of the Turkes, and with a small number obtained more trophees of victorie, then manie others who haue bene much better accompanied, & whose numbers haue exceeded. But why should we stand any longer with such curiosity vpon the truth and credit of this matter, seeing that (without singular impudencie) no man can denie these things being so fresh and late in memorie, and whereof it litle wanteth, but that our fathers might with their eies haue bene witnesses.

Courage and resolute assurance of Scanderbeg.

Confidence and fortune seldome faile great and excellent natures.

Hunyades the Despot of Transiluania was the father of Mathias Coruinus king of Hungarie.

Scanderbeg hauing now enrolled and taken a generall view and muster of his souldiers, and publique vowes and prayers being offered vnto God by euery man accor-

ding to his owne fancie, departed from *Croy* and encamped neere to the lower *Dibria*, where euery day he heard newes that the enemy approched. Therupon he bethought himselfe, that being newly made their Chieftaine and Captaine, he ought to vse some speech to his new souldiers: for which cause commaunding silence, Thus he began to speake vnto them.

Oration of Scanderbeg to his souldiers marching against the

I would wish (my companions) that you had happened vpon me as your Captaine, » and that I might haue enioyed your notable & faithfull seruice, when my affaires had » bene in greater prosperity, and in a time wherin my reigne had bene more happy and » fortunate. For nowe being ashamed of the many bondes and obligations, whereby I » see my selfe tyed vnto you, I would not haue inuited you to the discommodities of » new warres, and to so many fresh mischieues: but hauing bene so well receiued and » entertained by my Citizens, I would then haue yeelded them (at my ease and leisure » and with patience) that due thankes and recompence which long before this time I » had prepared my selfe to render vnto them: and as a Chieftaine that seeth his souldiers » embrued and couered with blood, I would make no spare of my selfe in recompence » of your labours, trauels and daungers, and for the blood of the enemy which you » haue heretofore shed so valiantly. But seeing the destinies haue so ordained, and that » it pleaseth fortune that I must discouer vnto you my affaires, and that I must bean oc- » casion rather of your paines then of your tranquilitie and rest: Consider I pray you, » that it standeth vs vpon to endure it valiantly and patiently, and to submit our selues » to whatsoeuer difficulties this warre shall bring with it; to the intent that one day we » may liue in peace and quiet. It behoueth vs, willingly and with francke and readie » mindes to take armes, to breake the bondes of so long a seruitude and bondage, and » the enemie being chased from our partes, afterwardes to reioice our selues in a more » happie kinde of life, and in a perdurable and lasting libertie, whereunto it is not » needfull that I paine my selfe to animate and incense you: For that as all of you doe » now shew your selues affectioned to take my part: so is it most certaine, that wordes » (as the saying is) doe not increase hardinesse in men that are couragious: ad hereun- » to that I canne say no more vnto you with my weapons in my hand then you being » in armes ought to know of your owne selues. The enemy (whom you haue nowe » neare you) will aduerise you thereof sufficiently: the indignitie of so many iniuries: » the wrath and hatred which they haue conceiued doe admonish you of it, and doe » arme you against them: the yoke of our bondage shaken off and broken: the libertie » both of our bodies and of our soules: the mortall hatred of *Amurath*: the qualitie of the » Barbarian: the cruell commandementes: the horrible executions wherewith he doth » aduance himselfe to sucke vp our blood: and last of all the proces of the finall ruine » and destruction of vs all being now past and fully concluded on: all these doe inuite » you to take armes against him. If then our countrey (the loue whereof containeth » all loue, and for which we ought to thinke, that we haue neuer shed sufficient of our » blood, if the particular vertue of euerie one of vs, if the honour and nobilitie of » our kindred doe strengthen the courage of anie man; let them animate you (my » friendes) to betake you to armes and to sharpen your launces. You haue by my pur- » suite and procurement, so speedily and without the losse of one drop of blood, re- » couered *Croie* the seate of your forefathers: Spare not now in defence thereof to shed » your bloud if neede be. This is the daye, wherein both hope and oportunitie doe » present themselues vnto you, for the recouerie of your countrey so long time lost: » and for the raysing of you to great and high fortune, you haue chosen me either for » your companion or your Captaine before any other, and I wil not be the last in any la- » bors, in any hazards whatsoeuer: and if peraduenture in other things my forwardnes

shall

shal not be seconded with as good fortune: yet will I neuertheleſſe make known vnto you the conditions, the conceites, the wiles and policies of the enemy: with whom (it may be by the diuine ordinance) I haue ſpent the moſt part of my yeares to my owne hindrance, and haue bene inſtructed in them to the end they might ſerue to ayde you at this preſent. It would be vnpleaſing vnto me heere to report vnto you their baſe and vile condition, but that hope (which maketh promiſe of a victorie leſſe paine-full) doth render the ſouldier more reſolute and deliberate. What other thing are they but the dregs and ſcum of ſlaues and raskals gathered together, more accuſtomed to theftes and robberies, then to a true warre and a iuſt kinde of fight and combat? Is it certaine that this ſort of men, whoſe name is ſo famous amongſt perſons feare-full and timerous, ſhould be thoſe Turkes, the ſlaues and fugitiues of the *Scythians*? whoſe fathers (as ſome ſay) had their dwellings beyonde the Ryphean mountaines, and the Iſles of *Tarraeont* euen in the heart and boſome of the North, and in the Northerne Ocean? A nation filthy, villanous, and opprobrious: nouriſhed in dennes, ſecret corners, and filthie places: who not diſcerning the fleſh of Wolues and Vultures, doe fill and ſatisfie their hunger vpon humaine abortiue bodies, and who can very hardly glorifie themſelues of any one battell gotten well and honeſtly. It may be that they haue vſurped by fraude and deceite moſt large and ample dominions, and that they will from time to time daily purchaſe more both better and fayrer as long as matter ſhall be giuen them whereupon to exerciſe their treaſon and infidelitie. Here nowe me thinkes I ſee how *Amurath* betaketh himſelfe to his wiles, ſleightes, and ſubtelties, when his other aſſayes ſhall not be able to preuaile againſt you. Beholde and marke well this ſubtell and cautelous *Ottoman*, who will make you faire and goodly promiſes vppon the hope of others misfortunes. It ſeemeth vnto him belike, that there is not any where any kinde of people, but they ſhould be like vnto the *Greekes*, *Bulgarians*, and *Miſians*: all which beeing inueigled and blinded in their owne misfortune and deſtruction more then was conuenient, after they had ſimply and in good faith yeelded themſelues vnto him: the good Prince did either driue them all into exile and baniſhment, or did depriue them of their ſight, or did mangle and deforme their members, and wholly disfigure them. That which I nowe tell you (my friendes) is to admoniſh you, as thoſe whom I eſteeme and ſet by, as thoſe to whome I haue conſecrated my life and my bloud, to the intent you may giue me by this ſubiect, ample and large occaſion, either to commende you, or to accuſe you: for at this preſent I doe not thinke it needefull either to prayſe or diſpraiſe any man. For what iudgement can be made of a ſouldier, onely brauing and vaunting himſelfe within a campe? Then will I make the cenſure of your deſerts, when I ſee your ſwordes ſmoaking with the bloud of the Turkes: when my ſelfe both as a beholder and an encourager, will immitate your prowes, being prodigall both of life and ſafetie. At that time will I heape vpon you all ſortes of commendation and rewardes. But if any one of you doe feele his courage to waxe colde through cowardice, meaſuring our forces by thoſe of the enemie: if he thinke that thoſe who ſurmount in number, will ſurmount alſo in vertue: Let him freely depart and diſlodge from hence, I ſpeake it in a good houre, for feare leaſt going with vs hee ſerue rather to make vppe the number then to giue vs ayde or ſuccour, let him retire hence to his owne home preſentlie. Or if all of you be of that opinion, and that this feare be common vnto you in generall: If neither God nor man can make you aſhamed, let vs then reenforce and ſtrenthen this our armie with ſome newe ſupplyes, or elſe let vs turne our faces and retire ſpeedily. But he which ſhall redoubt and ſtand in feare of the

Originall of the Turkes.

I: fide title of Amurath to the Greekes and others.

» Lieutenant of *Amurath*, especially being within *Macedonie*, a place most safe and se-
» cure by nature: certainely in my opinion he seemeth vnworthy both of the name, &
» the sword which he beareth, and vnworthy of the aire which maketh him to breath
» and liue. I am tedious vnto you euen against my will (most valiant men, and not only
» valiant but princes of the valiant) go to then, awake your ancient courage, take vnto
» you your generous and heroicall spirits, setting nothing before your eyes but victorie:
» and (to conclude in one word) resolue your selues not to be vanquished but by death
» onely. If we ouercome and do rest conquerors, doubt you not but all things hereafter
» will be fauorable vnto vs: likewise being vanquished, in fighting well and valiantly:
» one and the same end will determine both our miseries and our misfortunes.

Courage of the Albanois

No sooner had *Scanderbeg* ended his speech, but that his oration was followed and approued with great clamours of all the host: then all with one voice began to crie, that he should cause the ensignes to march on against the enemie: that in so doing, they would soone make manifest their accustomed valure, and their singular affection towards their Generall so much desired: the hue and crie was great of those that demanded battell: they burned through heate and ardent desire of the combat: and it was a strange matter to see how the souldiers did encourage themselues and their captaines: euerie man speaking to his horse, to his launce, to his owne hand: euerie man began to flourish with his sword, and to assay how he could handle it, and strike faire and strong blowes, in such sort that any man (who had seene their gesture and countenance) would haue thought that they had bene euen then alreadie in the beard of the enemie: or that for greedinesse and desire of bloodshed they would haue disbanded themselues, euen at that instant to haue sought out the enemie, without their leaders, without their ensignes, without keeping their rankes or any good order: by occasion whereof *Scanderbeg* seeing this forwardnes and cheerefulnes in all his armie, at the first with infinite and excessiue ioy, and without any word speaking, gaue eare vnto the braue threats & minaces made by all in generall, & he well obserued with good regard their demeanor and lostie cariage and their fierce courages, drawing from the verie depth of their stomacks infinite matter both of impatience and anger: in the end fearing least some danger might ensue, if he should make too long a stay, and suffer the hot and vehement desire of his souldiers to waxe colde: he tooke order for their pay, and after diuine seruice deuoutly celebrated, besides his vowes made for a happie and a good successe of victorie, he tooke his way towards the enemie, whom he knew by good espial not to be farre off: & about shutting of the euening he encamped in the lower *Dibria* about fore score miles from *Croie*, adioyning neere vnto a mountaine full of woods, or rather a thicke forrest replenished with trees of a great height. Nowe assuring himselfe that the Bassa would not march but in grosse, and with his armie wholly and altogether: and finding this place fit and conuenient for ambushmentes, he determined there to stay and fight with him. For this cause (himselfe ouerseeing and taking order for all things) the first thing he did was to cause *Gnee Musach*, and *Amese* with three thousand horse, to lie there in ambuscado: enioyning them not to depart thence, nor in any case to shew themselues, till they saw him and the rest of the armie ioyned pell mell with the enemie: and thus then, at the very instant breaking forth in most violent and terrible maner vpon them, they should giue in behind vpon their backes, whereby they might be enclosed and enuironned on all parts.

Scanderbeg his armie in the lower Dibria.

Gnee Musach and Amese with 3000 horse in an ambuscade.

The Turkes were no longer out of sight, then was needefull for the disposing of this ambushment: for immediatly they beganne to approch, not being aduertised of anie thing touching the *Albanois*: and they pitched their campe neere to the place where *Castriot* lay encamped; who causing all his lights to be put out, commaunded some

some to keepe the watch, and others to stand scowt, and the residue to take their rest: which was a cause that the Infidels grewe more braue and audacious: and making great fiers, they reioiced that our men lay so shamefully still and altogether without light, interpreting that their silence proceeded of a faint timerousnes. And in this disposition (for that the night was verie long) they came to giue the alarme to the *Albanois*: all of them well neare addressing themselues against their trenches, and pressing verie neare to the portes of their campe with most iniurious speeches, it litle wanted but they had assaulted them within their fortresse. But the *Scanderbegians* held themselues quiet and in silence without replying any one word vnto them, albeit they neither wanted matter to answer them, nor yet good will to issue out against them, not being able to endure these villanies wherewith they prouoked thē. Notwithstanding they held themselues peaceably within their trenches as they were commaunded: but the Barbarians, because our Christians seemed to refuse the fight, became much the worser. But *Scanderbeg* at the rising of the moone, first of all caused his whole troups to refresh themselues, for feare least some aduenture of the warre (as it often falleth out) prolonging the fight, and the souldiers being fasting and pinched with hunger (which nature it selfe is not able to master) might be constrained to follow the victorie more faintly and slothfully. Hauing therefore fed sufficiently all at their ease: he then drewe them forth of the campe ioyous and resolute both in bodie and in spirit, filled also with choller and wrath against the enemie, and with good hope of their owne victorie. Moreouer afterwardes in the verie same place where the effect was to follow vpon his speeches he spake vnto his souldiers, and encouraged them to do their deuoire and diligence: and consequently that he might discouer the forces and the order of the enemie ere he committed himselfe to the hazard of the conflict, he caused his horsemen to take a taste of them by certaine light skirmishes, and therupon prepared and disposed himselfe to the battell, ordering his armie in this manner.

Stratagem of Scanderbeg & his prudence against the Turkes.

On the left wing he set *Tamusee* with 1500. horse, and the like number of footmen, and he did so order his horsemen, that in the forefront, he intermingled certaine archers on foote, to the intent the beginning of the battell might be by them: and that the fight on horseback might be no impeachment nor hindrance to the rest of the infanterie but that they might come speedily to the charge: and might also retire themselues to their owne, if they found themselues pressed or ouertired with trauell. *Moses* with his Dibrians (who commaunded ouer the right wing) ordered the rancks on his part also in the same fashion: making the front and first head of his legions of a companie of horsemen: thereby to make both the issue and passage of the retraite of the footemen likewise sure and free on all sides. True it is, that there needed no great choice or labour, to arraunge the Dibrians in order: for in what sorte soeuer you would martiall them, were it in the first, second or any ranke, and were they either horse or foot, all was sure and certaine on their parts, and seldome or neuer did fortune deceiue them: and seldome or neuer did they let the victory escape out of their hands. Such is the propertie and deuoire of a true souldier, to drawe after him continually whersoeuer he goeth, good happe and fortune, and good order and discipline in his squadrons. Betwene the two pointes or wings in fashion of a Battallion bending in in a compasse: *Castriot* himselfe tooke his place euen in the middest with the surplus of his forces. There likewise were disposed a thousand horse in the head of his troupes: for in asmuch as the enemie was without footemen, it was thought that it had bene but a bad course and ill done, to present their owne foote to the furie and first tempest of the others horse. Next adioyning to that latter troupe of horse, were placed almost the like number of archers on foote: who were verie expert and well instructed to

Order of Scanderbeg his armie against Holy Bassa, Tamusee.

Moses.

Dibrians their discipline and readines in the warres.

Propertie of a good souldier.

Scanderbeg.

follow with a troupe of horſe, and to couer themſelues vnder their ſides: by meanes whereof they might be the better able both to ſafe gard themſelues from the enemie, and to endammage the Barbarians the more grieuouſly, who miſtruſted no ſuch kind of matter in their ordering: betweene the one and the other of theſe troupes ſtoode *George Streſe*, a Knight moſt hardie and couragious, accompanied with the ſouldiers and all the youth of *Croy* round about him, hauing ſo diſpoſed of them purpoſely, that he might be both the beholder and encourager of his citizens. After the ſquadron of archers followed the maine bodie of the infanterie: namely, the bands of pikes and targatyers, conducted by *Aidyn* the brother of *Gnee Muſachee*. *Vranocontes* a ſage and expert warrior with the reſt of the horſemen, led the rereward and the ſupplies. This was a ſtrong and cloſe batallion, compounded of the flower of the olde ſouldiers, and beſt men: holding themſelues firme like a bulwarke for the rallay & retraite of the other troupes, before that they ſhould be broken or forced to recule: (the Romaines named it *Triarij*.) The troupes of footmen that marched with him, were commanded and had in charge; that aſſoon as they ſhould ſee their fellowes to breake forth in the ambuſcado, and the enemie charged behind, and entangled betweene the two points or wings of the armie, they ſhould ſuddenly ſpread themſelues, and opening their rancks, ſhould giue way vnto the men at armes: and that then with a new terror, they ſhould diſorder the enemie, and with one and the ſame charge ſtrike in vpon them being alreadie wearied and ſore trauelled: and that then the ſaid footmen cloſing and ioyning themſelues againe in troupe in their owne places, ſhould together with the ſupplies ſtand faſt, and keepe the batallions from being broken or endammaged, till ſuch time as they might ſee manifeſt and apparant likelihood of victorie, and the enemie in full diſaray and diſorder. In this manner had *Scanderbeg* martialled his troups, and cauſed them to holde cloſe without ſuffering the trumpet to giue the ſignall of fight, till he ſawe the Baſſa alſo arranged in order of battell, and aduancing forward. For he feared leaſt that the ſouldiers disbanding themſelues through ouermuch haſte and raſhneſſe to the encounter: and breaking their orders by reaſon of their too great furie and deſire to aduance themſelues, ſhould bring the eſtate of the whole armie to ſome encombrance.

George Streſe.

Aidin. Vranocontes.

The Generall of the Turkes conſidering the order of our battelles, aduanced forwarde, and by way of mockery often repeated theſe wordes: Euer, euer (quoth he) doe the greater deuour the leſſer, and with open throate he laughed both to ſee them ſo raunged, and at the fooliſh pompe of the Chriſtian: marching ſo formally (as he thought) to his owne funerals. One of the *Ottoman* legions was come forward with great hardineſſe before the others, but being charged ſpeedily and neerely by the forlorne hope of the Chriſtians, they gaue backe and forlooke their place as ſuddenly, before that the two armies had affronted ech other: and at the verie firſt beginning, they ſuffered thēſelues to be beaten backe euen within their trenches, retyring themſelues faſter then a good pace. But the Prince of *Albanie* miſdoubting ſome Turkiſh ſtratageme, ſent forth part of his horſemen both to ſtay the furious purſuit of his ſouldiers, and to bring euery man into his place. The like hapened in the left wing, and therefore both the one and the other being retyred to their troupes, they prepared themſelues againe to the future conflict, and to come vnto a full battell with both the armies. Now were the *Mahometiſts* the more encouraged, for that a few of theirs in a mockerie (as it were) had deceiued many of the Chriſtians: wherefore when the maine fight beganne, *Tanuſe* and *Moſes* parting betwene them the two wings of the enemie, went fiercely to the encounter. And *Caſtriot* with the like furie pricking forward cheerefully with his horſe, did aſſaile the Batallion of the enemie that himſelfe

The battell betweene Scanderbeg and Haly Baſſa.

ſelfe had made choiſe of. At one and the ſame time alſo was the ambuſhment ready to breake forth of the wood with moſt high and loud cries and clamours, before that the enemie with all his forces had giuen in vppon our ſquadrons, and before that all were come equally to the medley. Manie companies of the Turkes perceiuing this, (eſpecially thoſe of the rereward,) & being poſſeſſed with a ſudden feare, leauing both the campe and the charge, betooke themſelues to flight: ſo that they in the vowarde being ſurpriſed and incloſed by the two wings of the Chriſtians, did ſee themſelues expoſed to the butcherie and ſlaughter of the middle legion. There was but one batallion onely of the enemie which *Scanderbeg* was not able to breake, nor durſt to ſet vpon, ſo well was the ſame defended and reenforced by the Barbarians, who had made it of their greateſt number of their people as a ſure and ſafe rampier for the ſafetie of the whole armie. There (as it was ſoone after knowen) did the Baſſa *Haly*, being enuironned with the ſtoureſt and ſtrongeſt forces of all his armie, maintaine the euent and hazard of the battell for a verie long time, wauering and vncertaine. In this meane while *Aydin* hauing charged vpon the middle warde of the Turkiſh armie, and preſſing hard vppon thoſe legions, had filled all with murther and bloudſhedde: and the tumult was there more bloudie and deſperate, then in anie other part of the fight. For the enemie ſeeing that there was no meanes of ſafetie left him, but onely by armes, with the greateſt furie that might be, forced in vppon our men with their ſwordes in point, to the intent they might not die vnreuenged. And after the hazarde and vnfortunate errour of warre had brought ſome of them thither to the encounter: there came others ſtill running to their ſuccours, thinking by the acceſſe of their forces to haue relieued their companions; in ſuch ſorte that the more the Turkes made head thitherwardes, and the thicker that they reſorted to the encounter: ſo much the longer and doubtfull would the reſiſtance haue beene, if *Vranocontes* freſh and luſtie both of courage and of forces, diſmarching in the ſame inſtant, and falling in pell mell amongeſt them, as they were now wearied and wauering had not ended the battell; and ouerthrowen thoſe that remayned. That which moued the Chriſtian Chiefetaine to be of this minde: that his hoaſt ſhould inuade the Infidels ſo late, and not to come to the ayde of his men before they were in ſo harde an eſtate, was this; for that he ſawe both the two winges, and the Cornet and garde it ſelfe of the Prince on all ſides beſet and buſied: and hauing their handes full at the beginning, he would not that they ſhould remaine altogether vnfurniſhed and deſtitute of ſupplyes and ſuccours. And therefore he deferred the employment of his horſemen, and made choice of this time and occaſion as moſt fitte and proper to weaken their forces, and to giue them the checke and ouerthrowe. Hence it grewe that not anie one of them almoſt did eſcape awaye in ſafetie, but that they paſſed vnder the ſworde of the Chriſtians, excepting onely three hundreth vppon whom, lifting vppe their handes for mercie: and caſting awaie their weapons as people wearied and ſpent with woundes, *Caſtriot* would not permit the extreame rigour of victorie to be vſed. By occaſion whereof the troupes of *Scanderbeg*, after this their goodly exploite and militarie trauell accompliſhed and ended, came with exceeding great reioycing and acclamations to the preſence of their Generall, where they founde all things as they wiſhed and deſired. For the *Croyans* had wholy broken the battallion of the Baſſa, and after a wonderfull ſlaughter did purſue the Turkiſh Generall, who ſaued himſelfe with the loſſe of his horſe. There was nothing ſeene nor heard on any ſide but bloud & maſſacres with cryes and lamentations of men drawing to their end: Some tooke priſoners, others leauing behind them the trunkes of the dead bodies deformed, did

Victorie of Scanderbeg of Haly Baſſa & the Turkes.

cut off the heades to make preſents of them to their Generall: manie of them alſo fell to rifling of the baggage: according as the minds of ſome men are to be egerly ſet on their gaine and profit. Finally throughout all the campe there was mention made of this victorie ſo memorable and almoſt incredible, euen to them eſpecially who were ouercome and vanquiſhed: euerie man being abaſhed at the maruellous execution in ſo ſhort a time: for the fight continued from the ſunne riſing but till the third houre. In this battell beſides foure and twentie enſignes taken, and 2000 Turkes priſoners, there were ſlaine vpon the place two and twentie thouſand. Of the Chriſtians there died verie few; and it is ſaid that there were not miſſing of them but about one hundreth and twentie: but of ſuch as were wounded there were a farre greater number. In this manner then did our men that day obtaine that notable victorie vpon the miſcreantes according to the expectation and hope of them all in generall: withall that in this hard encounter, nothing was forgotten which might not onely inuite, but alſo compell fortune to fauour them in the euent and iſſue of the battell. There was no oportunitie, place, nor good order, nor any notable reaſon which might be eſteemed iuſt and neceſſarie to drawe a man to the hazard of battell, but it was carefully and diligently obſerued. If we ſhould ſpeake of the Captaines and the ſouldiers; I dare well affirme, that in this iourney Lyons had Lyons for their leaders and conducters. A great number of them were olde ſouldiers, who had before times borne armes euen vnder the father of *Scanderbeg*: ſo as you would not haue taken them for ſouldiers, but for maſters and teachers in the arte militarie. In this ſort did they thinke nowe to haue made an end of this warre by meanes of the winning of this battell: and that once they ſhould haue abated the bragges and audacitie of the Turkes.

Number of Turkes 22000 ſlaine.

Scanderbeg being nowe maſter of the fielde, held himſelfe quiet within his campe, the reſidue of that day, and all the night following. The next morning (his courage as yet boyling through the good hap of this encounter) he buſied himſelfe in taking order for that which remained, and eſpecially to animate the ſouldiers to an enterpriſe verie conuenient and needefull, and which ſhould be no leſſe delightfull to themſelues: to witte, the ouerrunning, and ſacking of the enemies countrey. And therefore he vſed theſe or the like wordes vnto them.

Oration of Scanderbeg to his ſouldiers, inuiting them to ſpoile the Turkiſh territories.

Hitherto (my ſouldiers) haue you foughten for me your prince, euen till this day, and till nowe haue you ſhewed and done your deuoire for your countrey: from henceforward your owne profeſſion doth inuite you, and your owne good fortune doth ſummon you to continue as you haue begunne. Behold how on all partes the
» legions of the enemie are by your vertue ouerthrowen and diſcomfited: and nowe
» may you number and recount your owne prowes and valiant deedes. It may be that
» ſecretly in your thoughtes, you promiſe to your ſelues from me ſome great rewards,
» and ſome ſingular recompence, which ſhould be prepared and prouided for you, for
» ſo many labours: for ſo much blood: for ſo many trauels ſuffered in this battell: and
» I proteſt vnto you on my faith, your expectation ſhall not be fruſtrate, ſo farre forth
» as I ſhall find the meanes and poſſibilitie. I do verie well and ſufficiently conceiue in
» my minde the commendations and praiſes of you all both in generall and in particu-
» lar. This onely is the reward that you ſhall expect of me (let me make my ſelfe a litle
» merrie with you) if ſo be the courages of ſouldiers canne content themſelues with
» praiſes onely. Other goods haue I not at this time, wherewith I may honour your
» valure: but hereafter when I ſhall haue things in abundance to diſpoſe of, aſſure your
» ſelues I will depart with them vnto you as bountifully. What is there that you can
» receiue more pleaſing and with a better courage? according to other mens iudgement
» and opinion, then this honor & glory, which ech of you ſhall carie home in triumph

as a conqueſt atchieued by his owne arme and proper vertue? Beholde here neare at hand the territorie of the enemy, rich and plentifull in wealth of all ſorts: your gallantiſe and proweſſe hath diſfurniſhed them, and made them bare and naked of all defence: now therefore with good leyſure and eaſe doe you charge and loade your ſelues with the prey and ſpoyle thereof, which is left and abandoned to your pleaſure and diſcretion. Let the feare of the enemy farre and wide know you to be the Conquerours: euen you (I ſay) whom our native countrey ſhall preſently ſee returning home chearefull, ioyous, and triumphant. This will be no ſmall encreaſe of benefite vnto you, to come from a peece of ſeruice ſo excellent. Neuertheleſſe, to the intent it may be ſayed, that I alſo in ſome ſort haue rewarded you for this dayes victory, and that the one of you haue no occaſion to enuy the other, ſeeing that the vertue of you all in the fight was alike and equall: I doe here ordaine and appoint, that the footemen ſhall take the horſes of their ſlaine enemies, and that all of you from henceforth ſhall ſerue on horſebacke as men at Armes. Now therefore (vnder the fauour of the great God) let euery man follow me chearefully, that we maie goe on and reape the moſt acceptable and gladſome fruites of your perfect and full deuoyre.

Spoile and ſacke of the enemies countrey, permitted by Scanderbeg to his ſouldiours.

The ſouldiours who had liſtened all this while verie attentiuelie to his ſpeaches, with verie great ſignification of ioy and gladneſſe (as men ouerioyed with hope of the prey and booty, which they did expect by ſpoyling of their enemies countrey) did approue this his encouragement. They ran therefore euery where, here and there without diſcretion, without order, without conduct, being ſtirred and pricked on with an aſſured and ſodaine contempt and negligence, proceeding (as it ſeemeth) of their happy and good ſucceſſe. But the Prince being well aduiſed, and not hauing any aſſiaunce in the inconſtant and fickle fauours of Fortune, he ſtayed the fury and violence of his ſouldiours, till ſuch time as thoſe which hee had ſent to make a diſcouery, did bring him backe word that there was no daunger. And then (the ſacke and pillage being permitted them freely) the men at armes altogether puffed vppe with the late victory which they had gotten, and diſperſed here and there in diuerſe places, did caſt them ſelues in vppon the enemies country, and caried away the goods of the husbandmen, their perſons, and their cattell. Neither did their furie ſpare to ſhew it ſelfe vppon the verie trees. Nothing was pardonned of what kinde ſoeuer, whereunto the fire and the ſword might doe any dammage and diſpleaſure, excepting onely women and children. The booty was gathered and drawen together, and driuen with ſuch confuſion, noiſe and debate, that a man woulde haue iudged, there had bene begun ſome new tumult of warres, and that the fieldes had bene full of men fighing and combatting. Their woundes did not withhold or hinder anie one of them (for the greedie deſire of pillage had drawen thither many of thoſe who were wounded in the battell) but their paines and trauels ſo lately taken, were quite forgotten, and (as it were) cleane vaniſhed away. Neither the labours, nor the waightineſſe of their burthens, did not diſcourage any one of them, no more then the exceſſe and abundance of ſpoyle (which commonly cauſeth wearineſſe and ſatiety) did ſatisfie and content them: in ſo much that the griefe and ſorrow of the ſouldiors was greater, for leauing that which they could not beare away, then their ioy and contentment of that which they caried with them. When they had thus continued long enough in ſpoyling and foraging, and that the rage of the ſouldiours was mitigated and appeaſed vppon the countrey of the enemy: *Caſtriot* cauſed to ſound the retraite, and his men being ouerloaden with the prey and bootie, marched awaie preſentlie with great gladneſſe and ioy. The Captaines made them-

» ſelues mery at the ſloth and lazineſſe of the ſouldiors: reproaching them that of braue
» and valiaunt warriours, they were now become ſheepeſtealers: and of defendours
» of the glory and renowme of *Albanie*, men might ſee them chaunged into the ha-
» bite and trade of ſheepeheardes. And thus ſcoffing ſometimes at one, and ſome-
» times at another, with many pleaſaunt ieſtes and wordes of mockerie, each after o-
» ther in this or the like manner; what (ſayed they) woulde *Halie* Baſſa now
» ſaie with the reliques of his diſcomfiture, if hee were euen nowe in place and did
» ſee you in this point, dragging after you ſo vile and baſe baggage of neither worth
» nor valour, but a fitte reward for couetous and greedy ſouldiours? Would hee not
» bluſhe extreamely at ſo vile and ſhamefull Conquerours? And would hee not re-
» proach his men of their faintneſſe and cowardize, that hadde ſuffered them ſelues to
» be ſurmounted and ouercome by ſuch a ſort of baſe companions: and for that they
» hadde yeelded vnto ſuch men the honour and the glorie of the combate? Thus did
the ſouldiours full of mirth and merriment, with diuerſe ſportes and ſongs full of
ioy and gladneſſe, eaſe and mittigate the hard trauell of the way, till ſuch time as
with high cries and clamours they ſaluted the guardes of their Campe which mar-
ched on before them. The night following being paſt within their Campe: *Scan-
derbeg* the next morning before daie breake, commaunded to truſſe vp the baggage,
and with his hoaſt triumphaunt marched on directly towardes *Croie*. The multi-
tude ſcattered euery where throughout all the high waies and paſſages, did ſalute and
call them both generally and priuately triumphant and valiaunt. Euery man admi-
red the greatneſſe of the ſpoiles gotten from the enemy, and hardly were the new
made men at armes diſcerned and knowen from the old. Theſe congratulations and
reioycings did endure many daies, and there were ſent vnto all the Princes and par-
ticular Lordes of *Epire*, letters crowned with lawrell and certaine ſtandards, and the
reſidue were hanged vp in their churches.

1443. This yeare was famous and notable by reaſon of this victory: but much more
memorable was it afterwardes by the dolorous diſcomfiture of the Chriſtians at
Varna. The which to paint it out vnto you more liuely, I muſt draw backe to the
Of the warres betweene the Turkes and the Hungarians. deſait of *Carambey*, whereof I entreated in the former booke. You knowe (if you
haue any knowledge in the courſe and vſage of Armes) that one diſgrace of Fortune,
and the gaine of one onely battell, doth euer bring much diſhonour and many miſ-
happes to the looſer, and cauſeth freſh beginnings of new enterpriſes to his enemies.
Euen ſo that rude Baſtanado giuen to *Carambey* at the battell of *Morana*, and the
reuolt of *Scanderbeg* falling both at once vppon *Amurath*, did ſollicite and cauſe the
This is the king of Cilicia, This Pontus and Bithinia. **Caramanian* to moue warre againſt him: ſo that preparing a puiſſant and mightie
Army, and therewithall inuading the Turkes in **Natolia* (which is called alſo great
Tregnyo) he conſtrayned *Amurath* to paſſe into *Aſia*, with the reliques of his defeated
forces, to aſſure the eſtate of that countrey. But finding that he ſhould not be ſtrong
enough, vnleſſe he did wholly and altogether oppoſe him ſelfe againſt this new e-
nemy: beſides that the ſucceſſe of the forepaſſed ouerthrow at *Morana*, did make
him begin to bethinke him ſelfe, and to redoubt the felicity of the Chriſtians. Firſt
of all therefore (as I haue told you) he would aſſure him ſelfe of the king of *Hungarie*
by a peace: the which being concluded, and reſpectiuely ſworne vppon the holie
Euangeliſtes, and the Alcaran, was fully ratified by the mediation of *George* the *Deſpot*
This is the vpper Miſia, by the Turkes called Segoria, of **Seruia* and *Ruſcia*: which notwithſtanding was ſoone after violated, by the means
which I will now ſhew you.

The Turkiſhe Ambaſſadour being diſlodged and departed from the Court of
Vladiſlaus: beholde ſodainely there arriued letters from *Francis Albert* a Floren-

tine,

tine, Cardinall of the holy siege: the contentes whereof were. That the Turke with innumerable companies was passed ouer into *Asia*, to fight against the King of *Caramania*, hauing left his countrey in *Europe* vnprouided and disfurnished of defence, and wholly disarmed: and that he with three score and tenne Gallies well armed and appointed, and many other great Vesselles of warre, hauing seized on all the portes and passages, hadde taken from the Infidell all meanes and hope anie more to transport his troupes and forces on this side the Sea. And that such opportunity which then was offered, ought not to be lost and omitted: that now this cursed and wicked nation might be either rooted out in a manner without anie fight, or at least wise chased and driuen so farre off, that they should be no more heard nor spoken of. For you must note: that *Iulian Cæsarin* Cardinall of Sainct *Angell* and legate of his holinesse, being then neare about *Vladislaus* at *Buda*, had lately procured a new league betweene the Christians for the ruine and destruction of the name of *Ottoman*, and had caused Pope *Eugenius* the fourth of that name, the Duke of *Burgoyne*, the Venetians, and the Genowayes to enter into the same, who hauing put in readinesse and prouided this army by sea, hadde now seized vppon that straight. At the same instaunt (as if it had beene a thing done of purpose) the Messengers of the Emperour of Greece, reported the like newes and in manner to the same effect. If these tidings were displeasing to the legate, I leaue to your opinion. For hee was greatly greeued to see the accord and agreement passed betweene the King of *Hungarie* and the Turke, to the preiudice of his practises and endeuours, by meanes whereof so great and mighty forces were assembled at the sea neare * *Gallipolis*. And he doubted least he should be taxed either of lightnesse and inconstancy, or of faithlesnesse and infidelity. But he knew so well both how to do, and to speake vnder colour of this *Maxime*: * (That faith ought not to be kept with infidelles and miscreants,) that the compact and conditions of the peace, were broken and violated. And he absolued and freed both the king, his nobles, and all others, who had benesworne thereunto, from the oath which they had solemnly taken and made, so that all of them entred chearefully and gladly into this * blessed league. The Romaine legate him selfe was there present, followed with a faire and goodly troope vnder the Crosse. *Iancus Huniades* that tempest of warre with his Valachians came thither likewise, and had the title to be lieuetenaunt Generall of the Army royall.

Letters from Francis Albert Cardinall to Vladislaus king of Hungarie.

Iulian Cardinall of Sainct Angell.

Leaue of the Christians against the Turke.

This is Hellespont, the Armes of S. George.

A Maxime of the Romishe Prelates.

Cardinall Iulian maketh the king of Hungary to breake his faith and league with the Turke.

* *Cursed and vnhappy.*

Vppon the preparation of so high and haughty an enterprise, all were moued at the glorious renowme of *Scanderbeg*, and at his fresh victory gotten vppon *Halie* Bassa, and they perswaded them selues that if they could ioyne, vnto this their great preparatiue and prouisions of the Hungarians, the forces of the *Albanois* yet shining in the Vermilion colour of the Turkish bloud: this would be an aide and supply vnto them of singular aduantage, and a most certaine assurance of a good and happie successe to their desires. For this cause vppon good deliberation approued by all of them, and with all speed possible: according as the apparaunce of mischiefe and inconuenience neare and imminent did require, letters were sent away, of which this was the tenour.

Vladislaus and the Christians do seeke the aide of Scanderbeg against the Turke.

Vladislaus king of Hungarie and of Poland, sendeth health to Scanderbeg Duke of the Albanois,

Letters of king Vladislaus to Scanderbeg.

It may be that Gods will was, that this our late congratulation should be deferred vntill this present: to the intent that wee might at this time reioyce together with you in the double successe of your prosperitie: not onely for the happy

» recouery of your owne eſtate, but alſo for that by your vertue and prudence, the
» ſame hath bene couragiouſly defended. In this then doe we ſolace and reioyce our
» ſelues both with you, and with all Chriſtendome: conſidering that the diuine cle-
» mency and your valour, hath giuen ſuch ſuecours and comfort to the publique weale
» and eſtate Chriſtian. For to ſpeake the trueth, the loſſe of the nation of *Albanois*
» hath beene ſuch a wound that wee may continually bewaile it, as much as any one
» of our other miſhappes and misfortunes: at that time when *Iohn Caſtriot* your fa-
» ther (whom God pardon) a Prince (as I vnderſtand of excellent merite and de-
» ſert,) being oppreſſed by *Amurath*, and taken out of this world by the vngratefull
» deſtenies, had neither the meanes to leaue vnto you the inheritaunce of his Crowne
» and Scepter (as vnto his Sonne, being then vnder the yoke and bondage of a ſtranger)
» nor yet was able otherwiſe to prouide for his affaires. O that it had pleaſed God,
» that this Father being moſt happy and fortunate in ſuch a Sonne had bene now li-
» uing: no greater bliſſe could haue befallen him, whereby to ſurmount all humaine
» felicity, then to haue ſeene you before his death. For ſo doe you ſeeme vnto mea-
» boue all other Princes in this world (be it ſpoken without diſpleaſing of any other)
» the moſt accompliſhed in all graces and perfections both of minde and body, as be-
» ing diuinely endowed with a certaine fatall and wonderfull Fortune: by the good
» encounter whereof, not onely all the land of *Albany* may vaunt it ſelfe, to be in
» ſurety and ſecurity: but they ſhall alſo recouer their firſt forme and beauty, the aun-
» cient glory of their kingdome, the free liberty of their religion, and all the rightes
» and priuiledges of the people which were lately diſmembred from the Realm of *Ma-*
» *cedon*, by the vnlawfull robbery of the *Ottomans*. For (to ſay nothing of thoſe
» things, which from your infancy hauing made you continually to be enuyed, haue
» purchaſed vnto you heretofore, euen amongeſt the Barbarians, an immortall name
» and glory) what can there be more magnificent then this victory, which (as wee
» haue heard and doe beleeue) you haue obtained with ſingular admiration in the vt-
» ter ouerthrow and diſcomfiture of *Haly* Baſſa, and ſo great and mighty troupes of
» the Pagans? But now ô *Scanderbeg*, there offers it ſelfe vnto you a ſubiect of farre
» greater glory, vnder the fauour and bleſſing of God, who by his wonderfull coun-
» ſaile and decree, hath reſerued you in theſe ſo difficult and daungerous times for
» the ſafety and publique good of Chriſtendome: with a moſt faire and fitte occaſion
» to reuenge vppon the *Sultan*, all his wrongs and iniuries both new and old: as well
» thoſe done to your owne perſon, as thoſe againſt the eſtate and kingdome of *Al-*
» *banie*; and not onely the domeſticall and ciuill miſeries of your owne countrey, but
» the publique calamities alſo, and thoſe opprobrious diſgraces done againſt the Chri-
» ſtian religion now oppreſſed, (I will not ſay extinguiſhed,) if ſo be that vppon the
» point, and in this extremity of our affaires, not yet altogether deſperate and without
» hope, you will ſuccour vs with your victorious Forces. Hereunto doe all the prin-
» ces of *Hungarie*, and of *Poland*, and all good men inuite you. *Iulian* the Cardinall
» of Saincte *Angell* intreateth you, and ſo many Catholique and deuout men at armes
» Chriſtians, who are here with vs long ſince ready in armes and well appointed, no
» other thing doe wee attend then your enſignes. This will be a fitte meane at this
» time (if you refuſe not this fitte opportunitie which God now ſo graciouſlie ſen-
» deth vs) to vanquiſhe our common and troubleſome enemy, and wholly to deter-
» mine this warre: to chaſe and driue away the Turkes, and to diſpoſſeſſe them of
» Europe, ſo long time by them occupied and wrongfully vſurped. I neede not then
» (as I take it) vſe any kinde of perſwaſion vnto you in this cauſe and quarrell,
» the defence whereof doth purchaſe vs ſafety, light, and liberty. Contrariwiſe be-

ing abandoned, I will not forehalsen that which may come of it. Wee Christians haue beene too too slacke and backeward in doing our deuoyr to helpe and succour each other. The flame hath now well neare consumed all of vs: yet haue none in the meane time bene aduised or perswaded, that this fire would passe on and come neare vnto them selues. What doth the estate of the Greekes represent vnto vs, and the condition of the Triballians, and last of all mine owne losses? What Iliade can recount vnto vs all the mischiefes wee haue endured, and those which doe daily menace vs? So many braue and valiaunt Princes the bulwarke and defence of *Hungarie* which we do loose from time to time aswell in puissant armies consumed and brought to nothing, and with one and the same fatall chaunce of warre almost wholly extinguished? In such sort, that in this Realme from hence forward, there is neither family, wife, nor matrone, exempted from bearing a part in this grieuous and lamentable calamity. All this and worse by farre do Christian Princes heare of, and yet, the miserable estate and condition of their Allies can nothing moue any one of them: but thus doe they suffer vs on all parts to be exposed to the rage and fury of the common enemies, as if we were an offering to be sacrificed to all perils and daungers. Onely *Eugenius* the chiefe Pastor of the Church, and *Philip* Duke of *Burgundie* are to be excepted, who haue not reiected nor refused the burthen of our afflicted and miserable Fortune. The one hath sent hither his legate the Cardinall of Sainct *Angell*, with notable and puissant succours: and the Duke of *Burgoyne* with his Army at sea, hauing aduentured as farre as *Gallipoly*, doth valiantly hinder the passage of the Turkes into *Europe*. One other hope there is not now farre from vs: and that is, the succours whereof we are so desirous: the which we doe require of you, being moued thereunto, partly by your valour so well knowen and notorious, and partly also in regard of the imminent perill, and the hazard of the common affaires, which presseth vs all in generall. And albeit we are not ignorant of the discommodities which may befall you in this expedition: we pray you notwithstanding that they may not withhold and keepe you backe, assuring you, that as it cannot be but to your great honour, so the benefite of this your present desert, shall not be bestowed on persons of an vngrate and thankeleſſe spirite. But that which you shall at this time beginne and vndertake for our preseruation and dignity: we will from hence-forth and euermore continue for your glory, and for the increase of your greatnesse. God haue you in his keeping. From *Buda* our Capitoll and chiefe city the fourth day of Iuly. 1443.

"O that all Christians would weigh and consider those words.

By this time had *Haly* Bassa brought backe the reliques of his defeated army vnto *Amurath*: howbeit that the newes of his desaster oftentimes reiterated, had made way before him. Some say that he was sharply reproued by the *Ottoman*, who obiected vnto him by way of reproach, that it was not likely that so puissant an army could haue bene almost wholly ruinated without some great and notable cowardize, or some counsell rash and timerous. Sometimes he would exclaime and say, that his army was betrayed: sometimes he would alleadge, that either it was surprized by the negligence of the Generall, or that in comming to the encounter, they had giuen the aduantage of the place vnto the enemy: whereof it proceeded that so great a desaster and misfortune had fallen vpon his people. Now albeit *Haly* Bassa could not deny, but hee had bene ouerreached and preuented by our ambushments, the which might haue deceiued any man, were he neuer so politicke, subtill, and circumspect, yet did he excuse himselfe nenertheleſſe, calling his souldiours to witnesse, that there was nothing in him to be reprehended, but the variable and inconstant chaunce and lotte of Armes: and that there wanted neither good order, nor discipline, nor the aduauntage of

Haly Bassa returneth to Amurath.

place, nor the oportunity of charging at a fit and conuenient time. Finally that neither the souldiours did faile their Captaine, nor the Captaine their souldiours. But if it would please his Maiesty, to permit him once more to attempt and make triall of his Fortune; he would make him to see, that he had a deuise and stratageme, by which he would bring it to passe, that this prosperity of *Scanderbeg* should proue dolefull and lamentable. The vaine promises of the Bassa did soone moue the *Soltan*, who being now more animated then euer, was willing that in any case new forces shoulde speedily be prouided, if the other Bassaes and Councellours, especially *Caly Bassa*, making him to change his aduise, had not shewed him: That another war of greater difficulty and consequence did fall vpon his shoulders, that the enterprise of *Epyre* might with safety, either be deferred or omitted, but so could not the tumults of *Hungarie*, but that it behoued him carefully to attend and looke vnto them.

Scanderbeg calleth a councell of the Albanois to consult vpon the sending of succours to the king of Hungarie.

In the middest of these affaires, the letters of King *Vladislaus* being brought to *Scanderbeg*, were a speciall meane and occasion to moue and induce him to giue him aide and succours. For a more honest cause and fitter occasion of warre, could not haue bene found then was the same ministred at that time. This notwithstanding, for that he would determine nothing without the aduise of those with whose ayde he was to serue him selfe vppon all occasions: hauing called together his chiefetaines, he would that the kings letters should be read openly in full assembly of a generall councell. And there was not any one who did disalow of that warre, for that the excessiue greatnesse of the *Ottoman* Empire encreasing from day to day, did animate euery one with the spurres of wrath and indignation: and did sollicite their mindes, almost trembling and quaking for feare of more grieuous inconueniences: and did admonish all the world of the vnfortunate condition of the Christians, and of the former fortune sometimes inuincible of the Hungarians, the which if *Amurath* should once cast to the ground, euery man did propound and set before his eyes, both in publique and in priuate a finall desolation; considering that there was no where to be found any puissance more sufficient, or better able to sustaine the feeble and weake estate of Christendome for any long season, nor which could with continuall warres and endlesse hostility, represse the Turkish malice, whom the insolency and pride of so many victories, had made to be their deadly and extream enemy. Moreouer, the hope of the Epirots was so augmented by the happy successe of that victory lately befallen them; that they went euery where saying and promising vnto themselues, that they should finde the like fortune: especially seeing they changed not their Chiefe, nor their enemy, but the place of the warre onely. To conclude, all of them did affirme, that it behoued them, and they ought to aduenture the losse of their liues for the gaining and getting vnto themselues, so great and puissant a king to be their friend in this troublesome season, against the inconstancy of fortune, and so many humaine accidentes. Wherefore it was concluded without contradiction, that succours should be sent him, but as touching the number of the men of warre, and the forces of those succours, they could not so soone be accorded and agreed: and this difference continued amongest them till the darke of the euening came vpon them. Many opinions being laied downe on the one side and the other touching this point, some agreed vppon eight thousand, others vppon fiue, and the most part offered fewer, shewing that there was no reason to disfurnish the Prouince of men, the warre being on all sides kindled, and the enemy (it might be) yet boyling in despite vpon the confines of *Macedony*, and that they ought not to thinke, because the Bassa had bene lately beaten, that therefore the warre was ended and determined: but rather it wanted so much that the Turkish forces were thereby weakened, or their cou-

rage

rage diminished; that on the contrary, he was by reason thereof much more enflamed and incensed. Some also made a doubt, and it was long debated with great diuersity of opinions, whether *Scanderbeg* himselfe should march thither in person, or whether they should onely send aide and succours vnto the king, for that without the infinite discommodity of the proceedings and affaires of *Scanderbeg*, and his estate not yet throughly settled and confirmed, he could not well be absent, nor leaue the care and administration of the same; that his presence (if need were) in time of peace or of warre, would be of great consequence and moment, considering that the people of *Albany* would acknowledge no other soueraigne to command ouer them: that al things, he being in place and presence, would succeed well, and florish by his aduise and counsell: But he being absent, it could not be otherwise then a case most pitifull, to see the deformity that would ensue within the countrey, by the negligence and security both of the citizens, and of others of all estates and qualities, who for griefe and sorrow which they should conceaue at his departure, would suffer the vigour and liuelinesse of their spirites to vanish and to relent.

The Prince of *Albany*, albeit he had not determined any way to alter or change his first resolution, yet because he would not seeme to disdaine or to make litle reckoning of the loue and good will of his subiects (whom he could not vpon the difficulties of that voyage openly contradict) nor yet to repugne against their offer of so smal numbers of souldiours, for feare least he should seeme willing to draw them on by force to a straunge warre, and to be the cause of new perils and dangers vnto them, he iudged it no lesse conuenient for the common profite, then for his owne in particular to be silent, and to vse litle or no speech in the matter. But the vehemency and earnestnesse of *Paul Ducagin* (whose speach was worthy and well beseeming so excellent a prince) did soone cut off all these disputes and diuersities of opinions: and did in an instant appease all these difficulties, that so troubled their mindes, thus speaking vnto them.

Oration of Paul Ducagin, touching the number of the succours to be sent into Hungaria.

It may be (worthy Princes *Albanois*) that you attend and expect in great deuotion, what kinde of stile and speach, I doe now meane to vse vnto you, and vnto which of your opinions I will encline and ioyne my selfe. But I assure you, there is no such matter as you thinke of, for that I see not that you haue laied downe or expounded any thing which is correspondent to the greatnesse and Maiesty, either of *Scanderbeg*, or of the name of the *Albanois*. Pardon me though I say so (for in generall counsells this hath euer beene allowed as a speciall priuiledge, for each man to speake freely and at liberty, and to be heard quietly and patiently.) And therefore if it be lawfull for me now to discourse vppon these your consultations of the warre of *Hungarie*: much more willingly would I hearken vnto those who would resolutely dislike of sending any succours at all vnto the King: and would rather decree and ordaine (and that not vnaduisedly) that the ruine and destruction of our neighbours, and the perillous estate of straungers were not to be preferred nor regarded before our domesticall mischieues, and our owne proper necessities. For is there (I pray you) any thing so ridiculous, as to heare you to count some vppon eight, some vpon fiue thousand souldiours, and some vppon fewer, to vphold the waight and burthen of such a warre and so important, as if you were to thinke that a King so puissant and mighty, would demaund out of the whole countrey of *Epyre* so small a number, in the extremity, and (as it were) the last triall of his Fortune? Shall *Scanderbeg* be so meanely accompanied into the middest of the *Varnian* fieldes, where all men in generall doe attend and wishe for him? Shall so many Princes and great Lordes of *Hungarie*, and of the Christian Army, see your chiefe and soueraigne (whose glorious renowme is now dispersed and gone into all partes before him) shall he I say be

» ſeene marching before a handfull of men, no otherwiſe then as one accompanied
» with ſo many theeues and robbers? Admit (which God defend) that he ſhould hap-
» pen to be ouerthrowen and vanquiſhed, well and iuſtly might the enemy mocke and
» ieſt at the miſhappe of his diſcomfiture, much more his owne ſubiectes, in that hee
» would aduenture to conduct into a forraine countrey, and into an other mans domi-
» nions ſo ſmall a number of men as would ſcant be in ſafety within their owne home
» and dwellings. Contrariwiſe, if he ſhould ouercome and get the victory, litle praiſe
» and leſſe profite would come of it. Some others there be, who with a deuiſe all new
» and not heard of, would that forces ſhould be ſent to the King for his ſuccour, but
» they would not that *Scanderbeg* ſhould bowdge, that forſooth a regard ſhould be had
» of his Citizens, or of the vnruly multitude, who would hardly be brought to re-
» ceiue or admit the command of any ſecond or inferiour perſon. This is the point (my
» maiſters) wherein conſiſteth all our difference: either that abſolutely (as I haue ſayd)
» we doe refuſe to ſend the King any ſuccours, or elſe that you chaunge your aduiſe and
» opinion. What ſhall we ſend theſe triumphant ſuccors vnto the Hungarians with-
» out *Scanderbeg*, whoſe onely name will yeeld them more ſuccour, then if all of vs
» were with them and he abſent? whom they eſpecially doe inuite, and whom all of
» them doe demaund and ſeeke after? Let vs ſend them then a gods name, if any be diſ-
» poſed to goe without him. Cannot your Citizens liue one day in reſt and quiet
» without *Scanderbeg*, and will you that the ſouldiour being in armes, ſhould fol-
» low the aduenture of forraine ſeruice without his Captaine? Do you thinke that our
» houſes and our countrey ſhall be in danger without his aſſiſtance? and ſhall the ſoul-
» diour finde him ſelfe ſafe and ſecure in a ſtraunge countrey and a farre off, being ſepe-
» rated and farre remoued from his accuſtomed Chiefetaine and Generall? What is
» then to be done? On the one ſide your forces doe hate and abhorre to go into *Hunga-*
» *rie* without their *Scanderbeg*: and on the other ſide, the loue of your countrey, and the
» deſire of your fellow Citizens doth reſtraine and withhold you. For my part my ad-
» uiſe is, that a ſpeedy leauy be made as great and as puiſſaunt as may be, that wee loſe
» not the occaſion of this warre propoſed and laied before vs: and during the other
» affaires and buſineſſes of the *Ottoman*, let vs not doubt the eſtate of our owne coun-
» trey. Furthermore, who is he that will not promiſe and aſſure him ſelfe of an vn-
» doubted victory, by the iſſue of this encounter? Vnleſſe it be ſome one whom his
» timerous ſpirite miſledde and abuſed, doth terrifie and hinder from being reſo-
» lute? As touching *Scanderbeg*, there is not any one of you but will confeſſe, that it
» is more eaſie for you to finde a man to gouerne you in peace, and to adminiſter iuſtice,
» then to conduct and lead ſouldiours marching with their Armes. But to the intent
» you may not thinke that in this diſcourſe, I bring you nothing but great and glori-
» ous wordes: Behold here am I, who doe offer my ſelfe with fiue thouſand men to
» the warre of *Hungarie*: and (if neede be) doe vow and conſecrate my life for the ſer-
» uice of Ieſus Chriſt, principally, and next for the glory and reputation of all of you:
» and for *Scanderbeg* his honour, name and dignity.

This round and ſharpe Oration of *Ducagin*, and the liberall offer of his paines and labour, together with the great authority which the man had with all the Princes of *Epyre*, and with *Scanderbeg* eſpecially, did ſoone worke a chaunge and alteration in their mindes and opinions. *Scanderbeg* him ſelfe was the firſt that approued his deuiſe, and after he had recounted and numbred vp his merites and worthy actes in the whole courſe of his life before paſt: he ſayed, that there was not any one beſides him in all the company, that had ſpoken rightly, and for the reputation of them in generall. And he did often times repeate it, that moſt happy and fortunate ſhould the

eſtate

estate of *Albany* be, if it had many such men of like deuotion. This *Paul* (as we haue said) was one of the most puissaunt and noblest Princes of *Epire*: and amongst other his vertuous conditions, he was most singularly commended for a certaine true, vnfayned, and perfect zeale in religion, and was held in high accompt and estimate amongst all men: being descended out of that honorable family, from which very many most famous and warlike Captaines had beene descended: and especially *Nicholas*, sonne of the sayd *Paul*, who farre surpassed and excelled all his forefathers and ancestours in the honour and renowme of Armes. Of this man there is yet at this day extant and remaining in *Peneropole* (a towne of *Thrace* by the inhabitaunts called *Persera*) a notable monument or marke of his excellent vertue, and of the strength of his arme (if I may so tearme it) immortall. And that is the reliques or peeces of an enemies target, the which in a certaine fight of late (whereof the memory is yet but new and fresh) he did with one onely blow of his Cymitary cut quite in sunder from the one side thereof to the other: that the hand of the Barbarian holding it then in fight, was so maymed, as from thence forward he was neuer able to vse it any more in the warres. I take it not altogether impertinent if I haue here a litle digressed from the intēt of our history: to the intent that both so honorable a father may be the more commended in so worthy a sonne, and that an act so rare and memorable, might not vtterly be forgotten, nor altogether swallowed vp in the deuouring gulfe of obliuion and vngratefull forgetfulnesse.

Praises and commendation of Paule Dugin.

Nicholas sonne of Paul Dugin, his valour and prowesse.

Peneropole, or Persera.

Digression.

The whole power and care of ordering the expedition into *Hungarie* was absolutely referred and committed vnto *Scanderbeg*: that he should doe and ordaine all things as him selfe should thinke to be best and most conuenient both for his owne honour, and for the well fare and credite of the nation and name of *Albanie*. To the intent therefore he might no longer delay the ardent desire of *Vladislaus* in so vrgent necessitie of his affairs, before that he published the leuie or muster of any companies, he speedily dispatched away the Kings messenger, and willing him to hasten with all speed possible, he gaue him letters to this effect.

To Vladislaus king of Hungarie and of Poland, Scanderbeg Prince of the Epirots wisheth health and prosperitie.

Letters of Scanderbeg in answer to Vladislaus king of Hungary.

Most inuincible King, your letters I haue receiued with no lesse ioy then contentment: the tenour whereof hauing caused publikely to be rehearsed in a full and generall assembly of my Captaines and Chieftaines, there is not anie one of them but with most voluntarie and liberall hearts haue aduised vs to embrace this so fitte and oportune an occasion of so iust a warre by you offered vnto vs. And euerie man doth frankely and freely affirme, both openly and in priuate, that nothing could haue happened vnto them by the Diuine bountie, more agreeable and acceptable, then that they might by some notable seruice testifie their gratefull and thankefull mindes, and binde vnto them so excellent a Prince, as also to giue so fit succours vnto the estate of Christendome. I am exceeding glad, and doe take singular contentment in this laudable deuotion and forwardnesse of mine owne people, both in regard of your selfe, and in the behalfe of the common and publike cause: in that our men of warre, and all other my subiectes of all estates and degrees (without any perswasion vsed on my part) doe shew them selues so chearefully and courageously minded in defence of the faith and Christian religion, and so well affectioned towardes your Maiestie. And to speake the verie truth, who is he (if he be not hatefull both to God and men) if there were no question neither of religion nor of common danger: that would notwithstanding refuse a warre so iust and so lawfull? and for such a

" king, by whom alone we may and ought all of vs to acknowledge, that we Chri-
" ſtians doe not onely raigne and poſſeſſe our eſtates, but we liue, we breath, and enioy
" the liberty of our ſpeach? Who would not willingly take armes, and euen ruſh into
" manifeſt and certaine danger for the people of *Hungarie*, by whom the publique eſtate
" of Chriſtendome hath bene in all ages mightily ſupported and defended with ſo ma-
" ny trauelles, and ſo much bloudſhed? Who from the very cradell (as it were) and
" their firſt beginnings, haue bene continuall enemies to our enemies, and haue vowed
" them ſelues for the maieſty and dignity of the name and profeſſion of Chriſtianity?
" Would it had pleaſed God (moſt mighty and redoubted *Vladiſlaus*) that it had bene
" in my power to haue brought vnto you ſuch forces towardes this honourable enter-
" priſe, as might haue bene aunſwerable to the greatneſſe of my courage, and good af-
" fection. It might then perhaps ſo fall out, that *Europe* ſhould not any longer continue
" oppreſſed in this ignominious eſtate, whereunto it is now reduced by this wicked *A-*
" *murath*. Neither ſhould the fields of *Varna* and *Baſilia* ſo often ſume and ſmoake with
" the bloud of the Hungarians: neither ſhould all the corners and quarters of *Macedony*
" be ſo filled with the bloud of the Epirots: both which peoples haue bene made as the
Note. " onely ſacrifices of others ſinnes and offences. We are euen now all of vs at the verie
" point of extreame daunger vtterly like to periſh, whileſt euery one thinketh that he is
" borne for him ſelfe only and alone. But why do I in vaine burſt forth into theſe boot-
" leſſe and vnprofitable complaints and lamentations? Aſſuredly I doe not thinke my
" owne power altogether ſo weake and feeble, neither do I beleeue (if it ſhall pleaſe God
" that our forces may once meete and ioine together in ſo happy a warre) that the name
" and eſtate of Chriſtianity ſhall haue any cauſe to ſorrow or to be agreeued in the euent
" and iſſue of our fortune. For beſides thoſe fifteene thouſand ſouldiours, which lately
" diſcomfited *Haly* Baſſa on the borders of *Macedon*: my determination is to adde other
" fifteene thouſand vnto them: with all which forces, as ſoone as I may conueniently, I
" will begin to march and take my iourney, being ready to follow your enſignes to all
" euents whatſoeuer. So God preſerue you in all proſperity. From *Croy* the third of
" Auguſt. 1443.

An army leuied by Scanderbeg for the aid of the king of Hungary.

These letters being diſpatched away to the King, *Scanderbeg* applied and bent all his mind and ſtudy for the leuying of forces. Firſt of all, thoſe companies which had foughten againſt *Haly* Baſſa, he cauſed to be made ſtrong with new ſupplies, not ſuffering any one of them to abſent him ſelfe from this voyage: And he was fully determined not to vſe any idle and vnprofitable perſons in this iourney, but ſuch onely as ſhould be willing and reſolutely minded. Then hauing ſent publique Commiſsioners throughout the Prouince to that effect, he had ſoone raiſed and enrolled to the number of ten thouſand more. *Paul Ducagin* did moſt largely make proofe by the effect and by his deeds, of the good mind and affection which he had before in the aſſembly, made ſhew of by his ſpeaches. For comming to preſent him ſelfe to *Scanderbeg*, euen with the formoſt, beſides his owne perſon, he brought with him alſo, fiue thouſand all choſen and picked men, and ſingularly well appointed. Immedialy hereuppon all domeſticall matters being ſet in order, and the affaires of the Prouince well prouided for: *Caſtriot* hauing taken a view and muſter of his whole Army, and hauing diſpoſed of the ſeuerall companies, and deuided his regiments as it ſeemed beſt vnto him, he diſtributed and beſtowed all the particular places of charge and office, and appointed vnto them fit and able Captaines and officers, as if the warre of *Hungarie* had euen then bene begunne, in that howre and very inſtant. Afterwardes publique praiers and general proceſſions being made for the victory: neuer did the people of *Epire* (who were alway more enclined to armes then to religion) ſo importune the

diuine

diuine maiestie with their prayers and supplications, as they did at that time for the happy returne of their souldiers, who were then to march out of their owne country. All things both diuine and humane being thus well ordered & disposed, the soldiers now drawne from their natiue home, did take vnto them a new kind of courage: and their minds and imaginations were continually deuising vpon no other thing, neither had they ought else before their eyes, but the warre of *Hungary*: neither did they carrie the shew and countenance of any other then of such men as had bene euen lately accustomed and exercised to embrue themselues in the bloud of their enemies.

Scanderbeg marching with his armie towards Hungarie, is hindered by the Despot of Misia.

Thus with great and exceeding ioy had they aduanced their ensignes euen to the frontiers of *Misia*, when that either cruell Fortune, or the immortall and secret order and decree of the heauenly powers, or (which is most likely) the indignity & hatefulnesse of the sinnes and wickednesse of the Christians, which seemed now to approch neare to receiue their deserued punishment from the deuine maiestie, did raise & stirre vp the disloyaltie and periurie of one wretched person, to trouble & breake the course of these glorious attempts: causing both perpetuall matter of lamentation to the *Hungarians*, and a most memorable losse and calamity to the estate & wealth of Christendome. This was *George Vvhoruich* (of whom we haue made so often mention) at that time called and commonly named the Lord or *Despot* of *Seruia*: a man (if such graces and accomplements had any way furthered his vertues and good behauiour) of corporall beauty, and of an excellent maiestie and countenance most gracious & venerable: and one that in eloquence and grauitie of speech was most rare & admirable, and not inferior to any of his time, descended of a noble and ancient familie, and very aged and well growne in yeares. As concerning his faith and religion (that we may not in this also omit his impietie) he was one that did altogether neglect and contemne it: for being a verie Atheist, and hauing his pernicious mind deuoyd of all pietie, feare, and reuerence of the Deitie, he did equally and alike contemne and deride both the precepts of Christianitie, and the traditions of *Mahomet*. On a time (long after the battell of *Varna*) when this old Prince, being at least ninety yeares of age, and flying from the face and presence of *Mahomet*, did happen to come into *Hungarie*, to desire their ayde and succours against the Turkes, he chanced to fall in companie with a notable zealous preacher Frier *Iohn Capistran* of the order of *S. Francis*, vnto whom (after he had heard him make many excellent and holy discourses touching his reuolt and apostasie frō the faith of Christ, it is reported, that he made him this answer: That sooner & more easily he could be perswaded to hang himself, then to abiure those traditions (though he were now past ninetie yeares of age) which he had recieued from his forefathers: giuing vs thereby to vnderstand how dangerous a thing it is, to make a mock and iest of religion, and of the Sonne of God, and to follow after peruerse and false opinions, when they shall once grow to haue gotten an habit within vs. For the *Despot* in this perswasion retyring himselfe from the presence of the Frier, was heard oftentimes to reiterate and repeate these words: That he had rather his subiects should call him a Prince miserable and vnfortunate, then an old and aged dotard. This man then now at this time did mightely cleaue vnto the Turke, and fauoured his quarrell against the Christians, both in regard of his daughter *Gathagusina* (whom he had maried vnto *Amurath*) as also because of the hatred which he bare vnto the Hungarians, but especially to *Iohn Huniades* the *Despot* of *Transiluania*, by whose aide & assistance (as we haue before declared in the enlargement and libertie of *Scanderbeg*) at such time as he was succoured against the Sultan, & restored into his kingdome, he tooke it in ill part, that certaine townes and places of *Vernia*, which had bene graunted vnto *Huniades* in recompence of his vertue and desert, were not restored and redelinered

George Despot of Misia his description.

His irreligion, atheisme and impietie.

Frier Iohn Capistran.

vnto him. For this cause vnderstanding of the preparations made for the warre of *Hungarie*, and of the comming of *Scanderbeg*, who approched neare his borders: he stopped vp all the wayes and passages, and debarred him from entring within his dominions. *Castriot* did assay, but all in vaine, by his Ambassadors sent to the *Despot*, to admonish him of the wrong and iniurie which he offred him: and he intreated him in friendly sort, That he might not be the first which should charge him with ill dealing, who had giuen him no cause of offence and iniurie: that he would not of his friend and neighbour, purchase him for his enemie, and draw vpon him selfe the arms both of all *Hungarie* and *Epire*. That he would not suffer and procure by his meanes and occasion onely, so great a losse and mischiefe to all Christendome, which might swallow vp both himselfe & his estate and Empire. For albeit in regard of his daughter, he did so cleaue and adhere vnto *Amurath*, yet he should not thereby hope and expect for any other then certaine losse & assured dammage: hauing had good proofe & experience both of the infidelitie and periurie of his sonne in law, & of the great pleasures & benefites which the Hungarians on the other part had often times done him.

Ambassadors sent frō Scanderbeg to the Despot of Seruia, to perswade him to graunt him passage throw his countrey.

These perswasions nothing preuailing in a mind so depraued and corrupted, and the Prince of *Epire* now perceiuing that he was out of all hope to get passage by anie other meanes then by the sword, he fully resolued with him selfe to take that course: notwithstanding that both it displeased him highly, & that he held it a matter of some danger and difficultie to begin the warres so neare his owne home, and to hazard his forces at that time to the trauell of armes, which hee had thought to haue reserued whole, fresh and sound, and to haue made proofe and triall of them against the royall armie of a more worthie and stronger enemie.

Vladislaus marcheth with his armie against the Turkes.

Whilest the Albanian army thus incensed through discontentmēt, did spend their time vpon the borders of *Misia* in the middest of infinite inconueniences and discommodities: and whilest the iourney of *Scanderbeg* was delaied rather then hindered by the disloialty of that *Apostata* the *Despot*: (for there is no doubt, but he could at length haue gotten passage, though not without some dammage and losse of his forces.) *Vladislaus* in the meane time, both encouraged by the letters receiued from *Scanderbeg*, & prouoked also with an assured hope and conceipt of the honour and successe of future victory: or rather being drawen on by a certain fatall necessity, whereunto he was predestinat: such was the particular desteny of them all, and Fortune (not contented nor satisfied with so many deadly & mortall spectacles) did now inuite these men who of late had bene preserued, and had yet scarce breathed themselues, from their forepassed miseries, to the danger of more lamentable and fatall perils. *Vladislaus* I say and the army of the Christians, hauing marched through *Valachia*, and passed ouer the *Danow*, were now come to *Varna*, with an intent & purpose to conioyne & vnite their forces, to those which were at Sea, and so to passe on with easie iournies and ensigns displaid into *Romania*. The countrey of *Varna* (which did swarme with such numbers of enemies shortly after, & long afore hand was infamous through the ruine of many mighty armies, and was a place alwaies as hateful and odious euen to the braueſt souldiors) is a goodly champion & plaine valley, situated on the other side of the confines of *Misia* vpon the sea: called *Maggiore*, or the greater sea, foure dayes iourney from *Andrinople*, in a streight gulfe betweene two pointes or promontories, vppon the one of which is seated *Galata*, and vpon the other *Macropolis*. The bottome of that valley on the right hand is inhabited with husbandmen in seuerall small villages or hamlettes slenderly peopled and frequented. On the left hand where *Galata* standeth, is a great marshe at the foot of the hils extending forth her still standing waters, euen to the other valley neare at hand, which bendeth towards the Occident.

Valachia. Danow or the riuer of Danubia.

Description of Varna neare to the mountaine Hemus. Mar Maggiore, or the great sea: otherwise named Pontus Euxinus. Galata. Macropolis.

Amurath

Amurath being aduertised of these troubles towardes, was not any whit discouraged, but hauing liuely repulsed the Caramanian, and reassured his countrie of *Natolia*, he made no doubt nor difficultie of anie thing, but onely howe he might transport his armie ouer the sea, by reason that the fleete of the bishoppe of *Rome* and the Duke of *Burgundie*, did take from him all hope of passage: in such sort that he made no great haste to march against the Christians, till such time as certaine Marchants Genowayes (if it be true that is reported) did free and deliuer him from that care in consideration of a great rewarde promised and agreed vppon to be giuen them. For at a certaine narrow *streight of the sea (betweene the two seas of Maggiore and Propontide, deuiding *Asia* from *Europe*) was the Turkish army transported out of *Asia*, they that passed them ouer, taking for ech man his passage a ducat. There were numbred to be about a hundred thousand, all which were gathered and collected out of *Asia*, because the *Sultan* had a vehement suspition of the faith, both of the Greekes and his other subiects within *Europe*. After his armie was once transported, he marched on with speede and celeritie so incredible, that within seuen daies he came to pitch his tentes within foure miles of the Christians campe, neere to the citie of *Varna*, named by the auncients, *Dionisiopolis*.

Amurath marcheth against the Christians.

*Infidelitie and notable auarice of the Christians helping the Turkes to passe into Europe, at the streight of Hellespont.

*VVhich being of old named Bosphorus Thracius, is about 8. miles & a half aboue Constantinople.

Varna or Dionisiopolis.

The suddaine and vnexpected newes of the approach of *Amurath* with so great and mightie a puissance, made the Christians to keepe good watch & ward throughout their hoast, and in all the quarters of their campe: euery man being cõmanded to make himselfe ready to the battell. *Vladislaus* in the meane time, and the other Princes his confederates entring into councell, did consult vppon the seuerall occurrences of their affaires, debating vpon many and diuers matters which were propounded of no small weight and consequence: but the conclusion was, that they would hazard the fortune of the field, in case that *Amurath* would accept the battell. The whole charge of the armie, and the ordering and marshalling of the seuerall squadrons and troupes was committed to *Hunyades* to dispose of it as he saw cause: in the execution whereof he made shewe both of his best deuoire and endeuour, and of all the skill and experience which he had of a long time purchased by the practise, pursuit, and managing of armes. For he so placed and ordered his armie, that behind them and at their backes, they had the mountaines to defende them; the one of the flankes was garded with the marrish aboue mentioned, and the other was fortified and defended with chariots chayned and bound together. The Turkes were the first that beganne the fight, the which hauing continued for a while; the vantgard of the Turkish armie was receiued so couragiously, and pressed with such furie by the Christians, that (as if the victorie had beene alreadie gotten by them) the same was soone disordered and put to flight, and pursued more then two miles off: in so much that *Amurath* himselfe had beene driuen to shift for his owne safetie, if the two Bishoppes of *Varadia* and *Strigonia* (who were better skilled in their Portuisse then practised in armes) had not disbanded themselues vnaduisedly, and forsaken the place assigned them, onely for the chasing of the enemie on that side where they were broken: which was the occasion that a great and freshe troope of Turkish archers on horsebacke, charging in flancke on that side which they had abandoned and left vndefended, did finde an easie entrie in vppon them: and they greatly troubled the rankes of our footemen, with a shower and tempest (as it were) of their shotte and arrowes, which they powred vppon them thicke and thinne. *Hunyades* with his Valachians running speedily thither, presently vppon his arriuall chaunged the fortune of the fight which continued for a long time doubtfull and vncertaine. Afterwardes (hauing his eye open on all partes and to all occasions)

*Iancus or Iohn Hunyades lieutenant General of the Christian armie.

*Order obserued by Hunyades in placing the battell of the Christians at Varna.

*The battell of Varna betweene Vladislaus king of Hungarie, and Amurath the great Turke.

*Bishops of Varadia & Strigonia by their folly, hinder the victorie of the Christians.

whereſoeuer he ſaw his owne forces to haue the worſt, he ſuccoured the left wing: which as then alſo was ſore encombred, and was not able to ſuſtaine and endure the ſhocke of the enemy: but he notwithſtanding ſtill vphelde and maintained them in good point. Yet would he not hinder but that *Amurath* in the meane time, founde the leaſure & opportunity to re-ally himſelfe, and by the encouragement of *Haly* Baſſa he made head with his ſquadron of Ianiſſaries, and renued the perill of the encounter. *Hunyades* was in great doubt & feare of his young king, whoſe fiery and haughty courage did giue him great cauſe to ſuſpect ſome hazard and miſaduenture by his raſhnes and temeritie. And indeede it fell out that the vnfortunate Prince of an hardie and inuincible courage, had broken in vpon the rankes of the Ianiſſaries, fighting and beating with the men at armes, vpon the troupes of horſe, which ſerued for the gard of *Amurath* his perſon. Great was the number both of men and horſes which were there laide on the ground: ſome of them being ſlaine, and others hauing their legges cut off or maymed. In ſo much, that they could not any longer march vppon the plaine ground, but they were conſtrained to make themſelues way vppon the heapes of dead bodies: ech preſſing and ruſhing vppon others ſo egerly and fiercely, that a man would haue iudged it rather a meere rage and furie, then any ardent and vehement deſire of victorie, that animated them on in this conflict. The Ianiſſaries ſtoutly ſuſtained the force and violence of the Hungarians which were in company with their king, yet did he himſelfe in the end breake in amongſt them, and they moſt politiquely receiued him into the middeſt of their battallion, whereof it enſued: That being held either as dead, or taken priſoner, at the ſame inſtant that the Turkes were now turning their backes, and readie to flie away: the Chriſtians alſo on the other ſide, as hauing left their king did beginne to abandon the place, and in ſteede of fighting, fell to plaine flying. In this manner both the one partie and the other, beganne to giue place to their enemie: in ſo much that ech of them was ignorant of their owne good ſucceſſe and aduantage in ſo ſuddaine and variable an inclination of their fortune.

Vladiſlaus his ouergreat hardineſſe or raſhneſſe.

Vpon theſe alterations *Iohn Hunyades* ſeeing the Chriſtians in diſaray, and moſt fearefully and ſhamefully to forſake their rankes, he made himſelfe way through the middeſt and thickeſt of the preſſe: and being come to the place where *Vladiſlaus* then was, he ſhewed him the diſorder, the affray, and confuſion of the Chriſtians, hee cryed and called vnto him, he requeſted and entreated him to turne bridle and to yeelde vnto the preſent miſchance, and not to hazard all to vtter miſchiefe, and to the misfortune of an entire diſcomfiture: that there was as yet great good hope of the victorie, and that it attended and ſtayed for him, conſidering that the loſſe on his ſide was ſo ſmall and of ſo litle account, that it appeared in a manner, as none at all: and that therefore it were good he did retire himſelfe within his Chariots and trenches with his men ſafe and ſound as they were, ere they were altogether ſcattered and diſperſed. For the loſſe of his life alone, would not onely hazard and endaunger his owne realmes & dominions, but the ſtate of all *Europe*, and the whole bodie of Chriſtendome. All theſe perſwaſions and reaſons notwithſtanding, the king ſtill thruſting himſelfe moſt vndiſcreetly into the midſt of his enemies, after a ſharpe & furious conflict (his horſe being wounded & hought) he was in the end ouerthrown to the groũd and ſo ſlaine in the companie of many of his Nobles both Hungarians & Polonians. *Hunyades* for a time held good, and made reſiſtance, endeuouring and aſſaying diuers times, to haue reſcued the kings body, but all was in vaine. For the head being cut off, and faſtened vpon the end of a launce: the Chriſtians vppon ſight thereof, being on all partes terrified and abaſhed, did ſeeke by maine flight to purchaſe the ſecuritie of their

Hunyades perſwadeth Vladiſlaus to retyre and to preuent an vtter ouerthrowe.

Vladiſlaus king of Hungarie ſlaine by the Turkes.

their owne persons: excepting certaine Valachians with whom their Chiefe and leader *Huniades* (seeing that he could not stand against the huge multitudes of the Infidels) tooke part also with the rest in the retreate: Holding it no disgrace after the decease of the king, that some should remaine to reuenge the ignominie of this ouerthrowe, and to extinguish the memorie of so dishonorable a defeat. And therefore as well as he could, he saued himselfe, taking his course after the sunne set towardes the coasts and confines of *Sernia*: where he was staied and made prisoner, and most shamefully put in irons by the *Despot*, being restrained of his libertie till such time as those townes, whereunto he pretended a right, were first yeelded and restored vnto him. The Cardinall *Iulian* (the authour and procurer of the breach of peace which had beene sworne betweene the Turkes and the Christians) made there also his last end: howbeit * some write, that he was slaine by his owne men through the hatred which they bore him: for being the occasion of that calamitie by the breach of faith and periurie committed at his onely instance and procurement. And that being so slaine, he was spoyled and left naked, hauing suffered many reproches as he was giuing vp the ghost, for his ill and wicked counsell in procuring of this warre. The two Bishops were likewise drowned in the mud, as they fled into the next marishes. Thus you see the euent and successe of this iourney, so famous and memorable, which cost the Conquerour greater losse & bloudshed, then it did to the partie conquered. Some also doe report, that *Amurath* after he had escaped this daunger, did shewe himselfe much more sad and pensiue then he was vsually accustomed: and being therfore blamed by his seruants, he made them this answere; I would be loath, quoth he, often to gaine in this manner. In that place where the battell was foughten, and the dead bodie of the king found, *Amurath* caused a mightie piller to be erected, with an inscription for a monument of his victorie: and at this day are yet to be seene diuerse mounts and litle hils, made with the bones of those who were there slain and buried, which doth argue that the slaughter was great and wonderfull: which fell out on the day and feast of Saint *Martin*, the eleuenth of Nouember, in the yeare of our redemption. 1443.

Huniades his flight and imprisonment by the Despot of Servia.

* *Callimachus.*

Iulian the Cardinall his miserable end and slaughter.

Bishops of Varadia & Strigonia drowned in the mudde.

Victorie of the Turkes with great losse and bloudshed.

This battell is somewhat otherwise described by Pope *Pius* the second, neuertheless we in this place haue followed *Callimachus*, who hath set it downe with a most excellent and good grace, and without any partialitie. This is most certaine and apparant, that the Christians euen to this day, may finde good and sufficient cause to be discontented with the *Despot* of *Misia*, for keeping the bands & army of *Scanderbeg* from being present at that battell, by reason of his faithlessenesse and disloyaltie. For it could not be but the good deuoire and prowes of so many thousandes of resolute fighting men would haue done much, & the only valure of *Hunyades* seconded with the sufficiencie and good fortune of *Scanderbeg*, how could it but haue wrought some notable & singular effect? And what could haue hindered them, but that they would haue borne a great stroake in the happie euent & good successe of that battell? What sight or spectacle more famous and notable could any man haue seene in any age, then a battell foughten against the enemies of Christendome, and directed by two so glorious and renowmed Chieftaines? Both of them were most hardie and valiant souldiers, and most expert and accomplished Captaines, of wonderfull great force and singular strength of their bodies, and equall and alike in greatnesse of courage. Howbeit more fortunate was the latter, being one that had fortune alwaies more fauourable vnto him, as appeared afterwards in the whole course of his life. *Hunyades* was more aged and striken in yeares: *Scanderbeg* much younger and lesse exercised at that time in armes. And albeit he had not bene in so many conflicts and foughten fieldes,

Comparison of Hunyades and Scanderbeg.

yet had he continually good and happie ſucceſſe: being as fortunate in priuate combats betweene man and man, as in the maine fight of plaine and ſet battelles. Both of them were verie acceptable and agreeable to the minds and good liking of their ſouldiers, but *Scanderbeg* was of a more pleaſant conceit and diſpoſition. The one did ſeldome or neuer exchange the ſeruice either of the Valachians or Hungarians: the other was much delighted, and did often ſerue himſelfe of the Italians in his conqueſts: taking a ſingular pleaſure in the vſe of their armes, and in their counſell and aduiſe. *Huniades* neuer knew other enemies then the Turkes: *Scanderbeg* in the warre of *Italie* when he reſtored the libertie of the kingdome of *Naples*, in the aide of *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*, did purchaſe to himſelfe no leſſe glorie and reputation, then he did by his often triumphes obtained againſt the barbarous infidels.

This fame and report of the ouerthrow and diſcomfiture of the Chriſtians, being euerie where diſperſed, and *Scanderbeg* being certified (whileſt he was yet remaining in the limits of *Seruia*) of the grieuous calamitie and defait of the Hungarians; tooke on as if he would haue died for verie conceite and griefe of that miſfortune: and hauing a long while bethought himſelfe, and caſting vpon many matters in his minde, he reſolued at length to turne bridle, and to take his way to his owne country. Neuertheleſſe, to the intent his iuſt griefe might not remaine altogether vnreuenged, nor the miſchieuous wickednes of the *Deſpot* reſt vnpuniſhed; with his armie all incenſed and enraged, he ſuddenly brake in vpon his countrey: and ouerrunning and ſpoiling it in moſt hoſtile manner: he made it feele the three extremities of ſword, fire and blood: which are commonly called & accounted the maintenance & nutriment of the warres. As he was returning into *Epire*, infinite numbers of Hungarians and Polonians, who had eſcaped from the ſlaughter at *Varna* (according as their flight and good fortune guided them) came to ſeeke him in great troupes and companies. To all of them he gaue good and freindly entertainment, and (according to the extreamitie of their miſfortune and calamitie) hauing furniſhed them with prouiſion both of money and victuals for many daies: he prouided them alſo of ſhipping to carrie them to *Raguſa*, from whence they tooke their iourney to their owne home and dwelling place.

Scanderbeg ſpoileth the Deſpots countrie in reuenge of his treachery. Les appanages.

Hungarians flying from the ſlaughter at Varna, relieued by Scanderbeg. Raguſa.

The end of the ſecond Booke.

THE

THE THIRD BOOKE

OF THE FAMOVS ACTES OF GEORGE CASTRIOT, SVRNAMED *SCANDERBEG.*

THE ARGVMENT.

A Murath incensed against Scanderbeg by the exclamations of the Despot, resolueth to warre vpon him: but first seeketh to vndermine him by treacherie and offers of peace and amitie which Scanderbeg reiecteth. Ferisee Bassa is sent against Scanderbeg, and is defeated: Mustapha Bassa is sent against Scanderbeg, and is likewise ouercome. The murther of Lech Zacharie Prince of Dayna in Epyre. The cause of the warre betweene Scanderbeg and the Venetians. Mustapha is sent againe with another armie into Epyre: Dayna is besieged by Scanderbeg. The Venetians leauie an armie for the reliefe of Dayna. The battell of Drynon betweene Scanderbeg and the Venetians. Scanderbeg repayreth and fortifieth Balese with a garrison, and maketh Amese his Nephew Gouernour of the fortresse: Amese thinking to surprize the citie of Drinasta is assayled by the Dryuastines and put to flight.

THE armie of the Hungarians being ouerthrowne and scattered, neither did *Amurath* reape any great profite or aduantage of this victorie, neither did he prosecute his good fortune, which then seemed to smyle vpon him, insomuch that it seemed the successe of this battell did rather abate then encrease his courage: and so many losses receiued one after an other did restraine him (albeit he had the victorie) from being desirous of any further warres. And this was the cause that no question was made, nor any thing at all done touching the affaires of *Epyre*, which had bene expressely put off and deferred to the intent the Turke might be eased of that care, and not finde himselfe charged nor disturbed with a double burthen of troubles and vexation. But the new and often aduertisements which came partly from the *Despot*, and in part from the frontiers of *Macedonie*: did breake off this their rest and disposition to quietnesse, and yeelding new matter of wrath and anger, it did enflame and set on fire their courages, which were before laid asleepe, and had seemed to haue forgotten and troden vnder foote all former outrages and iniuries. For reportes came from all parts, that the enemies forces and the armie of *Scanderbeg* had spoyled and destroyed all things, and that there was not any thing left in the whole countrie vnwasted, not the verie fieldes which had bene laboured and tilled, but that both houses, townes, and all the countrie throughout, were either destroyed by the sword, or consumed by fire; and that all the pesants and inhabitantes were slaine and murthered, except such as their hastie and speedie

1444.

"Complaint "of the Turke "of Macedo- "nia to Amu- "rath against "Scanderbeg. "

„ flight had preſerued from their furie. That the armie of the Chriſtians (ouer and a-
„ boue diuerſe ſudden roades and light incurſions) had now twice freely and vnreuen-
„ ged with enſignes diſplaied, and in full troupes ranged ouer the whole countrie, ſo
„ charged and loaden with pillage and with the goods of the inhabitants; that with
„ the verie money which would be made of that bootie onely, *Caſtriot* might well
„ maintaine and holde warres with *Ottoman* for a long ſeaſon: that the affaires of the
„ Chriſtians did daily flouriſh more and more: that their husbandmen did liue at eaſe,
„ neuer hindered nor diſturbed from their labour and tillage: that they had plenty and
„ abundance of all things. Contrariwiſe, that themſelues (beſides the feare of the enemy
„ which did daily oppreſſe them) were in great danger & doubt of an extreme famine,
„ which did alreadie threaten them, and was readie and imminent vppon them by rea-
„ ſon that they had bene let and hindered by ſo many roades and inuaſions, from the
„ manuring and ſowing of their ground.

Complaint of George Deſpot to Amurath againſt Scanderbeg.

„ The *Deſpot* likewiſe filled the Turkiſh court with his complaints, and demaun-
„ ded the aide and ſuccours of his ſonne in law, affirming, that euen then when the *Ot-*
„ *toman* affaires were almoſt deſperate, his deuoire and induſtrie was not wanting, but
„ that he had repulſed and borne off their dangers with his proper dammage, and the
„ bloud of his owne ſubiects, at that time when it was ſcant in the power of the gods
„ themſelues to prouide a remedie, for that miſchiefe which was imminent and readie
„ to fall vpon them: yet that he with the bodie of his owne eſtate and kingdome, had
„ preſerued the Turkiſh Empire from deſtruction, and that he ſitting ſtill, had borne
„ and ſuſteined the whole forces of the Epirots. And for feare leaſt they ſhould haue ioi-
„ ned themſelues with the Hungarians (who attended and expected them on the other
„ ſide of *Myſia*) he had oppoſed the bodies of his people, as a bulwarke and rampier a-
„ gainſt *Scanderbeg*: and by meanes thereof had drawen vpon himſelfe the violence of
„ a long and daungerous warre, to the great & notable preiudice of his poore ſubiects.
„ That he ſhould conſider with himſelfe in what eſtate the affaires of the Turke had
„ nowe beene, if by his diligence (and whileſt himſelfe was buſied in the warre of
„ *Hungarie*) he had not diuerted and kept backe the troupes of ſuch an enemie, ſeeing
„ that *Vladiſlaus* alone with his owne armie only, had made his victorie ſo difficult and
„ bloudy. That now by ſhewing himſelf to haue compaſſion of the Turkiſh fortune, he
„ had drawen vpon himſelfe (beſides the hatred and auncient rancour & mallice of the
„ Hungarians) the armies of *Scanderbeg* and all the reſidue alſo of his neighbours, en-
„ during and bearing without cauſe, a moſt iniurious and vndeſerued puniſhment: be-
„ ing but a bad reward and recompence, for ſo great and notable a benefite: that it ſee-
„ med moſt likelie, that *Scanderbeg* and not *Amurath* did triumph of the battell of
„ *Varna* and the warre of *Hungarie*: conſidering the manner of his dealings, and howe
„ that with huge and fell troupes he did enterpriſe vpon the borders & fountains, ſome-
„ times of the one, ſometimes of the other, in ſuch ſort that naught elſe was to be ſeene,
„ but all the ſhewes, ſignes, and tokens of bloudie warre, and hoſtilitie euery where and
„ in all parts of the countrie. In briefe, that he being ſeated in the middeſt betwene the
„ Hungarians & the Epyrots, (both of them moſt fierce and warrelike Nations) ſhould
„ not be able to ſtand, or reſiſt againſt their force and violence, if his ſonne in lawe did
„ not take care and prouide for his ſecuritie, whom in his diſtreſſed and moſt daunge-
„ rous eſtate he had preuented with the merite of ſo notable and good ſeruice.

The greenneſſe both of thoſe in the prouince of *Macedonie*, and the freſh remem-
brance of the *Deſpot* his good deſerts were of great force and efficacie, and did much
moue all men: and they were vniuerſally of this opinion, and did affirme it openly,
that now was the ſafeſt and the fitteſt time, and it was moſt needfull and neceſſarie to

abate

abate and pull downe the ſtrength and puiſſance of *Scanderbeg*: for feare leſt by his roades made vpon the plaine countrey, and by the often moleſtation of the townes and villages, he might ſeeke occaſion to vſurpe vpon *Macedony*, and to make himſelfe Lord and Maſter of that prouince: that his malicious mind and the rage and furie of his ſtomacke, did ſufficiently ſhew it ſelfe of late, in that he had in a manner wholly diſfurniſhed and diſarmed his owne dominions, and left them without anie defence or garriſon, onely to ioyne himſelfe to *Vladiſlaus* with his greateſt force and puiſſance, and with an intent thereby, to aboliſh and extinguiſh the memorie of the Turkiſh name and Empire: that if this his fiercenes were not ſpeedily repreſſed, there was no doubt, but he would ſoone ſolicite and procure all the puiſſance and power of the Chriſtians, to ioyne againſt them. Vpon theſe conſiderations, the *Sultan* was fully reſolued to make warres vpon *Scanderbeg*, and did thinke forthwith and ſpeedily to haue gathered his forces, and haue leauied an armie: but foraſmuch as the greater part of his better men had bene ſlaine and conſumed in the warre of *Hungarie*, and the miſſortune of *Haly* Baſſa did as yet continue freſh in his remembrance, and did put him in mind of that diſcomfiture: beſides that he being now olde and growen in yeares, was deſirous to paſſe and ſpend the remainder of his life in reſt and quietneſſe; he bethought himſelfe of a deuiſe and inuention, not ſo ſtrange and new, as vaine and fooliſh: whereby he ſuppoſed, that as he had with notable arte and cunning, and with ſingular deceit and falſhoode, found good and happie ſucceſſe, to deceiue and beguile others; ſo he might likewiſe ouerreach and entrappe him whom by open violence and force of armes he could not conquer, nor bring vnder. In my iudgement it ſhall ſeeme neither ſtrange nor vnpleaſant to the mindes of thoſe that ſhall peruſe it, if I ad in this place, the manner and ſtile of the letters ſent from *Ottoman*, by which he endeuored to entiſe and allure the minde of *Scanderbeg*, and to trie him how to turne and wind him on all ſides.

They are determined againſt Scanderbeg

Amurath Ottoman, ſouereigne of the Turkes and Emperour of the Orient: to Scanderbeg his moſt ingrate foſter ſonne, neither wiſheth health, nor ſendeth greeting.

Letters of Amurath to Scanderbeg.

All the honors and benefites, wherewith I could adorne, and raiſe thee to greatnes in my court, ſo long as thou wert with me, I neuer made ſpare of them, but beſtowed them bountifully vpon thee (ô *Scanderbeg*) of all men liuing the moſt vngratefull. I want fit words and termes to ſpeake vnto thee: ſuch is the multitude of thy crimes & diſloialties, wherewith thou haſt offended my maieſtie, and wounded my verie ſoule, that I know not well what kind of ſpeech to vſe vnto thee, to thee I ſay, who wert my domeſticall and houſehold ſeruant: for neither will any rough or ſharpe languages mollifie thy hard harted courage, (whoſe nature is ſo fierce and arrogant) neither doeſt thou deſerue anie gracious wordes or kindnes of ſpeech: who haſt mightily exceeded and excelled in all kind of fiercenes and beaſtiallitie. And (that thou mightſt omit no occaſion to make thee hatefull and odious vnto mee) thou haſt growen to that madnes, that thou diddeſt caſt aſide all care of thine owne benefit, and the ſafetie of thy citizens, in compariſon of that loue and affection which thou diddeſt carrie to the Hungarians, who were lately armed againſt me. I could be content to let paſſe in ſilence other matters, and not to touch and handle thoſe wounds which thou haſt made, if ſo be my minde might be once perſwaded to forget them, or that ſo many deceites, or ſuch notable examples of an ingratefull part did deſerue to be concealed: neuertheleſſe, I hold it neceſſarie at length (though perhaps ſomewhat too late) in ſome ſort to admoniſh thee, and to lay open before thee thy ill deſertes, ſo farre leaſt the

» furie of this thy pride and arrogancie do ſuddenly carrie thee away headlong to ruine
» and deſtruction, together with thy vnhappie and vnfortunate kingdome. And then
» thou wouldeſt be willing to make confeſſion of this the obſtinacie and error, at ſuch
» time as thou ſhalt not haue left vnto thee any helpe or remedie of thy affaires, being
» once brought to the exigent and extremitie of a moſt deſperate eſtate. We haue hi-
» therto enough & too much endured theſe outrages, and too too much haſt thou pro-
» uoked the *Ottoman* Empire with thy great and intollerable iniuries: and yet haue
» I ſhewed my ſelfe too patient in ſuffering and tollerating ſo manie wronges and
» miſchieues. Doſt thou think that thou ſhalt be acquitted of that thy treacherie wher-
» with thou betraiedſt my armie in *Hungarie*? doeſt thou imagine that thou ſhalt goe
» vnpuniſhed for the withdrawing of ſo many townes from my obeyſance in *Egypt*,
» and for ſo many of my garriſons which thou haſt cauſed to be ſlaine and murthe-
» red? doeſt thou ſuppoſe that the other thy miſdeedes lately done and perpetrated,
» ſhall go free and vnchaſtized? as the armie of *Haly* Baſſa deſtroyed, ſo manie inuaſions
» and fierings of my territories, and the tumult of the warre of *Hungarie*, which to the
» vttermoſt of thy abilitie, euen of late, thou diddeſt further and ſet forwarde: beſides
» the ſpoyling of my father in lawe his dominions, becauſe he would not ſuffer thee
» to haue a paſſage through his Countrie? I would thou wouldeſt once at the laſt
» remember thy ſelfe moſt wicked wretch, and not continue any longer in expecting
» what wilbe the end and iſſue of this my diſpleaſure and iuſt indignation. Take heede
» that theſe ſlight enlargements of thy proſperitie, doe not ſo animate and encourage
» thy diſordinate appetite, and draw thee on with fooliſh deſire to that paſſe, that thy
» fortune (being hereafter made much more miſerable) doe moue euen thoſe that hate
» thee (my ſelfe eſpecially) to the pitie and compaſsion of thy hard and wretched eſtate. If
» there be left any curteſie or humanitie in thy deſperate and graceleſſe mind, remember
» thy ſelfe yet at the laſt, of the bountifull benefites which thou haſt receaued of me, and
» giue me no longer occaſion to repent me that I haue beſtowed them ſo vnthankefull-
» ly. Although it be an vnſeemely and vnciuill part to obiect vnto any man the good &
» liberalitie that hath bene ſhewed him; yet is it a token of too too great ingratitude ſo
» ſoone and eaſilie to forget the merite of fore-paſſed benefits: wherefore I cannot but
» be ſorrowfull for thy fortune (ô *Scanderbeg*,) and take pitie vpon thy vnhappy eſtate.
» For ſetting apart the ſafetie of thy ſoule (whereof as a man paſt all hope, and vtterly gi-
» uen ouer of the Phiſitian, thou takeſt no care nor makeſt any account or reckoning)
» nor yet to ſpeake any thing of thy contempt of the lawes of *Mahomet*, and of the ſmall
» eſtimat which thou makeſt of this diuine Prophet: was there any one thing of all
» thoſe vaine & blind delights, wherein the thoughts of men do take a pleaſure, which
» I haue not moſt bountifully yeelded vnto thee, who art now caried away with the
» baſe and vile regard of thy poore and ſorie kingdome? Hadſt thou not plentie of ar-
» mour, horſes, great and huge traines of ſlaues, aboundance of gold, ſiluer and ſu-
» perfluitie of all other things, which do commonly allure and entiſe all eſtates and ages
» to affect them? Diddeſt thou euer want any fit or continuall occaſions to exerciſe thy
» vertue, or to aduance thee to the glory of great eſtates, and places of charge, either in
» peace or warre? or to any kinde of honours which were fit and agreable to thy yeares?
» In ſumme, who, in all my courts, was a greater fauorite, and more in my grace then
» thy ſelfe? was there either ſtranger or naturall ſubiect, who amongſt my moſt inward
» and ſecret friends was more pleaſing and acceptable vnto me? How carefully and dili-
» gently did I prouide to haue thee nouriſhed and brought (vp from the time thou wert
» firſt brought vnto me) in knowledge and learning, in good manners and diſcipline? &
» how willingly and continually did I aduaunce the forwardneſſe of thy vertue, which

I ſaw

I saw to grow and encrease daily? sometimes by recompences and rewardes, sometimes by all possible meanes of praise and commendation? And as for the honor and renowne of armes (then the which nothing is to be accounted or holde more honourable or commendable,) therein I made thee so glorious, that in all kinde of seruices whatsoeuer, neither did I take notice of any souldier in regard of thee, neither did I seeme to set by any of my Captaines in comparison of the grace and honor which I did vnto thee. For all these my merits and good deserts, thou (ô *Scanderbeg*) hast now at length well rewarded me: hauing shewed thy selfe to be such a one, that it seemeth I haue not exalted the man I tooke thee for: but that I haue norished a plague and pestilence within mine owne house and familie. But be it that the loue of thy native countrie did wound thy soule, and sollicite thee to doe as thou hast done; if thou hadst required me to restore the same vnto thee, doest thou thinke that I would haue denied it vnto thee, seeing that so often and vndemaunded (if thou list to remember it) I did freely and voluntarily make offer of the same vnto thee? But thou notwithstanding haddest rather to haue it of thy selfe by thy owne misdeedes and iniquitie, then as a benefite receiued from me, or as a gift proceeding from my bountie. Keepe it therefore still in the name of God: neither shall I be discontented therewithall, and I protest vnto thee (so great is my clemencie towardes all those that haue beene in any sort familiarly knowen vnto me) that I doe nowe freely pardon all former faults and offences, not for any merit of thine owne (which is iust none at all) but I doe it because euen in the middest of this publique hatred and dislike, it pleaseth me to call to minde both the manifolde benefites which thou hast receiued from me, and that first faith and loyaltie which I did once finde in thee, when thou wert with me: for that of longer time and continuance was the good seruice which thou diddest me, then the offences wherewith thou hast wronged mee. Both *Croy*, and the state of thy father (although thou hast seized vpon them by fraude and treacherie) doe I permit thee to enioy frankely: on this condition, that thou doe voluntarily resigne or restore those other townes of *Epyre*, wherein thou hast no right nor interest, and which doe in equitie appertaine vnto me, who haue heretofore purchased them by the fortune of warres, and by mine owne vertue. Besides that thou doe presently and without delay repossesse my father in law of all the goods of the Misians as farre as may be, and what is wanting to supply and make good with money: and that from henceforth (during thy life) thou holde it no lesse crime then fellonie, to offer any violence, either to him or to anie other whom we repute to be our friends: or by any manner of meanes whatsoeuer to grace, aide, or comfort our enemies; in so doing, thou maiest for euer shunne and auoide the malice and hatred of the Turkes, and so shalt thou haue my good grace and fauour neither more nor lesse, then thou hast heretofore and in time past, if so be thou haddest not rather (though then all in vaine) to seeke place for repentance, when thou hast bene beaten with the rod of thine owne miserie, and when thine owne presumption and audatious obstinacie shall haue drawen me thither in person to take the reuenge thereof in a most mercilesse and implacable maner. Thou knowest well the puissance of my forces, and thou art not ignorant of the force & strength of mine army. Thou hast before thine eyes a notable example of the calamitie of *Hungarie*, and therefore needest not further admonishmēt. For a conclusion, whatsoeuer is thy determination I would at the least that thou write vnto me. Thou maist haue cōference with *Airadin* our agent (a man both secret & faithfull) and of whom thou shalt vnderstand the residue of that which I would not commit to writing. Farwell, if thou be well aduised: from *Andrinople* the 15. of Iune, and of the generation of Iesus, 1444.

Airadin. gent for Amurath with Scanderbeg.

Subiectes of Scanderbeg willing to haue peace with the Turke.

Scanderbeg gaue no credit to theſe vaine and fruteleſſe letters, but both they and he that ſent them were equallly ſet at naught & neglected. Notwithſtanding ſome there were of opinion, that this deuiſe of *Amurath* was without any fraud or guile, and they did aſcribe it to a certen kind of feare and neceſſity, alleadging that the *Sultan* had bene » induced to make theſe offers and conditions of peace for doubt of the warre of *Hun-* » *garie*, and through the vnweldines of his age, which was then growen verie great. » Moreouer that the tender age of his ſonne *Mahomet*, being as yet vnfit and vnſuffici- » ent for the charge and burthen of the Empire, did giue vnto the father great cauſe » carefully to bethinke himſelfe of the future eſtate of his childe, meaſuring the forces » of *Scanderbeg*, by the late ſlaughter of *Haly* Baſſa; and being as much feared and ter- » rified, by reaſon of the ſingular faith and fidelitie which he ſawe ſo many people » in *Albanie* beare vnto him, and the good will of the Chriſtians which did daily en- » creaſe towardes him: that in the meane time neuertheleſſe, he did but diſſemble and » make an outward ſhew, whileſt with a fained kind of feare, he demaunded of *Scan-* » *derbeg* the reſtitution of thoſe townes, and a parte of *Epire*, and the reparation of the » wrongs which had bene offered to his confederates: that he did ſet downe ſo manie » conditions without reaſon or equitie, to the intent he might obtaine ſuch as were » reaſonable and commodious: and that there was no doubt but he would be contented » to accept of ſuch a peace, and to yeeld vnto ſuch termes of ſubmiſſion, as *Caſtriot* him- » ſelfe would ſet downe, and preſcribe vnto him, without that he would make any fur- » ther queſtion, either of the loſſe of *Epire*, or of the warres of *Miſia*, ſo that the *Alba-* » *nois* could be content to abſtaine from armes, and to aſſure him of peace and quietnes. » Wherfore, to make peace with *Ottoman* vpon theſe termes, and to conclude an abſti- » nence from warre for a time; could not but be greatly for their honor and aduantage, » and the rather, for that himſelfe was the firſt, that did motion and inuite them to a » parley: that therefore it would not be otherwiſe, but that many and great commodi- » ties would thereby redound to all the inhabitants of that prouince: that the accidents » and iſſues of warre are verie doubtfull: and it was a point of ſmall wiſedome: neither » were they well aduiſed who would preferre troubles before reſt and quietnes: neither » ought any man to ground the courſe and ſucceſſe of his good fortune, vpon the firſt » beginnings of his good happe and proſperitie: that the Hungarians had more often » and more happily foughten with the Turks, then had the Albanians: yet being now Sentence. » ouerwhelmed with their late miſfortune, they might in vaine frame their complaints » and record their vnſpeakeable dammages and loſſes: that therefore it was farre better » by ſome acte and ſhew of courteſie and humanitie, to make a frend of an enemie: then » to incenſe him more and more by diſdaining and refuſing the peace which he profe- » red them ſo franckly.

Scanderbeg exceeteth againſt the meſſenger and peace of Amurath

» Theſe diſcourſes being thus debated in the preſence of *Scanderbeg* (albeit in part » they had ſome appearance of truth) yet did he preſently impugne & contradict them: » ſeeming to bewaile and complaine againſt the follie of the Epirots, that they onely » of all the nations of the world (to their owne exceſſiue dammage) ſhould be the laſt » that would take notiſe of the wiles & deceites of *Ottoman*: that it was a ſtrange thing, » that the vaine, idle, and impertinent letters of *Amurath* ſhould meete and encounter » with a beleefe and credulitie farre more vaine and ſottiſh, & ſhould purchaſe any cre- » dit or faith among them: or that the wits of his people could be ſo dull and ſenceleſſe » as to thinke that *Airadin* (being a Spie and Intelligencer) ſhould be reputed as one » ſent vnto them in the name and credit of an ambaſſador. Beſides, admit there were no » danger nor deceite in this matter, but that all things were according as *Amurath* had » written, yet what lightnes and inconſtancie were this, to giue faith and credit to their

enemie

enemy rather then to their owne actes, and the estate of their owne affaires? And that
the fortune of an other rather then their owne, should make them to chaunge their
counsailes and determinations concerning the peace & the warres: true it is (quoth he)
that *Amurath* is in the declining of his life, and that the Turkes at the battell of *Varna*
haue receiued a mortall & deadly blow. Besides that other accidents do inuite the Bar-
barians to desire rest and quietnesse: but what should these things giue any occasion
to the Albanians, either to abate or to loose their courage, or to receiue such condi-
tions of peace, as an enemy whom they had vanquished should dare to present vnto
them who were the vanquishers? Neither was it any thing to be regarded that they
imagined that some of those conditions might be allowed and other some reiected:
for they could not any way accept of peace but it would be most ignominious, nei-
ther could they so warelie or circumspectly handle the matter, but that the *Sultan*
would soone perceiue both the fearefulnesse of their mindes and the difference of their
meanes: but admit that peace were made, and let it be imagined that *Amurath* would
sit still and be glad of quietnesse, till the tumultes, now growing vpon the late ouer-
throw of the Hungarians, were throughly appeased: and till such time as he had quen-
ched the flame, that was now beginning to be kindled: it might be till then the Epi-
rots should enioy the benefite of that peace, notwithstanding afterwardes there was no
other likelihood, but that he would turne the whole violence of the wars, vpon their
neckes, and with his full forces would seeke to oppresse them, when they should in
vaine obiect vnto him the violating of the articles of agreement concluded betweene
them. Neither was the age of *Amurath* so impotent and decrepit, that it would
make him vtterly vnapt and vnable for the warres. For it was the counsell and wise- *Sentence.*
dome of a Generall, which ought to be respected, not his bodily strength & puissance:
and the prudence of the leaders was a matter in all ages more vsually to be redoubted,
then the promptnesse of the hand, or rash temeritie and foolish hardinesse in vsing of
the sword. That in his weake and feeble body, did remaine a spirite, sound, quicke and
watchfull to all aduantages & opportunities, & a hart full fraught with mortall hate &
extreme mallice. And though that *Ottoman* himself would not be dealing with them,
yet it could not be but they should find enemies. He forgot not also to shew them, that
small and short could be the profit of that peace which they should make with one so
old, and who was now drawing to his last end, that the fierce and hautie courage and
the restlesse minde of his sonne *Mahomet* would aime and attempt greater matters: so
that they should be sure of peace, when warre was most for their profit: & they should
not faile of warre when they would be glad of rest and quietnesse, by meanes where-
of that which they should do, should not be for the benefit and good of the Epirotes,
but for the profit and aduantage of the Turkes. What reason therefore had they to
desire peace, seeing that the victorie was euen already in their hands, and that the ene-
my himselfe did seeme to auouch no lesse, but openly to confesse it: wherefore then
should they not follow the prosperous winde, and pleasant gale of their good fortune,
and enioy the occasion which was so freely offered them, whereof, if the opportuni-
tie should once slide away or be let passe: in vaine would they repent hereafter that
they had not laid better hold vpon it, that it was a shame for them now to speake of
composition: when the woundes lately receiued in the battell of *Haly* Bassa were
not yet cured, that they should first recouer the Seate of their ancestours, and assure
the libertie of so many peoples their Subiectes: that then they should finde the o-
portunitie to accord, either by propounding or accepting honest and honorable
conditions of peace and composition, is it possible, that the remembrance of the dis-
confiture of *Vladislaus* should giue them so notable an impression of feare, and terrour

» that such an accident and chance of warre should alienate the mindes of the Epirotes
» from that warre more then the Hungarians, who had sustained that ouerthrowe, for
» the report went amongst the common people, that *Huniades* did burne in a vehement
» desire to reuenge the losse and ignominie of the battell at *Varna*: and that he did secret-
» ly plot and deuise the meanes to raise a new armie.

Subiects of Scanderbeg refused to holde warres with Amurath.

Vpon these reasons alleadged, all men were wonderfully encouraged, and in this as in all other matters, they were obedient vnto *Scanderbeg*: his people also were verie much aggreiued, & repented them that they had opened their mouthes in that matter which was not to his liking, all being vnwilling that he should haue any conceipt, that they in any wise, or in any matter concerning his seruice would refuse his aduise and counsell, which they had euer followed in the field and in the Campe. Whereupon the Prince of *Albania* hauing first of all called the Turkish Ambassadour to his presence, he held him in a long discourse, sometimes apart, and sometimes in full assemblies of his subiectes: by a long narration of his losses and damages, both publique and priuate: and complaining himselfe greatly of the disloialtie and periurie of *Amurath*. And thus hauing gratiously entertained and bountifully feasted him for fiue dayes, with a cheerefull and glad countenance, full of confidence and assurance, for feare least he (which was sent for a spie) should coniecture or imagine any kind or apprehension of feare: he led him in his owne companie, and shewed him all the rampiers, and fortifications, and all the courtes of garde of his men of warre, giuing him also a sight of the forme and manner of his campe, and then returned him with an answer in writing to this effect.

George Castriot, otherwise Scanderbeg, the Champion of Iesus Christ, and Prince of the Epirots, to Ottoman Prince of the Turkes, sendeth health.

Letters of Scanderbeg to Amurath.

The time was, wherein (as thou writest) thy selfe diddest once surmount me in number and multitude of benefites: but now will I vanquish thee in modestie and temperancie of speech: for I hold nothing more base and seruile, then not to abstaine

Sentence.

» (euen against a deadly enemie) from leud speches and dishoneſt termes. For this cause
» I haue both seene and entertained thy messenger, and haue receiued thy message in
» all good and friendly manner: and to speake the truth, thy letters haue giuen me cause
» and matter of laughter, rather then of wrath or anger: considering that euen in the
» beginning and entrie of the preamble, thou aduenturest to taxe me of so great ingrati-
» tude and infidelitie, and yet presently after seeming to be moued with a more tender
» kind of affection, thou alledgest vnto me, the losse and perdition of my soule, where-
» as thy selfe being a most vehement and obstinate defender of an inueterate and groun-
» ded error, art wholly ignorant of the wretched end and destinie that doth attend thee:
» from that matter, without obseruing anie rightes of warre, or good forme of procee-
» ding, most vnaduisedly and imprudently (I will not say impudently) as a vanquisher
» to one vanquished thou dost propound and set me downe many conditions of peace,
» and so strange, that hardly can any free eares endure to giue them the hearing. Assu-
» redly *Amurath*, although so outragious speeches might arme the most patient man li-
» uing to returne the like againe, yet will I impute part of them to thy aged yeares, and

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» to thy naturall disposition, (seeing it is a propertie incident to old men to be lauish of
» their tongues) and the residue will I attribute to thy griefe & discontentment, which
» it is very difficult and hard to moderate: but especially I am content to suffer it, be-
» cause it is no part of my meaning or deliberation to contend with thee in vaine dis-
» putes and reproches, but by iust armes and with the courage of true enmitie. Not-
» withstanding to what purpose, I pray thee, ô *Ottoman*, doest thou take on so both be-

fore

fore God and man, as though that I had giuen thee & not thou to me the first offence. Doest thou count this to be infidelitie, that I reuolted from following of thee, being compelled thereunto by necessitie? doest thou obiect this for a crime and reproch vnto me, that I recouered my Countrey by vertue and industrie? But go to, let it be so, neither doe I greatly care to be held guiltie of this trespasse: the benefites also shewed me, which thou so at large and so orderly doest reckon vp, I my selfe could bee verie well content to remember them: were it not that the knowledge thereof doeth draw with it the dolorous remembrance of an infinite number of great and greeuous mischiefes and calamities, the which, if the one should bee compared and recompensed with the other, assuredly the greatnesse of the desertes and merites would soone be buried and ouerwhelmed vnder a greater heape of the mischiefes and misdeedes. But I hadde rather shame should make mee blushe to heare thy selfe (as thou doest recount them,) then that I should be driuen to rehearse or to recite them. Yet one thing there is, which (who soeuer knoweth it) cannot but wonder and greatly maruell at, and that is, how either I could haue the power to suffer and endure them, or thou the heart neuer to be satiate or satisfied, in doing of so many cruelties, and in the continuall and daily practises of such mortall and deadly hatred. My fathers kingdome most wrongfully and iniuriously hast thou detayned from mee: my bretheren hast thou caused to be murthered most cruelly: and my selfe (not doubting or suspecting anie such matter) diddest thou of late most wickedlie vowe and destinate to the death: and yet for all this doest thou (O *Amurath*) thinke it straunge, that my minde, (being euen then not vnmindefull of libertie) hath sought out some meanes to escape and winde it selfe out of so hard bondage and subiection? How long diddest thou thinke that I would haue endured thy so insolent and proud gouernment? Yet did I for a long time suffer many things, neither did I at any time refuse the yoke in thy seruice. All my life time did I expose my selfe to all perils and daungers both publique and priuate, both of mine owne disposition willingly, and at thy commandement, to shewe my obedience and duty vnto thee: euery day did I heare speaches dispersed concerning thee, and amongest my friendes and familiats, I heard no other talke ordinarily, then of thy snares and trappes layed for me: and yet was I perswaded for a long time, that all thy wordes and deedes were free both from fraud, malice, and treason, till such time as thy wicked and blouddy counsailes and deuises did discouer themselues most apparauntly. Then began I for the time to dissemble also: carying a watchfull care and regard continually vpon thy subtleties and pollicies, till I might finde some honest and conuenient meane to enfranchise my liberty. Thou hast not thereby any cause to be agreeued or to complaine, seeing, that (as the saying is) thou art wounded with thine owne weapon: yet are these but trifles (O *Amurath*) in respect of those things which the hope and desire of my heart hath conceiued, and doth ayme at. Leaue off therefore henceforth these thy sharpe threates and menaces, and desist from obiecting vnto vs so often the lamentable mishappe and misfortune of the Hungarians. Each man (good Sir) hath his owne courage, and each one his owne nature. As for vs, whatsoeuer fortune it shall please God to send vs, wee will take and beare it patiently. In the meane while, neither will we take any consell of our enemy of that we haue to doe, neither will we seeke or intreate for peace from thee: but relying vpon the diuine fauour and clemency, we will endeuour to triumph ouer thee, with a most glorious and triumphant victorie. Adieu: From our Campe the twelfth of Iulie. 1444.

Ottoman hauing perused the contentes of *Scanderbeg* his letters, and learning of *Ayraden* by word of mouth the rest of his cogitations and deliberations, was no-

thing well pleased neither with the one nor with the other: but on the contrary, the fierce and liberall speach of the man, and his wonderfull trust and confidence (which he knew did not proceede of nothing) did ingender in him mighty feare and terror, rather then sharpen his anger and displeasure which he had formerly conceyued: and he tooke it as a manifest presage and augurie of the difficulty of the warre of *Albanie*. Notwithstanding, that he might not bewray vnto his people any appearaunce of feare or cowardize, it is reported that in smiling wise (oftentimes stroaking of his beard with his hand) he should vtter these speeches: Thou doest couet (most vnhappy and vnfortunate wretch) thou doest couet some memorable and famous kinde of death, and thou shalt haue it (beleeue me) thou shalt haue it, we our selues will see thy obsequies performed. And without expecting thy commaundement (most mightie king of the Albanians) we will honour and reuerence thy funerals with our presence, least that hereafter being in hell, thou doe complaine that thy end was ignoble and dishonourable. All this notwithstanding, the imaginations and thoughts of the *Sultan* were very vncertaine and irresolute in the middest of these difficulties. For the rumours which arose daily from the part of *Huniades*, and the often messages of the vnfaithfull *Despot* of *Misia*, that pernicious old wretch, who was now infamous through his double treasons, and by the enuious destinies was reserued, euen till that time, for so many miseries and calamities to the Christians: these considerations (I say) did transport and cary away his mind else where, and did hinder and trouble him from bending all his forces, and turning the waight and burthen of the whole warre vppon the kingdome of *Epire*. Meane while neuertheless, to the intent the late iniury offered him by the contempt and refusall of his friendshippe and confederacy, might not rest without some present kinde of punishment: he concluded that if he did nothing else, yet he would trouble and molest the peace and quietnesse of *Scanderbeg*, though he were not able vtterly to abolish it. To this effect he imagined that he had a fit and conuenient oportunity by the negligence of the Christians, who (as he heard) were growen very careless and secure, through their manifold good fortunes and happy successe in the wars, and that *Scanderbeg* hauing dismissed his army, did keepe the field with his horsemen onely; who did daily and carelesse range abroade farre from their Campe, here and there dispersed and scattered for desire of prey and pillage. For this cause hee caused *Ferisey* to be sent for, who was one of his Bassaes, a man of a stirring and fierce disposition, and of a quicke and ready spirite. To him hee gaue in charge nine thousand horse, all chosen and picked men, and hauing heaped vpon him many great and large promises, in case he returned with victorie (as hee wished and desired) he commaunded him to enter into *Epire*, with all the speede and secretie that might be, that his comming might be felt before it was perceyued by the enemy. The reason that made *Ottoman* at that time to send no greater forces, was either for feare that delay and protracting of time might worke their dammage and disaduantage, or that the rumour of his comming being blowen abroade and diuulged, might awaken the Christians, and giue them time and leysure, both to aduise them selues, and to eschew the perill, by addressing and preparing new ambushmentes, as the euent afterwardes made manifest, to frustrate and disappoint the traines of him that was a master in such arts and subteltes.

But whilest that I doe so confidentlie sette downe all these matters touching the counsailes of *Amurath*, both concerning his manner of mannaging forraine warres, and the administration of his estate, I doubt not but many will marueil at this my iudgement and opinion in that it is repugnant and contrarie to others. And it maie be they will be inquisitiue to knowe, what should make mee so to differ and varie from

Amurath his scorneful and despitefull speaches vpon the receipt of Scanderbeg his letters.

Ferisey sent against Scanderbeg by Amurath.

Varietie of opinions touching Amurath his profession of a religious life.

from the common opinion, seeing that it is a matter yet fresh in memory, and many also haue committed no lesse to writing, iustifying the same to all posteritie: That *Amurath* in his latter dayes, immediately vppon the battell of *Varna*, meditating and lamenting, sometimes vppon the miseries and inconueniences of Princes, and sometimes vppon the temeritie and inconstancie of Fortune, after hee had ordered his domesticall affaires, and appointed *Halie* Bassa for gouernour to his eldest sonne *Mahomet*, hee presently depriued himselfe of his Crowne and Empire, and leauing *Andrinople*, and the care of all publique matters, and retayning with him but a very small number, as the companions of his counsell) hee retired himselfe into *Asia* where he vowed and professed a religious and a godly life, according to the superstition of his forefathers. Neither did hee forsake that kinde of life, till such time as the *Despotte* of *Transiluania*, namely *Huniades*, was come before *Sophia*: and that the cries and daily exclamations of the people, did reuoke him: alleadging that *Mahomet* by reason of his young and tender yeares, was not able to support and beare the heauy burthen and charge of the estate, and that the credite and authority of *Halie* Bassa, was not of such force in the Campe, as might make the souldiours to obey and respect him. Certainly I cannot but maruell from whence this error should proceede, especially in an Act happening so late, and within the time of our remembraunce. I will not aduenture to condemne those graue, wise, and learned Authors, of rashnesse and temeritie, not to conuince them of vntrueth and falsehood: yet this one thing I dare auouche for certainetie, and maintaine it of mine owne knowledge, that the letters of *Amurath* aboue written, were sent from *Andrinople*, the chiefe seate of the *Ottoman* Empire, vnder the name and title of *Amurath*, and that both *Ferisey* and many other Chieftaines did attempt vppon the countrey of *Epire*, by his commaundement and appointment, after that he hadde in vaine sought for peace of *Scanderbeg*.

Haly Bassa gouernour of Mahomet the sonne of Amurath.

But this errour proceedeth not from thence, for in the order and accompt of the times, will not be found anie confusion or disagreement, if wee should graunt that these things did passe, before that euer *Amurath* did giue ouer and renounce his Empire. But herein my minde cannot be throughly satisfied, to see that the death of the *Sultan* should be so vnaduisedly translated from *Epire* into *Asia*. For in deed, there is nothing more contrarie to the trueth, and there was neuer any one heard of, that durst maintaine or allow the contrarie, but that the siege of *Croie* did make an end of his aged yeares, and all ages ensuing will giue the honour of the death of *Ottoman*, vnto *Scanderbeg*, as being consumed and extinct through pure conceipt and melancholy, and through impatiencie of griefe: for that hee could not preuaile against *Croie*. But the discretion and good iudgement of the Reader, will easily finde out these particularities, and the probability of the whole trueth of those matters, by the diligent computation and conference of the times.

Amurath made his last end before Croy

But returne wee againe to *Ferisey*, who in great secretie was entred into the Frontiers of *Macedony*, and did in vaine promise vnto him selfe the reward and honour of the victory, which he had before conceiued in his minde, puffed vp with so great and a vaine hope. And therefore standing very carefully vppon his guard, he marched on, approaching daily nearer the enemy, in manner and countenaunce rather of a Robber, then of a true and iust warriour. And yet coulde not hee for all that preuent the newes of his arriuall. For *Scanderbeg* being admonished of all thinges by the Garrisons, that were disposed in diuerse and sundry places, or (as others write) by a spie, comming from the Court of the *Sultan*, so dainely (as a man that went euer furnished and appointed to all casualties and accidents of warre) taking the occasion of

Ferisey cometh into Epire.

The valley of Mocrea.

time and place. He first of all seized vppon a certaine streight and narrow valley named *Mocrea*, (which was the onely place where the Turkishe Captaine was able to passe) and he disposed it full of souldiours, all hardy men and well resolued. The Bassa began now to approach, and the huge thicknesse of the dust raised by the treading and trampling of their horses, did euidently discouer that the enemy was neare at hand. Our men keeping their stand, did attend with no lesse silence the discouery of the enemy, til such time as they saw them entred into the hollow vallies, and enuironed with high and craggy rockes full of woods, and that they were entangled on all sides in the thicke and huge forrests. Then issuing out vpon them with great fury & violence, so dainly and vnexpected, they presented them selues to the enemy. There were of footmen about the number of one thousand fiue hundred, besides two thousand horse at the least. But these were reserued to a further and better peece of seruice. The Turkes (who had enough to doe, and were sufficiently beaten with the discommodities and disaduauntages of the place) were on all sides assailed, both before, behinde, and in flanke, by the Infantery, who killed and slew them at their pleasures. They notwithstanding not forsaking their rankes, but defending themselues with great hardinesse, as long as there was any hope of victory, did stoutly continue in the same place, where the enemy had first charged them. But the horses did rather hurt and hinder them benefite or succour their maisters, and were in the end the losse and ouerthrow of the riders. For (being as men besieged) they receiued and tooke more wounds by far, then they could giue or inflict vppon their enemies. And yet when as all appearance and likelihood of escaping this daunger was cleane taken from them, euen then did they shew themselues more valiant and hardy then euer: & they maintained the fight with the greater obstinacy, almost all of them keeping the self same place to the very death, where they had once set footing and taken possession, whilest they were aliue: Some few only being excepted, whom either the shameful desire of life, or a more vrgent resolution taken vpon the place (for they scorned to die such a kinde of death, the desire whereof was more foolish and contemptible, then honest or commendable) did make them to humble themselues on their knees, and to lay down their armes, which made the conquerors to saue their liues and take them to mercy. There were of them taken prisoners 760. but of those which were slaine, the number was much greater. Thus the Barbarians making hast to the prey, became themselues to be an easy prey to their enemies, giuing vnto the Christians a ioyfull testimony of their misconceited & false imagined victory. *Ferisey* seeing the vantgard of his owne army enclosed & surprised, and the enemy busily fleshing themselues in their slaughter, & plying themselues vpon this occasion, as hauing gotten a fit subiect for their glory, hee turned bridell with the residue of his troopes, and being smally mindfull, either of his Princes instructions, or of his owne naturall fiercenes, he was vtterly vnwilling in so sodaine and vnlooked for an accident, and in a place of such disaduauntage, to make any further triall (to his cost perhappes) of a worse Fortune: doubting both the danger and the number of the enemies to be greater then he supposed. Hee therefore turned his battle to the Christians, and in his retire hee cried out aloft, that it was more commendable in an expert Captaine to saue some, then to lose all, especially in such a place where (euen as dumbe beastes) they must giue their throates to the cutting. True it is that there be some, who write, that he was slaine in the fight by the handes of *Scanderbeg*. But the horsemen of the *Albanois*, did not suffer their retraite to bee altogether without bloudshedde, but keeping continually in the taile of them as they fled, they did kill many of them which stragled and stayed behinde, and they prest vppon them hard, pursuing them continually, till such time as they grewe to be somewhat weatyed, and

Battel of Mocrea against Ferisey.

Victory of Scanderbeg against Ferisey.

Sentence.

deprined

depriued rather of ſtrength, then of will and appetite to chaſe and follow them. Theſe matters being thus diſpatched, and the Turkes put to flight, without any great hurt of his owne companies, *Scanderbeg* with all thoſe troopes which he had with him, did inuade the territory of the enemy, filling and ſatisfying the deſires of the ſouldiers with the ſweete contentment of prey and pillage.

The misfortune of *Periſey* was ſeconded with the like deſaſter & miſhap of *Muſtapha*, no leſſe vnhappy & vnfortunat. For the *Ottoman* vnderſtanding of the rough entertainment giuen by the *Albanois* to his forces, & that their flight was not only profitable, but more then needfull, and that their fortune (in this caſe after they had bene enforced to take that oportunity) had deſerued no iuſt cauſe of blame or reprehenſion, to be layd vpon them: he hauing his mind maruellouſly troubled and perplexed, and being vtterly impatient of all reſt and quietneſſe) night and day, imagined and caſt with him ſelfe touching *Scanderbeg*, bending all his counſells and the vttermoſt of his deſpite and malice, how he might worke his ruine and deſtruction. Beſides, his thoughts affected nothing more (he being vtterly ignorant of his owne miſhap) then one day to ſee the fields of *Epire*, where he did hope to find ſome matter to execute his long wiſhed and deſired reuenge of ſo many outrages and iniuries both of old and lately committed: in ſuch ſort, that ſome ſecret force and operation of the heauens, did ſeeme to draw on the fate of his old age, which (of it owne nature) was fearefull faint and timerous: but the troubles which were reported to be as then imminent from the Hungarians, did not permit and ſuffer him, freely as then to diſcharge his rage and choller againſt the Epirots. The glorious old fellow with the like humour of wrath and malice, did not forbeare to reproch and menace *Huniades*, ſaying, that this was not the firſt time, that the tumults and troubles of *Hungarie*, had ſaued and preſerued the ſtate of *Albany*: neuertheleſſe, becauſe he could not ſuffer nor endure the bloud of his ſouldiers ſo lately ſhed, nor that the bodies of ſo many valiant warriers, ſhould lie on the earth without any reuenge, and eſpecially becauſe he was perſwaded that the profitable example of the former, might keepe others hereafter from the like ſurpriſe, & learn them to be wiſer: and for that the troupes of *Periſey* ſeemed to haue bene vanquiſhed, not by any proweſſe of the Chriſtians, but onely by the diſaduantage of the place: he committed the care of this buſineſſe into the hands of *Muſtapha*, of whom afterwards he did often, (but not with any great good ſucceſſe) ſerue himſelfe in thoſe quarters. Him he commaunded to make a ſupply, and to fill vp the companies of *Periſey*, and to encreaſe their numbers with a new ſtrength of 6000. horſe, he enioyned him moreouer, and expreſly charged him in any caſe not to enter neither more nor leſſe into the ſtreightes and paſſages of *Epire*, where the enemy held him ſelfe in ambuſhment, and where the perill was moſt to be redoubted, and that vppon no occaſion, nor for the hope of any good ſucceſſe whatſoeuer, he ſhould not hazard himſelf to the fight or force of the enemy: but that without any more adoe, he ſhould onely waſt and ſpoile their borders, and to hold him ſelfe contented with this glorie, that the trees and the fields of the *Albanois*, had in ſome ſort felt the force and violence of his victorious and conquering ſword: and that their countrey was burnt, waſted, and conſumed by the fire. Theſe and ſuch like goodlie admonitions, did the *Sultan* giue to *Muſtapha*, as though a man could preſcribe vnto the hearers, what they hadde to doe when their armors are once put vpon their backes. Notwithſtanding when the time came that this ſhould be put in execution, the carefull diligence of the Captaine did not let paſſe or neglect any one point of this charge which had bene giuen him: but as occaſion ſerued, hee added to the ſame many good reſpectes, after hee came to conſider the nature of the countrey, and to haue a view of the ſituation of the place. For

" *Sentence. Old age naturally faint and timerous.*

Muſtapha ſent againſt Scanderbeg with an Army of 15000. Turkes.

ſcarcely had he diſplaied his enſignes within the confines of the chriſtians, but for bearing to march on with his Campe at large, through the open field, he firſt of all ſent forth three hundred horſe to beat ouer the plaine champion, and to diſcouer farre and neare all the paſſages, and to ſound the couerts and ſecret places which might ſerue for ambuſhment; enioyning them, that if they ſaw any likelyhood of daunger from the enemy, they ſhould ſpeedily retire themſelues to the body of their forces, or elſe drawing them on by litle and litle, they ſhould ſuffer them to preſſe and follow hard vppon them, till they were trained neare to the place appointed for their retraite. In ſo doing they ſhould be ſure to deale ſafely, and they might happe to entrappe the wily foxe, being entiſed ſo ſmoothly to the ſnare: both for that his forces being the weaker, they ſhould haue no cauſe to feare and redoubt them, and becauſe they had litle reaſon to thinke, that albeit his numbers were at the greateſt, yet in ſo ſodaine an occaſion, hee ſhould be able to ſtirre abroade with any great ſtore of forces. Now when theſe skoutes had well and diligently ſurueyed all quarters, and hadde vppon their returne made report, that all was ſafe and ſure; the Captaine Turke retayning with himſelfe foure thouſand horſe, enskonſed and fortified the place (where he meant to abide) in forme of a Campe, both with large rampiers and trenches, and with men of an hardy and good courage, partly thereby to aſſure the pillage, and partly to preuent and withſtand all the hazards and chaunces of variable and vnconſtant Fortune. A certaine ſmall height or mount of ground riſing, and mounting it ſelfe in manner of a little hill, did make their fort ſomewhat the more defencible, and leſſe acceſſible for the enemy. Hauing taken this order for his campe, he placed ſome for ſecrete ſentinelles and watches vppon the tops of certaine high mountaines, with certaine tokens & ſignals to giue notice of the comming of the enemy. This done, the reſt of his horſmen he licenſed to the ſpoile, abandoning the countrey to their greedy auarice & crueltie, which by their continuall bloudy roades and inuaſions, brought all things to incredible ruine and deſtruction. But he had firſt giuen them in charge, that whoſoeuer did not at the firſt ſound of the trumpet, and when the retrait ſhould be ſounded, preſently retire himſelfe within the campe, he ſhould be reputed as an enemy. Now was that goodly and pleaſant country harried, ſpoiled, and layd waſt: now were the trees and plants rooted vp and deſtroied, by the rage and ſword of the Barbarians: the medows & paſtures did ſeem (as it were) to bewail and lament: & the flames of the towns and villages (which were openly ſeene fired and burning euery where on all ſides, did ſeeme to cry and call for ſome to work their reuenge. Al the ſeed corne in the ground being beaten downe and troden vnder foote, with the trampling of their horſes, (for it was in Autumne) the innocent and harmles earth did now make ſhew, that it ſhould defraud the poore and vnfortunate labourer of his pains and trauell. Nothing was left free or vntouched which the ſword or fire could conſume or deſtroy: of moueables & cattels of ſmall value, and litle reckonning which belonged to the poore people, there was good ſtore and plenty to be found, but of men and inhabitants very few or none: by reaſon that the enemies were their next neighbours, ſmall was the number of them that remained in the countrey villages, and the moſt part of thē with their wiues, children, & all their families, and with the chiefe & choiſeſt of their ſubſtance, were ſhifted and fled away into the next walled townes, and ſtrong fenced holdes.

Muſtapha enſkonſeth his army in the borders of Macedony.

In the middeſt of theſe exploits, whileſt the fierce Barbarians (iniurious & odious euen to God himſelf) licenciouſly and without any great profit, doth follow and purſue this maner and kind of conqueſt, and whileſt he ſpendeth and conſumeth his time & labor in courſing vp & downe here and there for the deſire & couetiſe of gaine and commodity, *Caſtriot* in the meane time, howbeit he was ſomwhat with the lateſt enformed

formed of this inuasion, with 4000. horse, & 1000. foot, was now arriued to the valley of *Mocrea*, and his souldiers with great ioy and gladnes were entred within these valleys so well knowne vnto them, and which were as yet wet & moisty with the bloud of the Turkes. There (whilest euerie one of them is going vp and downe, secretly viewing his old and wonted lodging, and whilest the watchfull and carefull mind of their Generall resting in suspence and as it were in vncertaintie, is deuising with him selfe what may betide in those places so solitarie and full of silence: behold euen in that instant a certaine Epirote, a man of great courage and worthie of better fortune (being then newly escaped from the enemie, and marked with many great wounds, with the bloud yet running downe warme in great abundance, euery man being abashed at the sight) came and suddenly cast him selfe at the feete of *Scanderbeg*, imploring his ayde and helpe: and with a braue and cheerefull countenance he encouraged the standers by, and thus incensed them, saying; That the fieldes were desolate, all things being turned topsey turuey by the Turkes: who being scattered and disperſed in all partes here and there about purchase and pillage, did dreame of nothing but their prey and bootie: and that without anie great paine or daunger, they might make all of them in particular to yeeld an accompt and reckoning of their iorney so vnaduisedly vndertaken. At the first *Castriot* seemed to be somewhat cheared concerning his counsailes and determinations, by reason that these tydings seemed to giue fitte occasion and oportunitie for his affaires: but after that hee had more particularly enquired of the peasant touching the estate of all things: howe the Campe of the enemie was seated, and in what manner he carried him selfe: then extolling and prayſing the prudence of *Mustapha*, he began to admire him: and from thencefoorth he iudged that it would stand him vppon, from that time forwarde to be better aduised, and to looke vnto him selfe and his affaires more nearely and narrowly. Hereuppon being not willing to attempt anie thing rashly, calling his armie round about him, and standing in the middest so as he might well be heard of them all, he spake vnto them in this fashion.

Scanderbeg marcheth against Mustapha, with an army of 5000. men.

"The speeches "of a peasant "wounded by "the Turkes "vnto Scanderbeg.

I was wont (my companions and copartners in Armes) to giue counsell, and to set downe the course and order of our affaires: but nowe it standeth both you and me vppon, to take counsell together touching the state of our matters, and the manner of our proceedings against the enemie: and this euerie one of you will easily acknowledge, if you do but looke into the euent of matters: the which (in case where reason is not of sufficient force) is the chiefe maister and director. We were giuen to vnderstand, that the Turkes as robbers and free-booters without any order or conduct, without any regard, did wander vp and downe the fields, flying hither and thither, as men that did feare any thing more then our comming. For this cause by my perswasion and procurement, & vnder my conduct, here are you come with this honorable intent and purpose, to inuade and set vpon them with your forces: it is not needful that I tell you what new counsels and directions the happy & oportune comming of this man hath brought vs: you haue heard himself recount, what the enemie doth, & how they do demeane thēselues. One thing there is which no man can denie, if you consider the purpose and drift of *Mustapha*, both in the fashion of his encamping and in the fortification and defence thereof with men well armed & appointed: you shall soone vnderstand that he carieth not towards you the countenance nor mind of a robber, as (it may be) you supposed, but of a most aduised & warie enemie. For this cause in my opinion it is requisit, that you carrie your selues more considerately with a better deliberation against your enemies, then (it seemeth) you were determined. Let vs leaue them alone that are abrode on foraging, lest that in offering occasion to their

"Oration of "Scanderbeg "to his soldi- "ers, consul- "ting with them "vpō the ma- "ner how to "assaile Mu- "stapha.

» Captaine to issue out of his trenches, who looketh for no better aduãtage, we do giue
» them the oportunitie of an easie victorie against vs: for whilest we out of order, dis-
» persed, and in disarray, shall thinke to pursue them as they be scattered and disordered,
» it is to be feared lest we (being double charged by the enemie) be ouerthrown by thē,
» and without all remedie cut in peeces: it is better that we issue forth all at once, with
» our whole puissance, and that we breake in vpon the rampiers of their fortresse: the
» which if our valor and resolution (as it is accustomed) shall happen to carrie, or if we
» may put their Generall to flight, or may get his head (he being slaine) to present and
» make shew thereof to the rest of the Barbarians to appall them (which God almighty
» for his mercy grant vs) there is no doubt, but without any danger, you shall (to your
» endlesse honor) attaine to your desire in each of these respects. For, the residue of these
» free-booters (some of them being excluded and separated from the succours of their
» companions, and others of them being on all sides besieged by your forces) they will
» be at your mercie, either aliue or dead, as your selues shal please to dispose of them. But
Good & necessary counsell in time of seruice. » in any case (my good soldiers) take you heed that the filthie auarice & desire of pillage
» do not carrie you away in the sacking and spoile of the campe: for many are the ex-
» amples, that with great shame and dishonor this hatefull humor and affection of coue-
Sentence. » tousnesse hath oftentimes taken away the victories out of the hands of the victors, &
» hath giuen it to the enemy, when they haue bene quite ouerthrowne & discomfited.

This counsell of the Generall was vniuersally liked and allowed, and it was put in execution and followed with the consent of all the soldiers. The troupes therefore being marshalled and ordered according to the Art and skil of armes, they were drawne forth of the secret and close vallies into the open and plaine fields, & they did now discouer thēselues to the wards & scouts of the Turks: who from the tops of the mountaines, by the fiers mounting vp on high, did giue notice of their comming to those within the fortresse. Then was heard the sound & noise of the trumpets, to the great griefe of those men of armes, who were dispersed abroad in the champion, and were busied in spoyling and pilling of the countrey. Many of them retired vppon the summons, and were receiued within the trenches, before that our men could get neare them, and others as they were making hast to enter, were sore troubled and terrified. The noise and cry of the enemies soldiers, sounding and fearing them, with the name of *Scanderbeg*. Many (whom the sodaine and speedy comming of the *Albanois*, did finde without at the entry of the Fort) were excluded and shut out. And being ouercharged with the spoile and prey of the countrey, they found them selues likewise charged with their enemies. On all sides was the assault giuen to the trenches, and at the first charge (in a manner) their cariages and baggage, which they hadde made as a Barricado to their fort, and the Targatiers that guarded the place, were ouerthrowen and cast downe, with an exceeding great noise and confusion, both of those that were excluded, & of our men, who striued pell mell to enter with them. All of them made way indifferently and alike, and all places were full of enemies mixt together. The presse was so great, and the place so straight, that there was no vse of dartes nor yet of shot. The fight was more hand to hand, and they found it more aduauntage to vse the sword, and certaine Mases of iron (a short kinde of weapon which the Turkes did often vse in battell.) It was a strange kinde of fight, to see the Turks fighting with their swords in one hand, and their fatall booty in the other. So greedy is that people of catching & proling of any thing whatsoeuer. The Christians encreasing still in fury and fiercenesse, did eagerly presse vppon them more and more, and without intermission, did on al parts put them to vtterance, filling the whole place with feare and slaughter, till such time as *Mustapha* (who kept in the safest place of his Campe, and did performe rather

Scanderbeg assaileth the Turkes within their fort and trenches.

Couetousnes naturally in the Turkes.

rather the part of an encotager thē of a ſoldier) ſeeing no hope of ſafetie left by armes, and being conſtrained to yeeld to his misfortune, he ſhifted himſelfe from the danger by the ſwiftnes of his horſe, at one of the ports of his camp which was farthest off frō his enemies. Immediatly hereupon the conflict began to be more moderate and leſſe cruell, with leſſe ſlaughter & bloudſhed, by reaſon that ſome caſting away their weapons did ſubmit themſelues to the Chriſtians, & the reſidue partaking in the neceſſitie of their Captaine, did ſhift for their liues with quicke ſpurring of their horſes. Manie (whom the earneſt deſire of their profit had drawne far from their fort) miſdoubting the ill ſucceſſe of their companions, by the cries and noiſe of the enemie, which they heard a far off, did endeuor to ſaue themſelues by flying: but there was ſcant any one of thē that eſcaped: for diuerſe great troups of archers lay in waite vpon the paſſages, who annoying thē with the abundance of their arrows, did by that meanes diſcharge their anger vpon them. Some hold that the whole power of the Turkes (excepting *Muſtapha* and a few of the principall, who were beſt mounted) was ſlaine in that battell. But in my opinion they come nigheſt to the troth, who write, that there were ſlaine about 5000. men, but a far leſſer number taken priſoners, which amounted not at the moſt to aboue 300. and the moſt of thē mightily disfigured or maimed by their many and grieuous wounds: becauſe that the ſoldiers being incredibly incenſed vpon the ſight of the pillage gotten frō their fellowes, and the extreme ſpoile & deſolation of their countrey, were caried away & moued to vſe the greater furie and crueltie towards them. Of the victors there were wanting but 20. horſemen, and 50 foote, who were rather ouerrun with the horſes then ſlaine by the ſword of the enemy. Thus the Albanois being now poſſeſſed of the campe, the enſignes, the haggage, & the cariages of their enemies, they inuaded alſo and ouerrun their territories: where, with a prize and bootie more aſſured and of better certaintie, they recompenced that loſſe & damage which had bene receiued by the Turkes, with a greater vſurie and aduantage.

Victorie of Scanderbeg againſt Muſtapha.

About the ſame time that theſe things were ſo happily atchieued againſt the infidels, it is reported that *Lech Zacharie* (of whom we haue before made ſome mention) was vnfortunately murthered by *Lech Ducagin* the ſonne of *Paul*. This man was a perſonage who made himſelfe famous through the happie and proſperous ſucceſſe of his wicked actions, yet borne of a father who was a good man, and moſt vertuous. Other reaſon I find none of his ſecret hatred and malice, nor any occaſion of his conſpiracie againſt him, but onely a damnable deſire of Empire and dominion: a ſweete yet miſchieuous maladie, naturally grounded and rooted in the mindes of mortall men. For theſe two Princes being next neighbours each to other, and *Ducagin* perceiuing the other to be without iſſue, & hauing no hope of any lawfull heires, he thought belike that the ſucceſſion of his eſtate, would eaſily fall & eſcheate to him that could firſt and ſooneſt ſeize vpon it: whereupon he both depriued him of his life, and at the ſame inſtant he iniuriouſly vſurped a great part of his ſignory. Yet could he not abſolutely & fully accompliſh his deuilliſh intent, which he had ſo wickedly begun and attempted. For the Daynians (who inhabited the capitall towne & chiefe fortreſſe of that countrey) by their conſent, faith and fidelitie (the onely meane wherein they could make ſhew therof) did teſtifie their loue and affection which they bare to their Prince. And whereas the Ladie *Boſſa* the mother of him that was ſlaine, being very old and aged, was not a litle penſiue and ſorowfull in that ſhe had ſuruiued her ſonne, they defended her eſtate with great loyalty, till ſuch time as ſhe (induced thereunto by the counſell and practiſe of others, and by the perſwaſion of her friends) ot imagining that the infirmitie of her aged yeares, and the weake ſpirit of a woman was not ſufficient to go through with ſo great a charge eſpecially the ſtate of her affairs being ſo troubleſome

Lech or Lake Zacharie Lord of the towne of Dayna vpō the riuer of Drinon in Albanie.

*" Deſire of do-
" minik a diſ-
" eaſe natu-
" rally grow-
" ing in men.
Sentence.*

Lech Zacharie murthered.

He meaneth the Gouernour of Sentary or Scodra.

The antiquitie named it Chalcedon, afterwards Scodra, now Scutaris.

and tumultuous: she conueyed her selfe to * *Scutary* or *Scodra*, and resigned both her selfe and the surplus of her estate which was left her, into the hands and power of the common weale of *Venice*, casting vpon them the charge and whole burden of all the quarels and contention which was like to ensue and growe betweene them and the neighbout Princes and Seigniors about the right of her dominions.

See now how fortune prepared her self to make *Scanderbeg* famous & renowmed on the one side by the armes and forces of *Italie*, in that she bred a iarre betweene him and the Venetians: and on the other side by *Mustapha*, who in the presence of *Amurath* as an vpright iudge (although enuious against his enemy) with a great discourse and abundance of good words (both to couer his owne misfortune, & to excuse the fault of his companions) did highly extoll the inuincible prowesse of this personage, and his incomparable experience in the Art militarie: oftentimes repeating that it was needfull to prouide other maner of forces, and with a more mightie kind of warre to tame his furie and fiercenesse: that this was not the way to sound the mind, & to try the stirring thoughts of *Scanderbeg* by such rodes and inuasions, and by the spoyling and wasting of the fields: that these were meanes rather to incense and animate the harts of the Albanois (who were a nation of a braue nature, and of a high corage:) that these ambushments and wiles of warre were not to preuaile against him that was his craftsmaster in such subtilties, but that they would always redound to their ruine & confusion: and more then that, by the course and custome of so many daily victories, by litle and litle they should ingender a contempt of the name & maiesty of *Ottoman* among the Christians: that (in his opinion) the best way was either altogether to abstaine & giue ouer frō making war vpon him, or else, to frame themselues to follow the warre with so full resolution, that they might at once and without any more a do, vanquish and subdue this enemie, and so make a finall end & conclusion of the warre of *Albany*.

Mustapha excuseth his ouersight vnto Amurath.

These reasons and allegations of the Bassa (though the *Sultan* did take small pleasure in the praises of his aduersary) could not seeme to proceed of pusillanimity or want of corage, seeing he had before his eies the like misfortunes of all those, whom he had at any time sent and employed against *Castriot*. Sometimes *Haly* Bassa, and sometimes *Ferisey* (who of all others was least faulty) did put him in minde of their calamities, more singular and notorious, & they did excuse vnto their Prince *Amurath*, the vnfortunat vertue of *Mustapha*. Wherefore he also changing his mind (a common & vsual thing that the crosses of Fortune and aduersity doth soone cause men to wax weary of wars) concluded to giue himselfe some rest from this toilesome exercise of armes, and from thenceforth no more to feed the enemy with the bloud of his subiects, but determined to surcease from war, till such time as himself, poore old man who seemed to threaten more danger with his beake then with his talents, guided and led on by his sinister & vnhappy destiny, went thither in person to seeke the end of that glory, which he vainly promised to himself, and the fruit of that victory which he had most idlely conceined in his thoughts. Yet did he in the meane time command *Mustapha* to leauy new forces and sent him again into *Epire*, but with expresse charge, not to ouerrun nor endamage the enemies countrey, nor vpon any occasion whatsoeuer to assaile *Castriot*, but onlie to gard his subiects and his frontiers from all molestations and incursions, & without any care taken for the purchase of conquest or victory, to containe him self within his limits, and not be drawen forth to any seruice whatsoeuer. And surely we must needs thinke, that God did wonderfully prouide for the good and welfare of *Castriot*, in that he inspired the minde of so mighty and redoubted an enemy, with such a thought and resolution, euen at that time, when he was entred into a new war against the Venetiās.

Sentence. Aduerse fortune maketh men wearie of warre.

Mustapha sent with another armie against Scanderbeg for the defence of the Turkish confines.

Warre betweene Scanderbeg & the Venetians.

The comming of *Mustapha* and the newes of the massacres of the prince of *Dayna*, both

being reported at one & the ſame inſtant to *Scanderbeg*, made him diuerſly diſtracted in his thoughtes and cogitations, and did greatly perplexe his minde. Notwithſtanding the Barbarian (with whom it was an ordinarie matter to be vanquiſhed) did not ſo much trouble him, but the horrible accident of that Prince his ſingular friend: and his end no leſſe cruell then lamentable, did ſo oppreſſe his heart with grief, that it was thought it would go neare to kill him. Beſides this, his ſorow was much aggrauated when he heard of the determination of the Lady *Boſſa*, and that the Venetians had vndertaken her cauſe, and made it their owne proper quarrell: for true it was, that the gouernors of the places next adioyning had fortified all of them, & principally the town of *Dayna*, with ſtrong and great garriſons. Behold here now the occaſion of their diſſention, and the originall of the quarrell: the Prince of *Epire* found himſelf aggrieued with the Venetians, in that they would ſeeme to pretend any right to the ſtate of him that was dead, & wold chalenge it vnto them ſelues, ſeeing that the reſignation which the mother had made vnto them was of no force, concerning thoſe goods which her ſonne in his life time had ordained to be left vnto him: and there was no reaſon, that the raſh wilfulnes of the mother, ſhould be any lawful preiudice or make voyd the intent and meaning of the ſonne. For it was euident & apparant, that there was a former compact paſt betweene him & *Zachary*, that he that was the ſuruiuer of them twaine, ſhould be the others ſucceſſor, and enioy his dominions: & this their agreement was confirmed by a ſolemne oth betweene them: what the right of law was in that caſe, either for the one or the other, I leaue to the lawyers to debate it, & true it may be, that the diuine power by the fortune of the warre did equally deuide their controuerſie. But here in the meane time may alſo good Chriſtianlike minds ſee the fruits & effects of ambition and auarice. In this doubtfull ſtate of his affaires, *Scanderbeg* being more carefull now then euer, did continually keepe neare the forces of *Muſtapha*, and courſing vp & down euery where with a very ſmall numbar: (ſometimes by aduenturing him ſelf too farre, and ſometimes by faining of flight, and by retiring of his colours in diſorder) in vaine did he ſeek to prouoke the wylie General of the Turks to iſſue forth to the fight, the which (to his coſt) he had once made proofe of. But now ſeeing that he refuſed the combat, wherby he was out of all hope either of doing of any exploit, or of any meanes to ſurprize or circumuēt him: he there left all thoſe forces which he had with him vpon the borders of the enemy, to preuent all new occaſions of tumults, and to repreſſe the inſolencie of the Turks: & himſelf bending all his thoughts to the preparation of the war of *Daina*, with a very ſmall company attending him, tooke his iorney preſently towards *Croy*. There (knowing that the deciding of this debate was not likely to be otherwiſe then by force of armes) he ſpeedily commanded a publike leuie of ſoldiers: and himſelf riding all ouer the prouince with ſome of his moſt notable & ancienteſt Captaines, for the raiſing of men, he aſſembled a mighty armie. And then without any delay (before that thoſe of *Daina* ſhould haue the leaſure to prouide themſelues of corne) he cōpaſſed their citie with his forces round about, girding them in with a ſtrong and ſtraight ſiege, and omitting nothing that was to be done (ſometimes by gentle perſwaſions, ſometimes by rough intreatie) he employed all his ſtudy and indeuors, to ſolicit them within to yeeld themſelues to his deuotion: for he was in great doubt, leaſt if this oportunitie of ſeizing vpon the towne did ſlip from him, the newes thereof flying in the meane time to *Venice*, wold animate and ſtir vp the Senators of that citie more earneſtly to take vpon them the defence therof, & ſend thither freſh ſuccours and ſtronger forces out of *Italie*. He refrayned notwithſtanding frō the ſpoyling of the country (which is cōmonly the firſt miſchiefe that foloweth vpon the ſiege of any place) for doubt, leſt the minds of the Danians being more eagerly bent, ſhould be made the more conſtant and reſolute to continue faithfull to the enemy: nei-

The cauſes of the warre betweene Scanderbeg and the Venetians.

The ſiege of Daina.

ther did he assay with artilery to batter their wals, nor to force the town by Escalados or assalts: but only debarring the inhabitants from all maner of renuing & refreshing themselues with victuals or munitions, he threatned them with the danger of famine, which was not far from them, and with the discommoditie of a long & tedious siege: by meanes whereof (when they should hereafter be constrained to submit themselues vnto him, then all too late imploring his mercy and compassion) they should feele all these extremities, which the iust rigor of a conqueror should impose vpon them. The Gouernors of those prouinces which were subiect to the Venetians, & the Captains of the townes neare adioyning being aduertised of the state of the besieged, gaue notice to the Signiorie of Venice, and hauing commission returned vnto them with no lesse speed & celeritie, they leauied suddenly in great hast soldiers of all sorts, both Albanois and Italians (with all which kind of people the next garrisons were ordinarily stuffed by the order of the Venetians) and with these they marched on with full purpose to succor the Dainians. These troupes were greatly aided and augmented by the cõming of two persons, by nation Albanois, *Lech Dusman*, & *Peter Span* or *Spaniard*. These men had sworne and promised to *Scanderbeg* their continual seruice & deuoir against the Turks, and they neuer failed him: but the confederacie and amitie which they had contracted for a long time before with the Signiory of *Venice* (by reason that they were neare neighbors to *Drinasta*, and some other places of the Venetian iurisdictiõ, besides the bond of innumerable benefits receiued frõ their estate in times past) did now bind thẽ to their assistance, and were the occasion of their preparations to do them seruice. *Scanderbeg* was no whit abashed at the difficultie and greatnesse of this warre, but did receiue these newes with great ioy and gladnesse, and without anie further delay deuided his forces, which exceeded the number of 14000. men: he appointed to employ against his enemie onely 7000. horse, and 2000. foote. The residue (hauing prouided for all occasions) hee left to hold the siege before *Dayna*. The which (notwithstanding the rumour of the enemies approach) he determined not to leaue or to abandon. Thus the vndaunted Chiefrain by his singular prudence, hauing seperated his forces into 3. partes, did thereby occasion his aduersaries, through a vaine & foolish kind of hope, to triumph ouer him, and to grow the more in heart and courage against thẽ. For the *Daynias* seeing *Castriot* to be absent, did think now that they were no longer besieged, for their courts of guard at the portes, were not so strong as was vsuall, but they grew to be neglected, the wals were not so well manned: and oftentimes might the souldiours of the enemy without, ioyntly with the citizens within, haue entred into their gates which were diuerse times left open. To be briefe, they growing, in a maner careles of all things, only the imminent danger of famine did seem to perplexe them, which neither was to be contẽned by their audacity, nor auoided by their valor and magnanimity. Notwithstanding the honor & reputation of their faith which they had once passed & promised, did assure their corages, & did bind them to endure the rigor of all difficulties. Besides the aduertisements touching their confederats (who aduanced them selues with great iourneis to mitigate these mischieues & to deliuer them from this misery) did greatly comfort their afflicted spirits, & made them to conceiue an assured hope of deliuerance. Moreouer perswading themselues that *Castriot* was not able to make head against so great a puissance, they did look euery hour in great care and expectation to see some messenger, and to heare some certaine newes of the victory (which in their opinion they did promise vnto their owne fancies.) So is it for the most part with all men, who (the more power they doe in their mindes attribute vnto fortune) with so much the more deuotion are they obedient vnto her.

The Venetians prouide for the reliefe of Dayna against Scanderbeg.

Lech Dusman & Peter Span against Scanderbeg.

Drinasta.

Sentence.

You need not doubt but that *Mustapha* was exceedingly ioyous of these troubles & tumults

tumults in *Epire*, and by reason of the absence of *Scanderbeg*, his courage which was before abated, did now begin to returne & to be reuiued, & a certaine secret obliuion of his former misfortune, had now abolished the remẽbrance thereof out of his mind. Faine would he haue assailed the garrison there left vpon the borders, and willingly would he haue made a sacrifice to the iust wrath of his Prince, and to his owne ambition of those souldiers, whom he supposed to be weakened by the absence of their Chieftaine, and the rest of their companions. He had an infinite desire to be made a partner with the Venetians in this glorie and triumph ouer his deadly enemie: and he was more intentiue to the present aduantage and opportunitie, then mindful of the charge and commaundement of his Soueraigne. But on the other side, the seueritie of *Ottoman*, and the sundrie examples of others, (whose disobedience had bene most grieuously punished) did withhold & stay his doubtfull and variable mind. Last of all, though he were partly perswaded that the *Sultan* would not disallow his resolution, grounded vpon so good an opportunitie, yet he tooke this to be the surest way, that men should rather deeme him negligent, by the command and direction of his lorde and master: then fortunate, by his owne pride and temeritie.

In the middest of all these tumults, whilest the hoast of the Venetians being assembled at *Scutarie*, did there consume the time in the prouision of things necessarie, *Scanderbeg* had passed ouer the riuer of *Drynon* with his army (which was an euident signe of his hardinesse and assurance) and preuenting the counsells of his aduersaries, he marched on resolutely to encounter them euen within the bowels of their owne dominions, and as a man may say, vpon their owne dunghill. The Venetian could not endure this brauado, but dislodging incontinently with his armie, he passed on to affront him presently: now did the cries of the souldiers, and the rebounding sound of the drums & trumpets on either side bewray the approch and cõming of the enemie. Then did euerie man take a good courage to himselfe: & cheerefully did they make shew of their fierce and coragious stomacks. The very eies of the souldiers seemed to flame with fury, & on either side was heard a mighty noise (an argumẽt of their wrath and choller). Then were praiers, vowes, and shewes of deuotion in the mouthes of the leaders, & also of the souldiers, and euery man shewed himselfe a good Christian and recommended himselfe vnto God. Either part did hold their armes to be iust & lawfull, and eth did assure themselues that they were in the right, & that they had the better cause & quarrell. The intent of euery of them was only to repulse the iniurie, and all of them seemed to haue like reason for the warre: the Prince of *Albanie*, to recouer the possession of the towne, detained from him contrarie to all right and equitie: and the others to defend and protect thẽ, who had chosen them for their protectours. The former were encouraged through their merits & deserts in so many valiant acts & exploits daily atchieued vpon the Barbarians, & through the remembrance of their honor & renowne lately gotten vpon *Mustapha*: the latter though they were wel prouided for all things needfull for a greater warre, and though they might (not without good cause) promise vnto themselues the hope of victorie, yet (if they should happen to haue the worst) they were not for all that such as would be dismaied or stoupe to the fortune of the enemy: for euery man knew the vnuanquished power of the Venetians, & that they were able continually to supply new & greater forces to maintaine the quarrell, & to bring the warre to a better issue: in such sort that this enterprise of *Dayna* was like to be the confusion of the Duke of *Albany*. Yet did the hard & miserable estate of the besieged, greatly perplex them, because they were certified that there remained a strong power before the city. By this time were the armies come in sight, and nowe did approach the daie of good or ill fortune to the one side or the other:

Scanderbeg marcheth against the Venetian armie.

immediatly there followed a ſtrange & ſudden ſilence in both armies, ech of them reſting themſelues with great quietneſſe. The enſignes being faſtned on the earth, the Marſhals did preſently make choiſe of a fit place to encampe in, where both the ſouldier might lodge moſt at his eaſe, and the leaders (by their often exhortations) might cõfirme thoſe which were reſolute, & encourage others who were not fully reſolued. The gouernment of the Venetian army was committed to *Daniell Iurich* of *Sebenca*, a man of an aſſured experience and practiſe in deedes of armes (the common people call him the *Voyuoda*:) he hauing appointed euery man to his place, and hauing prepared all things readie to the combat, thus beganne to ſpeake vnto his ſouldiers.

Daniell Iurich he was Voiuoda, or gouernor of Scutarie.

The oration of Iurich Generall of the Venetian armie. Sentence.

Such is the folly and temeritie of men, that they thinke all things to be lawful for » them, when their thoughts are once tickled with the proſperous ſucceſſe & encreaſe » of their fortune. Hereof it proceedeth, that the mind hauing no power to cõmand it » ſelfe, & being altogether impatient of her preſent proſperitie, & wandring ſometimes » here, & ſometimes there, it troubleth the cõmon reſt of others, & for her owne plea- » ſure doth moue & procure warres: till ſuch time as in the end by a miſerable & wret- » ched iſſue, it receiueth the iuſt chaſtiſement of her vaine conceite & imagination. An » example hereof (my good friends) is here repreſented vnto vs in this our enemie, no » leſſe proud then preſumptuous: who by his vnhappy audacity & his exceſſiue fortune » is now growen to this point, that he dareth to raiſe warre vpon warre, and to moleſt » thoſe Princes of whom (if he will conſider the benefits he hath receiued) there is not » any one thing, excepting his temeritie, but he may attribute it vnto them wholly. But » the good hap of his affaires hath now ſo peruerted his ſenſes, that it behoooueth vs not » onely at this time to take armes publiquely, but in priuate alſo to hate him mortally. » Behold & turne aſide your eies to the pitifull eſtate of the Dainians, to the intent the » iuſt wrath of their iniurie, & the honeſt care of your friends, may animate your cou- » rage. You ye citizens of *Scutarie*, haue many of your children, many of your brethren, » many of your kinſmen, friends & allies both Sclauonians & Italians (all of them har- » die & good ſouldiers) encloſed & ſhut vp within that garriſon, where being mewed » vp by diſloialtie of the enemy, & being brought to the vttermoſt point of all extremi- » ties: they haue no other hope remaining, but only in your valure & vertue. Long time » haue they attended you in ſorrow, in ſuſpence, in great care & expectation: longing & » looking aloft from off their wals, that either your powers ſhold now reſtore them to » their libertie: or elſe hauing loſt all hope of cõfort, they muſt be enforced ſhamefully » to ſubmit thẽſelues, & to leaue their liues to the mercy of *Caſtriot*, & vnder the view » of his pride, who is ſo inſolent & vnmercifull in his victory, as his like is no where to » be found, as one who hauing bin of a long time nouriſhed vp amõg the Barbarians, » doth excell in all barbarouſnes & inhumanity. For (to omit other matters) can there » be any greater temeritie then this? can there be any folly more notable then by ſo leud » an example to debarre men frõ the libertie of protecting of others in the right of their » own goods & poſſeſſions? And by meanes thereof moſt wickedly to purchaſe to him » ſelfe al that he can ſeize vpon, & vnder this vaine pretence of I know not what cõpact » & agreement, to excuſe his greedie deſire of cõmand: abrogating by this meanes, and » taking away from men all the rights of their libertie? His ambitious mind is enraged » that the Venetians ſhould be preferred before him by the Dainians: & he impugneth » the voluntarie mind of the mother in the diſpoſition of the heritage of her own ſonne » deceaſed: but you may ſee how the malladie & infirmitie of his owne mind, and the » vehemency of his deſpight hath ſo blinded and inueigled him, that being tranſported » with enuie, he runneth headlong to his own deſtruction: for he could not endure to » put off the care of this warre, till ſuch time, as (hauing chaſed away this enemie the

Turke

Turke, who is daily at his dores) he might haue bin the better able to vnite all his forces & to haue come with al his whole power to execute his hatred against the Venetians: neither hath he bin so well aduised as to ioyne battell against vs with any great forces, though it be in sight of the towne besieged. But he (this expert warrior) hath separated his forces here and there, shewing himself therin a more vpright iudge to you, then to himself, & to further your cause more then his own. And whilst that the siege of *Dayna* on the one side, & the care & doubt of *Mustapha* on the other, doth not suffer his mind to enioy any rest or quietnes, he hath reserued this army not as a fit enemie able to encounter with you, but as a sacrifice rather to be slaughtered by you. Wherfore seeing you are so many braue warriors, against an handful of robbers: goe to thē, and charge them valiantly & cease not till you haue vtterly ouerthrowen them. Let your valure & prowes enforce their foolish & vainglorious hearts, either by loue or by constraint to acknowledge & confesse, that thēselues are guiltie of the iniustice of this warre, which they haue vndertaken so iniuriously. And these being once chastised for their folly, you shal not need to take any further care, nor to redoubt those their forces which are remaining before *Dayna*. For then, pursuing the good successe of this battell, we may at one and the same instant preuent their purpose by going to charge them first, and they within issuing out vppon their backes, shall enclose and hedge them in on all sides, by meanes whereof we shall finish and bring to an ende, a most notable peece of seruice, and exceedingly famous.

The oration of the king of Epire was more milde and not so sharpe and inuectiue, neither was it so replenished with ill speeches tending to the disgrace of others, but (as some say) it was neere to this effect that followeth.

The oration of Scanderbeg to his armie.

Whether the cause of this present warre be iust or not, it is not now time (my good friends quoth he) to make any question, seeing we are come armed into the field, neither is that now to be debated on, when we are in view of the enemie: considering especially, that my self was the man that made you to take armes, with whom you neuer yet had iust cause to be agreeued, either for refusing any war that was lawfull, or for seeking any quarrels which were vnlawfull & vniust. But seeing it is so, that in all humain affaires nothing doth more torment the cōscience of good men, nor is more curiously respected by men of warre before they come to fight with their enemy, thē to enquire the iustice of the quarrell, & that they may be resolued whether they shall not contend with God, aswell as men: for my part (my good citizens) I am content therfore that if any of you do thinke that my motion, in the vndertaking of this war, be to be condemned of rashnes or temeritie, or if you do thinke me to be too greedie and desirous of new warres & troubles: I shall be well pleased I say, neither will I hinder it, if presently you trusse vp baggage, and that we returne euery man to his home. For I am not he that would traine you by force to hazard your persons I know not wherfore neither do I desire, in this troublesome estate of my affaires and chiefest tumults of *Epire*, of an obstinate minde to seeke new quarrels and causes of contention with the segniorie of *Venice*. If therefore my attempt and purpose be exempted & free from blame, and the causes of this warre doe seeme vnto you iust and necessarie: then is it your part also, and none but you haue reason (as being interested in the cause) to effect by your vertue and couragious perseuerance, that the happie end & euent do shew and testifie your armes to be accompanied with right and equitie. For nothing can be more reprochfull to him that is nobly minded, neither can anie thing be more repugnant to the dignitie and maiestie of a Prince, then to suffer by timorousnesse and pusilanimitie, his right to be vsurped by an other: and to holde (as a man would say) his finger vnder his girdle, when he knoweth his right is not to be had, but by

» force of armes. There is none of you but knoweth the hartie amitie and the inwarde
» conuerſation which was euer betweene me and the Seignior *Lech Zacharie*, whoſe
» death (being no leſſe cruell then grieuous) hath ſtirred on all parts ſo many troubles,
» and that he and I (induced thereunto by other mutuall affection) did with one con-
» ſent, ſet downe this as a lawe inuiolable, that which ſoeuer of vs two ſhould firſt de-
» ceaſe without iſſue, ſhould be ſeized (by the compact and the right of ſuruiorſhip) of
» the other his heritage & dominions. Now the Venetians haue gotten his lands, and I
» am left heire only of his teares to lament the iniquity of his fortune. Did not I by this
» agreemẽt hazard the renouncing of my own patrimony, if my accident (as the danger
» of death is cõmon to all men) had taken me firſt away out of this life? I haue no reaſon
» therefore, neither am I determined to giue ouer the warre, except (God being againſt
» me) I be put to the worſt, or that I be inueſted in the quiet poſſeſſiõ of *Dayna*: for none
» but fooles can blame me for this war, whereunto ſo good reaſon, & ſo honeſt a cauſe
» doth perſwade me. Let no man maruell to ſee me in armes againſt Chriſtians, againſt
» the Venetians, againſt my next neighbors, ſeeing they haue giuen me ſo iuſt an occa-
» ſion, & themſelues haue in a manner, put the weapons into my hands. True it is, we do
» with a ſtreight ſiege preſſe the towne & countrie of our owne kinſmen, of our owne
» bloud & alliance; but yet we do it not with ſo ill an intention as they imagine, neither
» are we lead thereunto, either vpon a greedie deſire of cõmaund & Empire, or delight
» of murther and bloudſhed: but only to wring that citie out of the hands of our aduer-
» ſary, and to draw the vngratefull inhabitants (at the leaſt) to a confeſſion & acknow-
» ledgement of their error and obſtinacie. We are come to fight with the enemie, who
» hath firſt prouoked vs by diuers acts of hoſtilitie. Reſolue you therefore in your cou-
» rage with an aſſured & honeſt reſolution to maintaine your honor and reputation. It
» may ſeeme that the ſouereignty of *Dayna* being propounded for the reward of the cõ-
» queror ſhould giue ſufficient & ample occaſion to take armes: but let not (I pray you)
» any ſuch conceipt enter into your thoughts, for theſe are cõmonly the baites to allure
» ambitious minds, & they are entiſements of the baſe popular & vulgar ſort. The only
» deſire of praiſe and commendation is ſufficient to animate & ſtirre on thoſe which are
» valiant: and yet if you obtain this daies victory, al ſhal be yours without controuerſie.
» For the enemie being chaſed away, and the beſieged ſeeing their hope to be fruſtrate
» which they had in their cõpanions, & being preſſed with extreame famine, they will
» ſoone open their gates to receiue you in as cõquerors. As touching the victory, I need
» not ſay any thing vnto you, who haue alwaies accuſtomed to be victors: if they againſt
» whõ you are now to make proofe of your valure be a new enemy, ſo is it a new kind
» of glory that doth now attend you. Doe the Venetians ſurpaſſe you in number? be it:
» the honor which you haue purchaſed in ſo many battels, where you haue alwaies bin
» the leſſer number, hath euer heretofore made you famous: the free and gentle heart
» doth diſdain to ouercome when euery mans deuoire cannot be ſeene, & where he can
» not purchaſe particular praiſe and commendation: againe, what aduantage haue they
» in that their number is greater then ours? Seeing as there is amongſt them diuerſitie
» of languages, variety of habits, & a different vſe in armes: ſo is there as great diuerſity
» and diſagreement in their mindes and courages: and as their army is compounded of
» many and ſundrie Nations, as Sclauonians, Italians, Albaneezes: ſo are they diuerſe
» in faſhions, and with a confuſed kinde of ignorance followe vnder one and the ſame
» colours: their crie and noyſe in the fight will be of diuerſe and ſundrie ſounds, and
» much leſſe auaileable will be the encouragements of their leaders. March on there-
» fore (my good ſouldiers) and in the very entrie and beginning of the battell, valiant-
» ly doe you beate backe, repulſe, and diſperſe theſe enemies, who are better diſpoſed to

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the flight, then to fight: and see that you doe nowe renewe by the honour of this dayes iourney, the glorious renowne of so manie trophees and victories which you haue heretofore gotten and obtained vppon the Turkes. Neuertheleſſe I would not that you ſhould carie your ſelues towardes theſe as againſt other enemies: but rather that you vſe more moderation and leſſe choller, and that being inclined to mercie and clemencie, you doe labour rather to haue them all priſoners, then to haue them ſlaughtered in the fieldes. In anie caſe doe you not, either through intemperate furie of warre, or the heate of your anger and indignation, pollute and defile your victorious handes with the bloud of thoſe, who ſhall yeelde and render themſelues to your mercies. For it is not with Barbarous, fierce, and ſauage Nations that we haue now to deale, but with Chriſtians, againſt whom we are to contende according to the rights and lawes of armes, with equitie and iuſtice, and onely to repulſe iniuſtice, and to liue in reſt and quietneſſe.

The great modeſtie that *Scanderbeg* made ſhew of in this his ſpeech, did the more vehemently animate the minds of his ſouldiers, and made them the more affectionate vnto him: for that (being a matter rare and ſeldome ſeene) he did in the ſame bewray himſelfe to be both reſpectiue of their good, and no leſſe carefull for the enemie. For this cauſe, flocking about their Prince, they praiſed & applauded his counſell, eche of them affirming: that they were readie to make proofe of their reſolution, and to offer themſelues to all hazarde and fortune of battell, not for the defence onely, but for the increaſe alſo and augmentation of his renowme and glorie: that the armes of the Venetians were not ſo to be redoubted: that their opinion in attributing much vnto them, ſhould make them in the meane while, to forget their owne dutie and deuoire: that if the diſhonour and ignominie, offered by the Danians, ſhould by their faintneſſe and ſlouthfulneſſe remaine vnpuniſhed, the iniurie would be common to all his ſubiectes: and that it was not for their honour now to be diſcouraged, in the middeſt of ſo great broyles, and at this time wherien they were buſied and ſurcharged with the weight and burthen of a double warre: that men ſhould not be able to doe any thing worthie of honour and commendation, if euerie idle conſultation, ſhould reſtraine and ſuppreſſe the vehemencie of their courages: and if they ſhould examine euerie particular with a kinde of blockiſh and ſlouthfull deliberation, that the hardie man and he that is valiant ought to aduenture himſelfe, and to march on reſolutely, and to beare off all daungers with head and ſhoulders: and that it becommeth not him to looke into matters with too much curioſitie, to augment his owne feare, nor by a ſtrict examination of things, to interprete and reueale vnto men, thoſe miſchiefes which are hidden from them: that many high and difficult affaires haue beene ſurmounted and ouercome by the furie of the reſolute ſouldier, and by the fierceneſſe of his courage once ſtirred and enflamed: whereas a mind free and quietly diſpoſed would not dare to aduenture vpon them: that a man ought alſo to relie and caſt his care wholly vpon God, who aſſiſteth continually in the warre that partie whoſe cauſe and quarrell is iuſt and rightful. And neuertheleſſe if their ſafety did only depend vpon their own valure, yet the ſtate of *Albany* ſhould be ſufficiently defended & protected, only by the faith & mutuall amity of her owne peoples. Moreouer that *Amurath* was withheld & kept doing by the warre of *Hungary*, & that they knew the power & puiſſance of the Venetians to be great: but withall they were not ignorant, that the Italians, the farther they are drawn frō home, the more ſlowly do they march on, & proceed the more vnwillingly. Theſe with many ſuch like ſpeches were vttered confuſedly amongſt the whole troupe of ſouldiers according to euery mans diſpoſition: with this intent and purpoſe alſo, that their Prince (hearing their deuiſes) might

The affection of the ſouldiers of Scanderbeg after his oration.

take the better notice of their good willes and affection, and might shewe them the better countenance: he (prayling and extolling the affection of euery of them) speaking aloud vnto them in manner of iesting and merriment, smiling he tolde them, that nature was much to blame in that she had not placed these noble and generous spirits of the *Albanois*, in a higher and better fortune.

This done, *Castriot* caused his souldiers to go and refresh themselues: and then hauing taken some repast, and all matters being throughly prouided for, about midday, with a mind cheerefull and confident, he drewe forth his troupes into the field. The archers and others which were lightly armed, he placed in the front before the ensignes: then (with the corslets and those whose armes were more weightie) he made the two wings, appointing vnto each of them 2000. horse: to *Tamsee* was giuen the middle battell, wherein likewise amongest the men at armes were mingled certaine foot men. As touching the rereward or for any supplies, he tooke no care at all, because he had determined to make it knowen that he accounted the victory sure his own: and that the enemie was much more easie to be vanquished, then the Venetians did seeme to make shew of, either by the assurance of their countenances or by their furie and forwardnesse at the first charge. As little regard did he take to the garding of his campe, for he left the same all emptie, and with so fewe to defende it, that hardly could he haue held it against the meanest companie of any theeues or robbers. This so resolute an assurance of this Chiefetaine could not haue beene exempted from the blame of temeritie, were it not that he had appointed the strength and force of his retraite in those companies which held the siege before *Dayna*: for if contrarie to his expectation he had seene the enemy to haue had the better, his purpose was to retire thither to that campe, because neither the number of his souldiers, nor the situation and nature of the place, did profite him to fortifie his owne campe: yet in my iudgement was this a counsell farre vnworthie of the wisedome and the prudent inuention of so great a Captaine: seeing that if his troupes had happened to haue beene broken, their flight in this manner had bene much more dangerous and pernicious, then their courage and obstinacie in the fight could haue wrought their assurance. For the Venetians being victorious and pursuing them in the taile, and the passage of the riuer *Drynon* being made more difficult in so great an affray, and so confused a tumult, must needes haue destroied and swallowed the most of them that remained: wherfore the truth is, and we must needes confesse, that the opinion of his owne vertue not accustomed to be vanquished, did make him to place his hope in himselfe onely. The Venetians in the same manner likewise did affront their ensignes with their pykes, who were Italians, and their wings they disposed in the same order as did the Albanians. *Daniell* himselfe tooke the charge of the right wing, which he enuironned with a strong guard, or garrison of Sclauonians, of which he had made choise of purpose. Certaine men at armes Italians were placed in the head, and in the rereward of this battallion. *Colla Humoy* of *Scutarie*, who was the seconde man, and next to the Generall in this armie, had the leading of the left wing, and being accompanied with his owne citizens, did make head against *Moses* and his souldiers the Dybrians. *Andrewe* his brother and *Symon Volcathegne* had the guiding of the middle battell. In briefe, all the rankes were filled indifferently with souldiers of sundrie sortes, seruing rather for an hinderance and impediment, then for anie defence or good assurance. The Venetians were litle lesse then thirteene thousand men, and with this number was this battell foughten. The fight was begunne by their pykemen, who at their first encounter were repulsed by the archers: but when they once came to approach and ioyne neere ech to other, and that the vse of their arrowes did

Order of the armie of the Albanois.

Order of the armie of the Venetians.

Colla Humoy.

Volcathegne.

The battell betweene the Venetians and Scanderbeg.

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ſerue to little purpoſe: the Targatyers, couering them ſelues with their targets and the reſidue of thoſe which were light armed, came to the ſword and fought with the enemy hand to hand. In the meane time *Scanderbeg* couering the Archers with his troupe of horſes, and cauſing them a little to retire them ſelues, gaue them the meanes to vſe againe their bowes more conueniently. The Pike men for that they were ſafely armed with good and ſtrong corſelets, had aduentured them ſelues the more hardly, and came to aſſault the enemy the more cruelly, whereby they put their fellowes in good hope of victorie. There began the wings to ioyne on both ſides with high & mighty cries, which made the very aire to reſound againe: The *Albanois* exceeded the other in number and goodneſſe of their horſe, yet was the place indifferent to them both, and no more for the vantage of the one, then of the other: for the place where this field was foughten, was in the middeſt of a goodly large plaine and champion, and neare adioyning to the riuer of *Drynon*. The Venetians being for a while equall to the enemy rather in forces then in courage, did for a long time maintaine the fight about their Generall with variable and doubtfull fortune, till ſuch time as the Prince of *Albanie* and certaine horſe with him, charging them in the middeſt did breake through the battell, by meanes wherof (many being wounded and great numbers of them being diſperſed and diſordered) all hope of the victorie had bene taken from the Venetians, had it not bene for the Illirians: who rallying them ſelues on all ſides, and trouping together in groſſe (as the agillitie and quickneſſe of that nation is ſingular) they made head againe againſt the enemy, and with a greater ſtrength did reaſſure the corps du Garde of the Venetian Generall, valiantly keeping of the enemy; yet, ſo as they ſeemed rather to ſtand vpon their defence then any way to offend their aduerſarie. The mayne battels on both ſides ſtood ſtill all this while and kept their ground, ſeeming rather to take a view then to entermeddle in the fight, ſo long as the wings or points being in fight did with doubtfull euent encounter each other. But aſſoone as *Tophia* ſaw the right wing of the enemy hardly beſtead, (he taking courage by the former example of *Scanderbeg*) with a troupe of his beſt horſemen, and part of the infanterie, preſently charged vpon the middeſt of the left wing of the enemy, bringing them alſo into a new feare and confuſion. For the Illirians (who were placed in the front to beare the ſhocke of the enemy,) were not able to endure the charge, but made preſently to the right wing, and there ſtood vpon their owne defence, betraying their companions on the one ſide, whom they had forſaken: and on the other ſide, they brought by their comming the greater difficultie vnto *Scanderbeg*, who was there ſtriuing and inforcing him ſelfe to breake through the corps du Gard of the Illirians. The like alſo did their footemen after their departure, for being not able to make their partie good againſt the *Albanois* horſemen: they ſcattered them ſelues here and there, and hauing their beſt aſſurance in their legges, they made them the meanes of their ſafety: which was the occaſion alſo that the horſemen of *Scutarie*, (being left naked & open to the enemy) ſaw them ſelues ſodainly diſabled & broken by the *Albanois*: for both their leaders and many others were taken priſoners, who being abandoned and forſaken of their footemen, and deſpairing of ſafety by hauing any farther recourſe to armes, did yeeld them ſelues to the diſpoſition of *Scanderbeg* his ſouldiers: this made the other companies alſo greatly to feare, leaſt that *Scanderbeg* hauing once broken through that battell of the Illirians) which he had already charged, ſhould afterwarde charge alſo the backe of the wings, and ſo encloſing them on all ſides might preſſe them the more furiouſly.

But the ſucceſſe of the vanquiſhers fell not out according to the fearefull imagination of the vanquiſhed (ſo mightily doth proſperity oftentimes dull the minds of men.)

For the leaders when they ſaw themſelues to haue this aduantage, tooke no greater regard of any other thing, but held themſelues contented, that they could preſent vnto their ſouldiers, as it were in ſhewe and triumph, their enemies bounden and captiue. *Caſtriot* likewiſe not regarding the common ſouldiers, but diſdaining as it were the bloud of the inferiour and priuate ſort, did wholly enforce himſelfe to enterpriſe vpon the Generall, but a great and ſtrong troupe of horſe did hinder him from approching neere him, and by that meanes diſappointed him of his purpoſe. The fight thus continuing on all handes, *Moſes* (who had charged vpon the left wing of the Venetian armie, where they of *Scutarie* ſerued) did draw all men to the regard and beholding of the fight on that ſide. Great was their labour and their daunger: for either partie ſhewing themſelues both ſtout and inuincible, did maintaine the fight egerly and couragiouſly; and they did ſo vneeſſantly contend ech to force other, as though the fortune of the fight had depended vpon them onely. It ſeemed that they were not very vnequally matched, and in that reſpect they fought for a long time with like aduantage, and hardly could it be diſcerned whether partie had the better. But at length the ſtrength and force of the Dybrians ſeeming to be weakned with faintnes and wearineſſe, and both themſelues and their horſes being well nigh tyred with continuall fighting, as men vanquiſhed willingly they would haue giuen ouer, and they were almoſt readie to leaue the battell, had it not beene for *Moſes* their Colonell, who ſharpely reprehending them, euen as they beganne to recuile, did ſometimes blame their faintnes and wearineſſe, and ſometimes did accuſe them of feare and cowardice: and being thus in point of being almoſt vanquiſhed, he taught them howe to vanquiſh and to be victors ouer their enemies, crying out in this manner vnto them.

Encouragement of Moſes to his ſoldiers.

„ What a ſhame is this (my friends?) how lewd and foule an example is this of your vnwonted feare and timerouſneſſe? Is it poſſible that the Dibrians can forſake their „ ranckes and places aſſigned them, as long as they be liuing? or can they be content to „ loſe their honor and glorie purchaſed by armes, and to giue it to their enemies? where „ are thoſe ſouldiers which diſcomfited the forces of *Haly* Baſſa? who tamed the pride „ of *Periſey*, & abated the puiſſance of *Muſtapha*? and who with the ſpoiles of the Turks, „ haue enriched the houſes of the *Albanois*? Where is now the fiercenes of your haughtie and proud courages? where be thoſe your looks which were ſo full of threats and „ menaces within your campe? where be thoſe your promiſes of victorie and triumph? „ is this the way to recouer *Dayna* to *Scanderbeg*? is this the way for you to prepare „ your entry into the towne which you haue beſieged? what, did you neuer proue the „ vertue and valure of any enemy till now? haue you not found them any where elſe to „ be ſtout and valiant, and did you neuer ſee the ſwordes brandizing in any place but „ here onely? Behold howe your fellowes and companions are on all ſides victorious, „ and they do alreadie in ech quarter of the field, recount the frutes of their valure and „ hardineſſe. *Tanuſee* (hauing taken their Captaines and caried them bound into the „ campe) hath either diſperſed, or vtterly defeated and deſtroied the middle battell of „ the enemie: ſee (I pray you) how *Scanderbeg* hauing broken the ſtrength and bodie of „ the Sclauonian troupes, doth now paſſe away the time in binding them together like „ beaſtes, and taking of them priſoners: onely we here on our ſide haue nothing but „ feare and terror, and the memorie of our flight, moſt ſhamefull and diſhonorable.

The ſouldiers ſeeing themſelues ſo ſharply reproued and rebuked by *Moſes*, tooke hart to themſelues, and their courages were ſo enflamed with a moſt ardent deſire to repaire their fault, that a man would haue iudged them not to haue bene the ſame men, but that both horſe and men had bene chaunged euen in an inſtant. The conflict being then renewed, the fortune of the fight grew likewiſe to be chaunged, and

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the Scutarians by litle and litle beganne to be repulsed, yet did they for a while hold good, by meanes rather of their multitude and great number, then through any hardinesse or greatnesse of courage. At the last *Humoy* coniecturing (by the former speeches of his enemie) his brothers missortune (the griefe whereof, through verie impatiency, made him scarce able to holde his weapons) forgot his companions and went (though all too late) to succour his brother, where striking into the middest of his enemies: in so doing he both assured the victorie to the Dibrian, and left also vnto the posteritie an euident testimonie, how needfull and requisite it is for a chiefe or Generall to keepe amongst his troupes: and how greatly it importeth the good order and safetie of his companies to enioy the benefit of his presence: for no sooner was he departed from his charge, but they were suddenly dispersed on all sides, turning their backs to the blowes & furie of their enemies. Likewise on the other side, the Generall of the Venetians being now forsaken and left destitute of the strength of his corps dugarde: yet holding still good, and keeping his troupes close & in order (more through pure shame, then for any strength or puissance that he had:) he sustained the force of the enemie, and maintained the fight continually. But when he once perceiued that his souldiers were on all sides put to a doubtles flight, and that all of them made default alike: himselfe also setting spurres to his horse for companie, (least he should be made a partner with the others in their missortunes) prouided by speedie flight for his owne safetie. *Scanderbeg* all at leisure pursued those that were scattered ouer the fieldes, because that the long and continuall trauell of his souldiers did greatly detaine and hinder them, by reason the battell had bene foughten with that obstinacie, and held out to that extreamitie, that they were hardly able to haue continued fight any longer: yet as wearie as they were, they did not for all that suffer their flight to be free and without any disturbance: for *Scanderbeg* had publikely commaunded, that all the ensignes should pursue after them, and follow the chase euen to the gates of *Scutarie*. It may be that this great Captaine being led on both with anger and with glorie, did hold it a goodly matter, that these enemies (who stood in infinite and thicke numbers vpon the walles, should now see him and his armie to be the conquerors. In many places did they light vpon the tayle or rereward of those that fled, and a great number of such as made the least speed, came into the handes of those that followed them: for they were commanded not to kill any of them when they were once come verie neare and within the view of the towne: then making a stand with their armie in order, they continued there a long time with their colours wauing al aloft in the wind: hereupon, the victors assembling themselues in troupes not farre from their companies thus arranged, with high cries and exceeding signes of ioy: they presented their prisoners before the eyes of the townsmen, who were wonderfully sad and pensiue at this missortune and affliction, concerning them so neare, both in publike, and particular. On the one side, the grieuous sight and miserable condition of their friendes and allies, did suggest vnto them new prickes of warre and despight; on the other side their late losse did confound and abate their courages: and furthermore, the care of the Captiues (which staied and withheld them, did keepe them from attempting or doing any thing against the enemie, for doubt least it should incense the vanquishers to vse the prisoners with more extreamitie.

Scanderbeg.

The victory of Scanderbeg ouer the Venetians.

After that *Scanderbeg* had permitted his souldiers (all at their pleasures) to reioice themselues in the honor of their victorie: he caused to sound a march (for the day was then well neare spent) and euerie man prepared himselfe to the retraite, & tooke their way to the siege before *Dayna*: but vaine was the hope and conceit of *Scanderbeg*, in that he thought the inhabitantes would haue opened their portes and receiued him

forthwith, as his subiects, and haue submitted themselues vnder the lawes and conditions that it should please him to impose vpon them: for albeit the sudden discomfiture of their friendes and confederates, and the necessitie of victuals, encreasing daily within the towne, did redouble both the griefe and the care of the Daynians, by reason that the companies of Albanois, left before the place expressely for that intent and purpose, had hindered them from foraging or making any other prouision: yet did they not conceiue any one dishonorable thought within their hearts, for the redemption of themselues from so many mischieues and wants which oppressed them. But euen in the middest of these extremities, prouiding and disposing all things with notable constancie and singular good discretion; they began more sparingly then they had accustomed, to share out the munition and victuals vnto the souldiers, allowing either of them so much onely as should suffise to sustaine their faithfull soules, and (as the saying is) might hold bodie & soule together. As for the aged persons there was no order taken for them, because it was supposed such persons should not want anie meanes, wherewithall to helpe themselues, either by the naturall strength and situation of the place, or by their fidelitie which was of all other the most assured rampier.

Now when *Castriot* had ioyned his victorious troupes, to those which lay before the towne, he pained himselfe (but in vaine) to represent vnto their grieued heartes, the motions of vaine feare. With great shewes and ostentation, with many reproches and high cries, he caused the ensignes and colours gained from the enemie, to be shewed vnto them: great numbers of captiues sad and sorrowfull, were led round about the towne, with their eyes cast downe to the ground, for shame that they should be seene in that plight by their allies and friends, (who stood in thicke troupes vpon the walles, and who at so hideous a sight did shead abundance of teares.) For there were many among the captiues, who were of kinne and nearely allied to the besieged, as may be easily perceiued by that which hath bene before recited. Now *Scanderbeg* knowing that his perswasions were of no force nor efficacie towards men so throughly resolued: he began to treate with them for the yeelding of the towne, and with a certaine kind of confidence all assured, he demanded that the garrison of the Venetians might be yeelded into his hands: but his rash demaund had a notable answer, well beseeming the vertue of franke and free citizens: telling him, that he should desist from terrifying their eares and their eyes with such sights and menaces: that their faith was not grounded vpon so light a foundation, as that they would measure them selues rather by a new accident of crosse and peruerse fortune, then by the ancient habit of their mindes and dispositions: that they had all of them determined (if they could not otherwise do) to leaue vnto their good Princes, an eternall testimonie of their vnfortunate faith, by the witnesse of their dismembred bodies: and that neither the loue nor affection which they did beare to their owne, nor the captiuitie of their confederates was such, that they should hope thereby, to extort from them any such action of pietie, which might tend to their staine and ignominie, and such, as the prisoners them selues (if they were put to the question) would not require to be vsed towards them. Moreouer, that they were in good hope that their Seigniours the Venetians, would not suffer either the bonds & captiuitie of the one to be perpetuall, or the siege of the other to be of any long continuance: that he should take this their example as a true proofe and ensignement, that the faith of anie people ought not to change and turne with the wind, nor to follow the instable and vnconstant fortune of Princes.

The liberall and free answer of the Daniani to Scanderbeg.

Sentence.

It was a wonderfull signe and token of liberalitie and naturall clemencie in *Scanderbeg*,

derbeg, in that (seeing his reasons and demaunds so neglected and reiected by the Burgesses of *Dayna*, and all hope taken away to obtaine the towne, by reason of this their obstinacie) yet he shewed not any kind of discontentment (as the most part of Princes are naturally inclined) neither had he recourse to any termes of wrath or furie, or desire of reuenge, and least of all did he exercise any crueltie vppon the prisoners, whereas he might haue vsed them as himselfe had listed: but contrariwise he commaunded presently that they should be vnbound, and hauing gratiously entreated and cheered them, he set them at libertie, and sent them away to their owne houses. It may be that this politique and sage Captaine did this of purpose, which his intent though it be not to be allowed, yet the deuice and inuention is much to be commended: for that being not able any other way to subdue the walles of the Danians, he might at leastwise vanquish them by this courtesie and humanitie; and might gaine those by gratious vsage, whom neither rigour nor force could any way remoue from their determination and purpose. Two onely of the prisoners, men of the chiefest marke and qualitie, named *Andrew* and *Volcathagne* he detained still with him, as certen pledges of the league and amitie like to ensue shortly, and as sureties (though in vaine) to preuent the fiercenes of the *Scutarians*. These men were kept vnder good gard within the fortresse of *Petralba*, where they were both respectiuely and bountifully receiued and enterteined

Scanderbeg his courtesie and magnanimity to the Venetian captiues.

Andrew Humai, Simon Volcathagne prisoners to Scanderbeg.

These things being thus atchieued, he had a new deuise in his head to bring the towne vnder his subiection: to the intent therfore, the thing which he so affectionately desired, might be brought to some good end and perfection, he enterprised an action, whereby he might with more facilitie and commoditie not only further & aduance the siege of *Dayna*, but the meanes of the whole warre betwene him & the Venetians.

There was sometimes a towne named *Baleze*, of which as then there was nothing remaining but a small shew & the ruines only: it had bene somwhat renowned, not for that it was founded by any man of name or memorie, but onely for the antiquitie thereof: it was seated at the foote of the mount Sardonicke (which the common people of the countrey call Marranay,) neare about it is a certen countrey called *Surscodra* distant from *Scutarie* twelue miles, from *Drinassa* fiue: and fifteene from *Dayna*. *Scanderbeg* was determined to reedifie and repaire that place which had of old bene ruinated by the Barbarians, and (as some say) by that scourge of God Attila. This same place being fortified and defended with a good garrison and some other forces, he was of the opinion, that he might by the benefit thereof, more freely annoy the Venetian territorie, and keepe the besieged from hauing any releefe or succours, by reason, that the enemie should be busied on all partes with so many occasions: for this purpose he caused it at one instnt to be renewed, partly with walles, and partly with pallisadoes and other fortifications of timber worke; and hauing founded it in manner of a towne, and furnished it with men: he appointed *Amese* his nephew, and *Marin Span* or *Spaniard*, (a person by birth of *Albanie*, & a man of approued prudence and fidelitie) to haue the ouersight of the worke, and to see it brought vnto perfection. This done, he repassed the same day ouer the riuer *Drinon*, to prosecute the siege of *Dayna*, which for no occasion of time or other affaires, he would suffer in no case to be intermitted.

Baleze.

The mount Sardonicke Marranay. Surscodra.

Baleze reedified and fortified by Scanderbeg.

Amese and Marin Span, Gouernours of Baleze.

The fortifications and walles of the new fortresse being finished, and many bulwarkes being raised within it as seemed most expedient, *Amese* being a young man and impatient of rest (both his owne peculiar reputation, and the fresh renowne of his vncles vertue, animating his youthful mind hereunto) because he had somewhat happily made certaine rodes and light inuasions vpon the plaine countrey, he imagined

that he ſhould be as fortunate in all other matters of greater weight and importance. And therefore he caſt in his minde, with a full reſolution to ſurpriſe *Drinaſta*, which was a towne there neere adioyning: this made him that from thence forward he had no other thought daily then to make readie his companie, though he diſfurniſhed the new fortreſſe of the garriſon, for he thought that his commendation ſhould by this act be the more augmented, if (before any ſuccour were ſent from his vncle, and ere that he knew any newes thereof) he might ſuddenly ſend vnto him the markes of ſo notable an exploit, by the ſpoiles of the towne once conquered and ſubdued: and that it would be a ſecret argument that his vncles valure were now in the wane, and did as it were, waxe old vnder the wals of *Dayna*: ſo fondly did the boiling heate of this young mans courage puffe him vp with hope, vainely promiſing vnto himſelfe all the fauours of fortune. But *Marin* (whoſe induſtrie *Scanderbeg* had made choiſe of, and had made equal with the other, for the ſurer preſeruation of the new fortreſſe, hauing therein ioyned moſt vnfortunately, the prudence of the one with the temeritie of the other) *Marin* (I ſay) being an old and expert ſouldier, by reaſon of his long practiſe in matters militarie, and being more venerable for his age: fearing, that if openly he did withſtand the wilfulneſſe of this youth, there might grow ſecret diſlike and enmitie betweene them (a moſt peſtilent miſchiefe in the adminiſtration of anie affaires.) For this cauſe he thought that he would in the very beginning breake off this enterprieſe, by alienating of the deuotion of the ſouldiers from him ſecretly, and by that meanes would diſappoint him of his purpoſe: but afterwards when he ſawe that the affections of them all in common, and that the inordinate lycenſe of the ſouldier did encline more to the other partie, he reſolued in the ende to ſpeake his minde openly & freely in the preſence of al the whole company, to the intent himſelfe might be diſcharged from that default which was likely (by an other mans counſell) to ſucceede vnhappily: and therefore (as the ſpeech is) in theſe or the like termes, he gaue him this admonition.

Drinaſta.

Ameſe purpoſeth to ſurpriſe Drinaſta.

Marin Span his ſpeech to Ameſe.

Certenly *Ameſe*; *Scanderbeg* hath left thee heere a greater croſſe vnto me then the Venetians our enemies: for now that we haue other matters to looke vnto, by reaſon of the heat of this warre throughout all the country: I am conſtrained and driuen to a new ſtrife and contention, cauſing ſome ſecret hate or diſlike betweene vs, becauſe that thou art growen to haue a vehement ſuſpition leaſt I (of a deſire to contradict thee or through the ielouſie of thy youthfull glorie and reputation,) doe ſeeme to diſſwade thee from this thy enterpriſe. But why do I imputeany fault vnto my ſelfe, ſeeing both God and men will ſufficiently acquite me, for that this my counſell in this caſe and concerning this accident, either (being neglected) ſeemeth not to haue bene wanting, or (being followed and allowed) cannot well be reprehended? The loſſe will ſurely be thine owne and no mans elſe, for in this action (whatſoeuer thy intent be) it is not the citie of *Drinaſta*, but thy ſelfe and thy vncle, that thou goeſt to aſſaile: thou doeſt but haſten to abridge the daies of thy owne friends and fellow citizens, and to bath the enemies ground with the blood of thy ſouldiers. Haue we to this end repaired this new towne? haue we fortified it with ſuch ſtrong companies, and with a garriſon of ſo many braue men, to the end it ſhould be ſo ſuddenly diſarmed and diſfurniſhed of her forces? and while we fooliſhly ſeeke after others, our own fortreſſe ſhould be left and deliuered as a prey vnto our enemies, who expect and attend for nothing elſe? Say that this place were not to be regarded, yet is there any of you that will thinke that townes will be ſurprized with ſo ſmall a mumber of ſouldiers, who would ſcarcely ſuffice to defend them? eſpecially the towne of *Drinaſta*, which (as it is large and populous) ſo (for in this reſpect we may commend our enemy

my) it is likewise excellently well prouided both of armes and of men couragious and valiaunt. If I be not deceiued both you and the enemy doe expect one and the same thing. First their old men and other of the weak and vnable multitude, from the battlements of their wals, will make a iest at your fooliſh preparations, and at your vaine deuiſes in seeking thus to take their city. And then their young men, who (being fierce and luſty) do deſire nothing ſo much as to come to fight with you, iſſuing forth of the towne, will force vs to leaue the aſſault, and will chaſe vs away with ſhame and ignominy, or elſe leauing their ports open to receiue vs, ſodainely and vnaduiſed they will ſurprize and ſet vpon vs, and ſo reuenge the late loſſe of their companions, and the iniuries of the Scutarians. Then will other townes take courage vnto them, and thoſe who are now ouercome and vanquiſhed, will become to grow hardy, and nothing at all to redoubt vs. Lay aſide therefore (I pray thee *Ameſe* whileſt all things are well and whole) this your pernicious forwardnes and audacity: and do not cauſe the reuerent and honorable name of thy vncle, by ſo great an indignity to be diſgraced & rent aſunder, by the mouths of thoſe that are his aduerſaries and ill willers. Stay a while, and attend till that God fauour thee, in preſenting thee ſome other matter of more abundant and greater glory, and with greater ſafety and ſecurity. Then will I be the formoſte man, not to perſwade thee only, but to cauſe thee to take armes, and will alſo accompany thee. No man will be vnwilling to follow thoſe enſignes which are fortunate. Reſtraine therefore the broyling heat of this thy courage (though it be hard to be reſtrained) learne of thy ancients, firſt thy ſelfe to beare the yoke, which thou deſireſt to impoſe vpon thy enemy. For youth being vncapeable of good counſell, (let me ſpeake freely what I thinke) is oftentimes as hurtfull vnto it ſelfe, as vnto thoſe which are his enemies. It is rather to be drawen then to be led to any thing, & of all the burdens that are laied vpon men, the vnaduiſed wilfulneſſe of youth is the moſt dangerous. Wars are to be managed by counſell and good aduiſe, and let the wiſeſt Captaine cary him ſelfe in all his actions, neuer ſo ſagely and aduiſedly, yet hardly and with great difficulty doth Fortune anſwere his deſerts, or ſucceed accordingly.

Sentence.

The graue and prudent ſpeeches of this perſonage, were ſufficient to haue changed the mind of this yong ſouldier. But becauſe in the haſtineſſe of his owne temerity, and the raſhneſſe of his owne counſels, hee had already ordained and prouided all thinges which were expedient and neceſſary for that enterpriſe; it ſeemed vnto him a matter of more diſhonor, to giue ouer (by diſcretion) the attempt which he had vndertaken, then (with misfortune) to put the ſame in execution. Hee reiected therfore this wholſome and ſound admonition, and preferring the worſt before the beſt, he held it leſſe ſhame and diſgrace, to follow his own humor (though it were to his loſſe and hinderãce) then by reforming himſelfe vpon the admonition of an other, to take that choiſe which might be for his benefit and aduantage. Beſides the credit which he had purchaſed with the companies, and the readines of the cõmon ſouldiers obedient to his command did animate his fooliſh deſires, and did withhold his doubtfull eares from harkning vnto any good aduertiſements. To that therefore which *Marin Spaniard* had perſwaded ſo aduiſedly, firſt of all he replied with great inſolency, that his vncle had left either of them with like power, commaundement, and authority: that hee was not appointed there to gouerne himſelfe either in peace or war, at the liking and arbiterment of another: that he ſhould looke to his owne companies: and that for his part, it was in him to command his ſouldiers at his owne will and pleaſure. Notwithſtanding within a litle while after, when his choller was a litle cooled by ſpeaking, and that the vehement and immoderate paſſion of his mind, was ſomewhat ſetled and abated, then began his tongue to be much more modeſt, and his ſpeaches grew more

Answere of Ameſe to Marin Span.

» milde and gracious. For he told his colleague & companion, that he would willingly
» approue and allow of his opinion, were it not that the affaires of *Baleze* and *Drinasta*
» might both at once be directed and ordered, & that neither of them would hinder and
» disturbe the other: that their forces were sufficient both to guard the one and to cary
» the other: and that he did not so inconsideratly vndertake this attempt, but that he ve-
» ry well knew what he did: that he would surprize them of *Drinasta* sodainely and vn-
» prouided: that he should finde the youth of the towne out of armes, the gates vngar-
» ded, and the wals without sentinels: besides that, there were many of the inhabitants
» which (if they were summoned to yeeld) would gladly hearken vnto him. But admit
» that all things do fall out more difficult then he expected, that then he meant not to be
» so obstinate as to make there any long abode, to the preiudice of his souldiers. And in
saying this he tooke *Maryn* by the hand, praying him to be of good courage, and to
hope well of his successe. Thus hauing recommended his affairs vnto God, he displaid
his ensignes, and so marched chearefully onward. Of those which remained behinde
with *Marin* for the gard of *Baleze*, they were scant fully 2000, not that any man was
enforced to accompany them in that iourney, but because that the Albanois were
more exercised in labor and trauell, then in lying idle and at rest: and the souldiers had
no kinde of warre more agreeable, and familiar vnto them, then the assaulting and
surprising of townes and holdes.

Ameses marcheth to surprize Drinasta

Now albeit *Ameses* did hasten on with all possible celerity, and did conceale his at-
tempt as much as might be, yet could he not preuent the newes of his comming. For
the Driuastines being aduertised of his approach, (as men that could soone descry any
such purpose) and at the very beginning of the war of *Dayna*, did ordinarily keepe and
maintaine great courts of guard in certaine places about their towne, and a great num-
ber of mē, purposely to watch in armes: they were notwithstanding at the first great-
ly astonished, and mounting vpon their wals, they made preparation of all such things
as were requisite to repulse the enemy, bringing from all partes stones and such other
munitions, which were fit to be throwen downe vpon them and to annoy them. But
afterwardes when they had a sight of the enemy, as they drew neare the towne, they
grew sodainely to be both better encouraged and lesse carefull; contemning both the
smalnesse of their numbers, and their Captaine all alike. Notwithstanding the good
countenance which they made, did nothing at all apall or diminish the confidence of
the yong Chieftaine, but he summoned them within the towne (in the name of *Scan-
derbeg*) with many faire offers and promises, to render the same vnto him. But being
rudely repulsed and with many sharpe termes reiected: (hee resting as yet in suspence
and doubtfull, and being withall caried away with choller and indignation) retired
himselfe about a mile and a halfe from the towne, where all in vaine, according to the
variable and diuerse opinions of his souldiers, he beate his braines, deuising by what
means he might bring the towne to reason, seeing he had no ordinance wherewithall
to batter them. Thus did he seeme both to consult and to besiege the towne, all at
one time. In the meane time to assure his troups from a surprize, but principally from
towardes *Scutarie*, he placed skoutes and watches round about the place where hee
was encamped.

Whilest these things were thus in doing: the Driuastines with a worthy and verie
commendable care did bethinke themselues, how to free their towne from the doubt
of this siege, & their conclusion was (whatsoeuer became thereof) to hazard the com-
bate, before the enemy should attempt to force their wals and rampiers. The author of
this their resolution was *Andrew Angell*, one of the chiefest men of accompt within
their towne, noble by his owne worthy actes, and well knowen by the honor which
he

he had gotten by his long practise in armes. This man (hauing ranged his men in good order of battel at the lower gate of the city, which lieth on the west towards the plaine, & the wals of the city being well manned, and the ports strongly garded, before that he salied forth vpon the enemies) he began to encorage them with this language.

If euer quoth he (my good souldiers) it were needlesse and superfluous to encorage men that are valiant and magnanimious, now is the time: and this is the day wherein I see your comming hither so readily and chearefully, doth make shew thereof most apparantly: considering that euery one of you, leauing the presence & company of his father, mother, and wife, and the embracementes of his tender infants, doth offer himselfe here so willingly without any perswasions or entreaty. Now seeing our fortune by so notable a spectacle hath brought vs to this, that wee are driuen to combat both before and for our wals, will not you (my good companions & most louing citizens) imitate the example of your auncesters, and maintaine the welfare of your town, your countrey, your houses, your temples, and your altars? To what end should I recount vnto you the manifold triúphs which they gained vpon their enemies, & which you your selues haue yet fresh in your memory? Let it suffice of a great many to recite a few, seeing the shortnesse of the time will not permit any long discourse. I remember well that I haue heard it reported by my forefathers, how *Barath* a Turkish Captaine in the raigne of *Amurath* the first, with 20000. horsemen, inuading this our territory in the beginning of the warre, did make this demand vnto our citizens, That the keies of the towne should be deliuered him, vppon such conditions as he would propound vnto them. But they not willing to submit them selues vppon such tearmes: and he falling to the burning of the country, and destroying of the fruites with fire & sword, the people (I say) of *Driuasta* came vpon them in full troups as they were here & there disperssed: in such sort that (many of them being left engaged dead in the fieldes, and many of them being made prisoners) they enforced the residue to betake them selues to flight: and hauing by this meanes obtained a notable victory, they returned into the towne rich and triumphant. What should I tell you of *Steuen* surnamed *Hercech*, Duke of *Bosina*, who in like manner being entred within our limits, with an army of fiue and twenty thousand, vnder pretence of the like expedition; first summoned the towne to yeelde vnto him: but our braue Driuastines, by their stout and lofty refusall, put him in such rage and fury: that he presently sent forth his troupes to ouerrun the countrey, and make hauocke of all things? But what did our citizens? they went to encounter him with a good company both of horse and foot, they charged him with great furye, they brake and discomfited him, and they pursued after him in chase so greedily, that besides a great slaughter of the enemies, and many ensignes gained, they returned triumphant and loaden with prey and booty into the town: honoring their countrey by the preseruation of their liberty and them selues, in their glory and reputation. March we on therefore (my good friends) and let our selues be the messengers to our senceless enemies, of that aunswere which our towne sendeth them with so great vertue and resolution. Let vs take from these few straglers or robbers their vaine and foolish hope of winning of towns with such weak forces and so ill accompanied. What thinke you of the stout resistance of *Dayna*, before which *Scanderbeg* him selfe with so great an army, hath for so long a time bene busied? Will not this be a wonderfull touch of reproach and infamy vnto all of you, that his nephew should haue a Commission so basely to surprize vs with so small forces, the which will be scant able within a while to defend their owne fortresse? Behold their puissance and strength is nothing, not able to make any resistance: their discipline is small or none at all: and their Generall is a mã of no experience. Whatsoeuer was of any reckoning or respect

"The Oration of Andrew Angell to the Driuastines.

"Driuastines their valiant exploites against their enimies.

» in all their army, all that hath *Scanderbeg* himselfe before *Dayna*: as for this mignion,
» onely his owne vnpatiency of rest and quietnes hath brought him hither, and he hath
» none with him, but the very skumme and dregs of his campe, and a mingle mangle
» of the most rascall sort of all their souldiers.

Driuastines sally forth of Driuasta against Amese.

This short speach did so animate the Driuastines, that all of them at once began to make a noise, and with a loude voice they willed him to lead them on against the enemy. Then began the trumpets to sound, and with great cries and clamours, they issued forth of the towne, and the others (who were vpon the wals) going & comming ech in their seuerall charges, with the like noise from aloft, did encrease the bruite of the alarme. The hue and cry of this tumult comming so sodainely and vnprouided, whereas the Amesen troupes doubted no such matter: stroke great terrour into their court of guard: but afterwardes when they perceiued so many armed men to discouer themselues on all parties, and that the Driuastines with like fury, did make right towards them (where they were encamped) they wished *Amese* speedily to mount on horsebacke, with a troupe of those who were in best readinesse, and with whom, making head directly against the enemy, he might for a time put them to a stand, and hold them in skirmish, til such time as the residue of the companies (who were scattered here and there ouer the countrey) and those also who were within their trenches, (being altogether vnited & arranged in order of battell) might issue forth with their ensignes displaied into the field, and be incorporate with the residue all in one But the sage conduct of the expert Chiefetaine on the aduerse part, troubled the vntimelie counsell of this young nouice, and apprentice in the art Military: For he hauing deuided his troupes into three parts, sent away speedily certaine Italians (who were intertained to be there in garrison continually) and part also of the horsemen to inuade the campe on the vpper side thereof. The rest of his horse (being for the most part archers and pesants) he sent to shut vp the passages of their campe, and to keepe them from entring, both to hold out and exclude the one, and to surprize and intercept the other. Himselfe with the third troope making head against *Amese*, did at the first onset ouerthrow his battallion and put them cleane from all resistance: and the Chiefetaine himselfe being disfurnished of his guard, and in great astonishment, was enforced to the flight: notwithstanding, making himselfe way through the squadron of Archers, he saued himselfe amidst the open fieldes with the rest of his companions. Then began the cry to be renued on all parts, and on the one side the discomfiture of their captaine, and on the other side the sodaine approach of the enemy, did take away from the gards all meanes to rally them selues together, and to renue the fight. Finally, the forces of the enemy being reioyned and vnited, they made towards the Fort, where (after long debate) the aduantage fell to the Driuastines: and all things enclining to fauour them, the Amesens did abandon the defence of their trenches, and on diuerse sides flying and fighting all at once, they retired them selues into the plaine. *Angell* made no reckonning to pursue them, nor to sacke their campe: but thinking he had done enough in depriuing them of the victory, caused to sound a retraite, and led backe his compapany with great reioysing into the city: But the ioy of this good and happy encounter did not long continue to the inhabitants. For *Amese* hauing gathered his souldiers together from their flight, and thinking vpon this discomfiture (the shame wherof was greater then the losse) and seeing himselfe frustrate of all hope to gaine *Driuasta*, hee turned the impatiency of his anger else where, not sparing any thing whatsoeuer could be found, either for encrease or recreation, but both the houses were burnt and ruinated, and all sorts of trees and plants were cut down and destroied. Nothing was left vntoucht, except a few Oliue trees, (the abundance and fertility of the which, doth make

Conflict betweene the Driuastines and Amese.

Amese spoileth the countrey about Driuasta.

make that towne to haue great traffique, and to be much esteemed:) all these spoilings and ruines notwithstanding, and for that *Ameſe* spoiled (a good waies off from their Ports) the Driuastines though their hardines had once succeeded happily) yet would not they againe be drawen into the fields, fearing that if they should range abroad too farre, their returne might be hindered, or they might fall into some ambuscado, and so should they giue an account for their too too great forwardnesse, and their ouermuch hardinesse might cost some of them full dearely.

I hold it not amisse here to lay downe in some sort the description of the towne of *Driuasta*, not much renowmed neither for her foundation, nor for her antiquity, albeit the credulous error of the inhabitaunts doth most obstinately attribute the originall thereof to the Romains, alleadging that they were the first founders of the same. Herein do they most glory, in that they affirme themselues to be a Colony of the Romains, and they do precisely maintaine, that from thence they had their descent and original. For my part, I suppose that the humor of these men, so desirous of glory, is rather to be pardoned, then that their opinion is any way to be credited. For neither are there any testimonies of good authority to ratifie this perswasion, neither are there any monuments to confirme it. The like fortune also hath *Antibara*, a towne of verie good accompt in these our daies within the sayd countrey, and (not without cause) doeth it complaine of the vngratefull silence of the ancients. Notwithstanding the seat of *Driuasta* (in my iudgement) seemeth not vnworthy (if reason may perswade vs) to haue a Colony there erected, both in regard of the pleasantnes of the place, and of the aboundance and commodity of all things, which may allure men to inhabite or manure it. For the territory of that city is most fertile and fruitfull, yeelding all things which mans life in reason can wishe for. On euery side there are great store of springs and fountains, arising and descending with a pleasant noise from the hils adioyning, which by nature are so orderly mounted, as if they had bene disposed by artificiall workmanship: and most wonderfully doe they adorne and beautifie the plaine countrey. The aire (on what side soeuer you turne your eies) is exceedingly healthfull, and it doth season and temper all things, so as it maketh them to prosper singularly. The Citie is seated vpon the discent of a mountaine, bending towards the South, and extending towards the plaine (where it is watered with a brooke called *Clire*) which may more iustly be tearmed by the name of a riuer, by reason that the streames thereof do neuer faile, for any drought or distemperature of the sommer whatsoeuer. The circuit of the wals and trenches is aboue two miles in compasse. The fortresse or castel (being seated vpon the top of a mountaine) by nature and by art is most defensible: it both commandeth and defendeth the city. From *Scutarie* it is distant 8. miles, and from *Motry* 27. This towne hauing beene raised by the Gallo grecians in the declining estate of the Romaine Empire, was reedified & restored by *Helena*, a most christian Princesse descended of the bloud royall of the house of *Fraunce*, and who was espoused to *Simeon Nemagna*, king of the Misians and Sclauonians. This Lady being very deuout & vertuous, did restore (besides this) many other townes neare adioyning, which had bene likewise ruinated in that country. Shee builded also both in *Epire* and *Sclauonie*, many Couents, Monasteries and religious houses, & endowed them with great liuings and possessions, as is manifestly to be seene, by the marbles engrauen with such testimonies, besides other monuments and memorable markes of her bountifull and princely deedes. But returne we to our purpose.

The Towne of Driuasta.

Antibara.

Situation of Driuasta.

Helena the wife of Nemanias king of the Misians.

The choller of *Ameſe* being fully discharged vpon the plaine country of the Driuastines (which he had made in a maner desolate) he had no desire to returne anie more to *Baleze*, because being ashamed of his aduenture, hee was loath (after the triall of his

mishap, and the proofe of his imprudency and temerity) to come in his presence, to whom he had refused to giue eare, when time and place serued. And he now repented (though all too late) that he had contemned his good counsell. He turned therefore another way, & marched with his companies directly towards *Dayna*: shunning most vnaduisedly the reprehention of his fellow *Marin*, to endure the displeasure far more dangerous, and the frowning countenance of his vncle, whom he had most grieuously incensed. For *Scanderbeg* hauing had tidings brought him by some, dwelling neare the same place, how all things had passed, assoone as hee knew of his comming, he sent for him to his presence, and openly in the sight of all his companies (which was hardly digested of the young gentleman) in extreame choller hee conuinced him as guilty of all the fault that had bene committed. He accused him (and as his debtor) he challenged him, demanding of him the innocent bloud of his companions, which he had caused to be shed through his folly, terming him with a loud voice both rash and arrogant, that without any commission from him had plaied so foolish a part. He obiected vnto him moreouer, that at his departure from *Baleze*, he commanded him no such matter. That he ought to haue taken & interpreted his silence, as a manifest prohibition & an apparāt argument, that his will was not to haue any such proceedings. Afterwards when he had examined the souldiers which were present at that seruice, and was by their report certified that the matter was altogether concluded and executed without the aduise & consent of his companion, his fury grew then to be much more vehement, and his minde being full of wrath and indignation, he persisted in this seuerity, saying: that it grieued him so much the more, because, besides the temerity of the act, he had added a more grieuous and inhumaine fault, in destroying by a most miserable example, the fieldes of the citizens, & in vsing cruelty with sword and fire against their trees and buildings. But *Ameſe* as one confounded (hauing not anie thing to answere for his excuse) replied not a word: but stood still silent, only turning him selfe a litle aside to his companions: good God (quoth he) there is nothing more infamous then a man that is vanquished: for he must on the one side, accept to endure the insolency and triumph of his enemies: and on the other, the fearefull countenance and wrathfull visage of his friends. Hereupon the whole companies assembling themselues about *Scanderbeg*, did humbly entreat him to mitigate his wrath, and to pardon him his displeasure: alleadging, that the youth of his nephew was enough chastized, and his misfortune was sufficiently aggrauated with the bitter speeches he had giuen him, and that themselues (as well as other) were culpable of the same offence. By meanes of these intercessions made by his souldiers, was their Generall soone intreated and pacified: so familiar and curteous was his nature and disposition.

Scanderbeg reproueth Ameſe for his temerity.

Speeches of Ameſe vpon the reproach of his vncle.

The end of the third Booke.

THE

THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF THE FAMOVS ACTES OF GEORGE CASTRIOT, SVRNAMED SCANDERBEG.

The Argvment.

Scanderbeg leaning Ameſe to continue the ſiege before Deyna, goeth him ſelfe againſt Muſtapha. The citizens of Sentarie raze the fort of Baleze, which is forſaken by the Epirots. Muſtapha marcheth againſt Scanderbeg. The combat of Paule Maneſſey an Epirote with Caraguſa a Turke. The battell of Oronichea betweene Scanderbeg and Muſtapha, wherein the Turkes are vanquiſhed and Muſtapha is taken priſoner. Peace concluded betweene the Venetians and Scanderbeg, whereupon he breaketh vp his ſiege before Deyna. Amurath reſolueth to go in perſon againſt Scanderbeg, who maketh prouiſions to reſiſt him. An armie of Turkes ſent into Epire to beſiege Sfetigrade, vnto whom Scanderbeg giueth an ouerthrow by a notable ſtratageme. Amurath him ſelfe commeth to the ſiege of Sfetigrade.

WHileſt the Chriſtians were thus ſtirring and troubling each other by ciuill tumults, rather then by true and proper warres: and whileſt *Scanderbeg* all idle, did conſume his time, and (as it were) waxe olde before the walles of *Deyna*, *Amurath* being fully informed of all things in particular, both by *Muſtapha* (who had of a long time bene very deſirous to try the fortune of battell) as alſo by the common fame and report: his brains were continually beating and deuiſing vpon diuerſe counſailes. One while would he commend the oportunity, ſeeming ſo fit and excellent for the vter confuſion of his aduerſary: another while, he would admire at his inuincible fortune and proſperity. And here withall (which was a ſpeciall point that kept his vnreſolute thoughts in ambiguity and ſuſpence) he doubted leaſt theſe enmities of the Chriſtians were but faint and colorable quarrels, and that their tumults were but fained and diſguiſed. Thus whileſt this Prince in the vncertainety of his thoughtes and penury of counſell, doth continue carefully diſcourſing and debating of matters, ſtill coniecturing one thing by another, by litle and litle the occaſion ſlipt out of his handes, by reaſon that the anger and diſcontentment of the Venetians became to be ſomewhat mitigated and aſſwaged: yet the often and frequent importunities and perſwaſions of *Muſtapha*, (who ſought nothing but fight and warres, in hope to deface and aboliſhe the ſhame of his former ouerthrow) did mightely prouoke the *Ottoman*, and draw him finely on to betake him ſelfe to moſt vnfortunate and pernicious armes,

wherefore the *Sultan* hauing highly commended the affection and good will of his Bassa, he sent vnto him speedely a messenger with letters, the tenour whereof was as followeth.

The letters of Amurath to Mustapha.

» The warre *Mustapha*, which thou doest so earnestly demaund, now from hence-
» forth we doe freely graunt it thee: if those reportes bee true which are brought vs
» concerning the tumultes of the Venetians. Thy vertue and thy valour shall winne
» thee honour and reputation vppon this enemy: yet see thou be well aduised and ca-
» rie thy selfe discreetly, and let not a light beleefe and vaine credulitie cause thee to
» take armes, which afterwardes, when thou doest least thinke, thou shalt bee enfor-
» ced to laye aside with shame and dishonour. Peraduenture it is but an apparance of
» a counterfeit and deceiptfull warre, which is now betweene the Christians: and thou
» mayest bee deceaued by their dissembled contentions. Looke vnto it, and consider
» this, that (as the common saying is) there is no quarrell so short, as that of the father
» against the child. We (who are absent) can not giue counsell to one present, nor
» yet doe wee aproue a fonde desire of fight without good cause and inducement,
» which may moue thee thereunto. It is thou, that oughtest to haue an eye, and
» to discusse by thy selfe particularly before thou take armes, all that which after
» (when thou hast taken armes) is to be put in execution. Thou hast good store of
» souldiours fresh and resolute, and thy enemy is partly wearied with paines and tra-
» uell, and partly weakened with his many battels. The rest we referre to thy sufficiencie
» and discretion, for we will not hinder thee from enterprising any thing, which shall
» seeme vnto thee to be for our honour and aduantage.

After that *Mustapha* had obtained leaue of *Amurath* to begin the warre, prouision being made of all things for his Campe: he conceiued in him selfe a wonderfull courage, thinking by one onely peece of seruice, to ende and determine all the toyle and trauell of the whole warres: and from thence foorth he did not (after the fashion and manner of those which deale closely and cunningly) conceale his preparations: but openly and apparantly bearing him selfe both in countenance and behauiour as an open enemy hee, seemed to bee the man that durst and would hazard the fortune of a battell in any place where the *Albanois* would offer and present it vnto him. In the meane while the garrison which was left vppon the confines of *Macedonie*, had sent word in post haste to *Castriot* before *Dayna*, enforming him particularly of the whole case as it stood, and making knowen vnto him the whole estate of their affaires. Whereupon this Prince in a good resolution (as an expert souldiour, that vsed no lesse celeritie then cunning in all his actions) presently dispatched away an other fresh poast: by whom he charged them that in any case, they should not giue the Bassa any occasion or opportunitie to come to fight with them, but retiring their troupes sometimes to the thickets and woodes vpon the mountaines where they might be secure of the enemy: and sometimes vnder colour of a timerous and fearefull flight, they should abuse him, and by little and little protract the aduenture and hazard of fight: till such time as him selfe (being arriued thither with his companies,) should giue order for all things, what soeuer should be needefull to accomplish their desire and purpose: and that then they should not faile, speedely and assoone as they perceiued him to draw neare, to ioyne them selues in one with his traine and to follow him: to the intent, that where him selfe should be in person, there also might be the ensignes, the squadrons, and the whole force and strength of the Campe. This done (albeit it greeued him greatly to see him selfe withdrawen from the of siege *Dayna*) calling *Ameste* (his friend and faithfull companion in all dangers and perils) vnto him, he gaue him in

charge

charge to haue a carefull eye vnto the siege: and he spake vnto the young man not onely by way of counsell, but also by entreatie: praying him not to alter any thing in his absence, nor in any wise to make any attempt against the besieged, hauing bene sufficiently warned and instructed by his owne former disgrace. And he willed him not to bowdge nor stirre a foote from before the walles, but so to gouerne himselfe, that they within the towne, might not either make any prouision of victuals, either haue any meanes to refresh themselues. Hereupon (out of the armie which hee had there, and which by this meanes was greatly diminished) he made choise of fiue hundred horse, and a thousand fiue hundred foote of the best and most picked souldiers, with which he purposed to strengthen the old garrison, against the new emotions of the Turkes. These souldiours which had the foyle at *Dryuasta*, were commaunded and enforced to stay at the siege vnder the gouernement of their young Gouernour, which greeued them at the very hartes: for each of them desired, and all of them in generall did instantly request the Prince, that he would permit them to make amendes of their former default, by some vertuous act of fresh marke and memory: and by the purchase of some new honor, to abolish the remembrance of their late dishonor. Notwithstanding not any of them had their request graunted, both by reason of the present estate of his affaires, which diswaded him from taking all his forces with him: and also for that he could not in this case gratifie some of them without a certaine discorde and discontentment of the residue: and because there was not any of thē but did esteeme himselfe to haue asmuch valour as any one of his companions, he tooke none with him but the very chiefe and strength of all his armie: namely the old souldiours, and such as were best hardened, or most able to endure in armes: for well knew this most expert Chieftaine, what difference there is, betwixt the besieging of the walles of a towne, where men lying incamped idle with their handes in their bosomes, doe onely waite by time to enforce and bring a place to reason: and the seeking in open field, neare at hand, and in the face of the enemy by the fury of fight and mortall blowes, to purchase honor and glory, not easily to be gained or without great difficulty.

The Scutarins go against Baleze.

Scanderbeg was scant dislodged from before *Dayna*, but the Scutarians, being fully enformed both of the stirring of the Turks, and of their deliberation, as also of the departure of the Albanois, they assembled their troupes with all possible diligence, and with great prouision of artillery for the seasing of *Baleze*: for they considered, that as long as the garrison of *Albany* was not remoued thence, nor that place cleared from their enemies, they should haue perpetuall war within their owne territory, & not be able to breath themselues from their roads and inuasions. Vpon this occasion, neither more nor lesse, then as a company of hungry wolues, almost starued for want of food, which perceiuing the negligence and absence of the sheepherds, do rush without feare vpon the fearefull flocke, and do disperse & dismember the poore sheepe being ill garded: In like maner the Scutarians, hauing bene at all times very vigilant & attentiue, and now hauing intelligēce of the departure of *Scanderbeg*, that he was far remoued, being called to another warre of great importance: sodainely with all their forces and prouisions, they made hast towards *Baleze*, and there began the reuenge of the iniuries and griefes, which they had endured: litle had it wanted but the garrison had bene surprized, if it had with obstinacie attended the comming of the enemy. But as soone as *Marin* hadde discouered that they went to bring the Canon against the place: trussing vppe their baggage, both hee and all his souldiours conueyed themselues secretelie to *Dayna*, leauing nothing but their bare and emptie neast, and the naked Rampiers: for the Scutarians (who by this time had passed and gotten ouer

Marin Span forsaketh Baleze.

the brooke of *Clyre*, and were not aboue two myles from *Baleze*: where they neither ſaw nor encountred any thing, but a ſolitarie and wilde countrey, hearing neither voyce nor rumour of any perſons, nor ſeeing any token or appearance of watch or gardes vpon the walles. This ſo new and ſtraunge a caſe, and this great ſilence, ſeeming to them verie ſuſpitious, did at the firſt ſhew, make them fearefull and full of horrour: but afterwardes, certaine of their companie being ſent foorth to diſcouer the enemie, and hauing brought word backe, that they were departed thence: their whole armie approched the fort without any feare. The ſight of the place ſo ſolitarie, and the diſlodging of the garriſon did mightely diſpleaſe thoſe, which were of great and hautie courages, ſeeing that there was nothing but the poore walles for them to bend their forces againſt, and the Towne onely, without any liuing creature in it. Aboue all others, *Hamoy* (of whom we haue before ſpoken) was in a great rage and choller: by reaſon of the exceſsiue deſire which hee had by ſome like match and good hap, to be reuenged for his brothers captiuitie, (for the truth is,) it vexed him extreamely, that he could by no meanes obtaine his deliuerance of *Scanderbeg*. And it may be that he went thither (as amitie and friendſhip doth make the mindes of men very vigilant) to the intent at the ſurpriſing of this place, he might get into his handes, ſome pledge and raunſome of good worth, thereby to make an exchaunge for the perſon of his brother, who was detained priſoner. On all ſides did the ſouldiours clime and leape ouer the walles, for the razing and ouerthrow of the which their ordinance was not needefull to do them any vſe or ſeruice. For the ſtones cleauing but ſlenderly together by reaſon that the morter was in a manner new and lately layed, and being beaten downe with barres of iron, and torne vp without any great labour, they did eaſily enough tumble downe of them ſelues alone: in a ſmall ſpace therefore was all ouerthrowen and ruinated. The reſt which was made of wood, pallizadoes, and other ſuch like defences, were not long able to continue againſt the fire, which was put vnto them, and did altogether conſume them: the ſouldiours cabbines and all other fortifications likewiſe were troden vnder foote and layed euen with the ground. Thus the *Scutarians* of an ouer haſtie deſire to ſatisfie their hatred and malicious mindes, by a dead kinde of reuenge, left that towne moſt deformed and hideous to looke vnto: in doing whereof they were the cauſe but of their owne dammage and greater griefe and calamitie, in making it the ſubiect of future reuenge to their enemy. There were ſome of the companie, whoſe counſell was, that they ſhould march with their forces before *Dayna*, both to chaſe the enemy from the ſiege, and to trye the fortune of battell, ſeeing that all things ſeemed to encline to them, and to promiſe them victorie, *Scanderbeg* beeing abſent from his armie. But the ſmall number of their forces made them that they durſt not doe it: beſides ſome others there were, who would not in any caſe agree to hazard and aduenture any further, then the Generall and gouernour of *Scutarie* had giuen them in charge and commandement. Wherefore they turned their enſignes and retired their troupes home towardes *Scutarie*, without hauing done any thing worthy of glorie or commendation, either by the purchaſe of any bootie or priſoners, or by the ſlaughter of any of their enemies.

Baleze razed by the Scutarians.

On the other ſide *Maryn* hauing brought his garriſon backe to *Dayna*, did reuiue in *Ameſe* a griefe to ſee the misfortune and ſhame bee fallen to them in publique, and yet priuately he did euen ſmile through a kinde of contentment, which he tooke in his owne particular miſhap: in that he ſeemed not onely and alone, thus ſhamefully to be foyled and repulſed by the *Dryuaſtines*, but that his colleague and copart-

copartner was enforced to become also a companion with him in the like griefe and misfortune: the conceipt whereof made this young Prince in the open view and hearing of his souldiours, to speake vnto them in this manner.

The complaint of Amasie.

"This is well (quoth hee my friendes and felowes in armes.) Let vs still be pitifull, let vs still bee mercifull and compassionate towardes our enemyes, till such time as this fooliſh pitie and vnaduised clemencie, haue vtterly ruinated and confounded euen our selues: let vs (to our owne destruction) let loose the bandes of the Scutarians, and set at libertie our prisoners, to the intent they may afterwardes against vs and our liues, more freely execute their outrage and crueltie. What may my vncle thinke when he shall see the deformed shape of this Towne, and her walles dismantelled and ouerthrowne by those, whom hee hauing of late taken prisoners in the fieldes and neare the bankes of the riuer *Drynon*, did so curteously and gratiously in the open view and sight of each man restore to libertie, and send home free without raunsome to their owne countrey, to the intent they should now a new take armes against him, and renew the old fiercenesse and rancour of their hartes? Go too then, let vs pardon the Driuastines, let vs forbeare to touch or inuade their territorie, whilest that we our selues doe finde all kinde of hostilitie executed against our persons. We are now come to this passe, that whilest we carie our selues with such clemencie, and are so prone to pardon our enemies, we doe animate and stirre vp the armes of all the world against vs: and breaking the bonds, wherein other are tyed, we do bring the yoke of bondage vpon our owne neckes: this entreatie ought the enemy to finde, when he is at our mercy: That as we ought not to exclude all shew of pittie and compasion from them, so should we not be transported so farre to pittie them as to be more pitifull then standeth with reason: wherein can any man finde him selfe iustly agreeued with vs, if we vse that which right and the law of armes doth permit vs? There is no man can lawfully accompt or call those cruell, with whom he standeth vpon tearmes of like enmity, and betweene whom there is equall contention both of life and death."

The proceedings of the warre, betweene Mustapha and Scanderbeg.

Thus on the one side did matters passe on with complaints, and murmurings. On the other side *Mustapha* hauing sent forth his souldiers into the countrey, did not suffer the Garrison of *Scanderbeg* to be at rest, but by their continuall and daily roades and inuasions which they made vppon them, they did more and more terrifie them. For the Albanois shunning the fight continually, did stand vppon their defence, sometimes relying vppon the strength of their trenches and fortified places, rather then vppon their valour and force of armes. And sometimes sallying forth in small troupes, and faining a flight, they (by a kind of mocking and skorning of the enemy) did entertaine him and gaine time vpon him. Wherefore *Mustapha* perceiuing, that all his endeuours were in vaine, and that there was small hope to oppresse the Garrison, hee had no desire, to make any attempt against their fort, and as vnwilling was he to pursue them in their flight for feare of ambuscadoes and such like pollicies, which were vsuall and familiar with his enemy. Onelie with good aduise he ordayned and prouided good guardes and sentinelles, and imployed the residue of his strength and forces to wast and spoile the countrey neare adioyning vnto him; till such time as being enfourmed of the comming of the Prince of *Albanie*, hee retired the whole strength and force of his armie, and went to encampe him selfe within litle lesse then two myles of the enemie. The place which they made choise of for the battell, is called *Oronochea*, and is in the vpper *Dibria*, vppon a certaine faire plaine, yet of no great breadth, and about sixe miles from *Croie*. *Scanderbeg* with his freshe and new forces, were likewise entred into the Campe of the Epirots,

Oronochea.

where he was no sooner arriued, but he caused proclamation to be made by the sound of Trumpet, that no person should issue foorth nor depart thence, without especiall leaue and license: and immediatly he set euery man a worke about the fortifying of the Campe: *Mustapha* in the meane while on his part not stirring nor mouing any whit at all. On both sides therefore all was quiet and peaceable: by meanes whereof the *Albanois* hauing sufficiently ordered their affaires, and hauing strengthned their armed forces, with strong and well defenced rampiers: they began to fortifie likewise the fortresse with armes, men, and souldiours: and *Scanderbeg* making a generall view and muster of his companies to know the number of his men, and the certaintie of his forces: the old bandes were three thousand and fiue hundred horse, and six hundred foote strong. For albeit *Castriot* had left there, little lesse then fiue thousand men at his departure (when he went to make preparation for the warre against the Venetians:) yet afterwardes he drew foorth a great many of them vpon diuers speciall reasons and good considerations: the whole number therefore of their forces being reckoned and accounted then present, were neare about six thousand fighting men, with whom hee purposed to affront the forces of *Mustapha* and to hazard the fortune of that glorious triumph, and yet were not all of them employed: for the vigilancie and circumspect prouidence of this pollitique chieftaine, would not permit that his fort should remaine naked and empty without defence (what soeuer chance should betide him) but he ordained 300. chosen men for the gard and custodie of the same. His army very aduisedly and vpon good consideration did he deuide into wings: the fore front of the which, cõsisted altogether of horsemen, whom he made the chiefforce and strength of both the battallions, placing in each of them a thousand and fiue hundred horse, for feare and doubt least his footemen, (being vnable to indure and beare the charge of the enemies horse,) should at the first onset be disordered and ouerthrowen: and this was the cause that he placed but very fewe of them in the backe of his two winges: the greatest part of his infanterie (being reserued in the middle battell, which was likewise couered and supported with fiue hundred horse, to the intent the battell, being not troubled and disordered at the very first encounter, on all partes, both on the one side and on the other,) the horsemen should make head against the horse of the enemy.

The number of Scanderbegs forces against Mustapha.

Order of Scanderbeg his armie against Mustapha.

Whilest the Prince of *Epire* with the strength and body of his armie, thus ordered and arranged, did containe his souldiers in great silence, and not stirring his ensignes, but attending the dismarch and setting forward of the enemy: Beholda certaine Turke, disbanding and seuering himselfe from the rest of his company, (whose name was *Caraguza*) presented himselfe in the middle space of the field, which lay betweene the two armies, and gaue a signe of defiance challenging some one of them to the combat: from thence aduauncing him selfe neare to the rankes of the Christians, with a high and loftie voyce, he called for the most hardy and aduenturous person in all their companie, to assay him selfe against him body to body. At the first there was a generall silence, and no man gaue him a word, but euery one stood mute, as men who were, no lesse doubtfull to refuse the challenge for feare of shame and disgrace: then to accept the combat, the hazard whereof was so daungerous: but *Paule Manessey* (who was knowen to bee a verie readie horseman, and an excellent man at Armes) did not any longer tollerate these brauadoes of the Barbarian against his nation and country-men: all the companies seeming to cast their regard vppon him and to attend no other thing, as if hee especiallie were the man, whom this challenge did concerne, and to whom the fortune of this fight did belong and appertaine: He therefore aduauncing him

The combat of Paule Manessey and Caraguza.

himselfe roundly and in great fiercenesse, with a ioyfull countenance went to seeke out *Scanderbeg*, to know his mind and good pleasure in the matter: of whom he was both verie highly commended: and his courage and good hope very much & vehemently augmented and animated by meanes of those good speeches which *Scanderbeg* gaue him: for he willed him in a good houre and vnder the true conduct of the great God to march on, both to purchase to himselfe particular praise and commendation, besides immortall fame vnto his memorie: as also by the good and fortunate encounter of this so haughtie and memorable an act, to begin and lead the way vnto his companions to a glorious and happie victorie, leauing a worthy president for them to imitate, and which the whole armie in generall could not but follow with great ioy and gladnesse, vpon the happie presage of his new gained honor and reputation. Hereupon those of his own cornet flocking on all parts round about him, beganne to praise, to extoll and commend him, as if he had alreadie gotten the victorie. Then he making no longer stay, (but only whilest he was arming & furnishing himselfe with such things as were necessarie and ordinarie for the fight) suddenly mounted on horsebacke, and forthwith galloping into the open and plaine field, and addressing himselfe towards the barbarian, (which there attended him) he called vnto him, and with an high voice, and wordes well fitting and beseeming an enemie, he willed him to prepare and make him readie to the combat. The Turke bad him stay a litle, onely to giue him the hearing of a worde or two, which he deliuered in this manner.

"Paul Manessy encouraged by Scanderbeg to the combat.

The victorie betweene vs, our valure and our fortune will decide and determine: but as touching the lawes of the victory, for that we our selues are to take some order: If so be the destinies haue ordeined thee this day to haue the honour of my losse and ouerthrow, I will not refuse (being ouercome by right of armes) but thou shalt freely dispose both of my slaughtered carkasse, and of these my spoiles: in like case, if it happen that thou be vanquished and doest fall vnder mine hande, I will that the like right be done to me, to dispose of thy bodie at my pleasure. And this let our Generals ratifie and confirme, for feare least either in the heate and furie of our fight, or after the deciding and adiudging of the combat, some tumult and vproare doe arise betweene our battels, in fauour of the part of one of vs. Heereunto *Paul* gaue him this aunswere: That for his part he did allow of the lawe and condition of the combat, which he (as it seemed) fearefully did demaund to be obserued. For where the spirite resolute and full of courage doth once yeelde to the others fortune, all the residue by order of law and good right ought to be at the pleasure of the conquerour. That he should therfore fight securely and without feare: that he needed not to doubt of anie other enemie besides him, whose bodie (if it once became ghostlesse vnder his hand) should there also remaine to be disposed of, at his free pleasure and election. And albeit himselfe could be content to bequeath the vnprofitable reliques of his dead carkasse amongst his fellowe souldiers, to bewaile and lament his misfortune: that yet *Scanderbeg* would not suffer that those members (which had shewed themselues so faint and sluggish in the combat as to be vanquished) should be brought backe and receiued into his campe.

Speeches of Caraguse to Paul Manessy.

Answere of Paul Manessy to Caraguse.

The audatious replie of this caualier, and the slight regard and account which he seemed to make of his life, did so appale and astonish the Barbarian, that it made him in a manner to repent himselfe that euer he prouoked him. Imediatly the summe of their agreement being confirmed and ratified by the Chieftaines, and the two combatantes left alone in the middest of the fielde: euerie man had his eies fixed vppon them. Those who were present at that fight, being diuersely affected with doubt

and hope, did ſtand & abide rauiſhed with a maruellous care concerning the ſucceſſe and euent of the combat: for in ſhew and tauleneſſe the two champions were neere alike. Both were of a meane ſtature, and of equall yeares and age, neither of them being of a ſlouthfull or heauie conſtitution, nor yet of too youthfull or ouerhot and haſtie a diſpoſition. Ech of their armes were alike: firſt their launces and their ſhields, which were barred all ouer the midſt with bars of ſteele: by their ſides they had cemitaries after the Turkiſh faſhion, and great & heauy maces of yron: their bodies were armed with curaſſes, and their heads with helmets. Ouer their armour they had verie rich caſſockes made of ſilke, ſhining very bright & gliſtering: the which, albeit they did no way profite or further them to the victorie, yet did they adde a kind of grace and ornament vnto them. Both of them being thus appointed, and either of them bewraying a kinde of fierceneſſe and cruelty both in their countenance and courage, they tooke the field ech oppoſite againſt other, then ſetting ſpurres to their horſes, and fetching a ſtrõg carreer (with their lances in the reſt to encounter ech other) the Chriſtian knight running at the head of the Paynim, ſtroke him aboue and ouer his ſhield into the right eye, and pierced the ſame quite through: with which wound, he tumbling frõ his ſaddle to the ground, the other diſmounting ſpeedily, diſarmed his dead carkaſſe, & cut the head from his bodie: and thus loaden with the ſpoiles of his ſlaine enemie, he quickly mounted againe on horſebacke to returne to his fellow ſouldiers, who breaking forth on al ſides out of their ranks where they ſtood embattelled, with exceeding ioy and gratulations did conduct him towards their Generall. *Scanderbeg* hauing receiued him with many gratious ſpeeches and infinite praiſes and commendations, euen there in the fields and in the preſence of the whole armie, did reward him with a rich cote of armes of gold tiſſue, and with a great demeſne and liuelihood in token of his vertue. Then for that the time did vrge him to beginne the battell and to commit the hazard of the fight to the greatneſſe of his fortune: he thought it good to encourage his ſouldiers, and thus he ſpake vnto them.

Paul Maneſcy ſlaieth Caraguſais combat.

He is rewarded by Scanderbeg.

Oration of Scanderbeg to his ſouldiers.

» If the glorious actes and deedes of armes, do any thing moue the courages of men
» who are valiant and hardie: I do thinke (my good ſouldiers) that euery one of you is
» ſufficiently animated by this excellent teſtimonie of vertue in a particular priuate per-
» ſon: and the rather for that it ſeemeth the heauens could not haue afforded you a more
» notable example before your eies, nor haue giuen you a better occaſion to ſpurre and
» to prouoke you, then this happie beginning and theſe firſt frutes of victorie, which
» is ſufficient both to encourage you to a more braue and ſetled reſolution, and to abate
» and diſmay the courage of our enemies. Go you to therefore and paſſe on hardly in
» this path of honour, which hath bene troden out vnto you: and by a commendable
» kind of emulation, do you immitate the act of your fellow in armes, whoſe hands you
» may ſee yet ſmoking with the bloud of that infidell. The carefull regard & diligence
» of your companion hath vowed it ſelfe for you, hath vowed it ſelfe for the victorie:
» his valiant and puiſſant arme hath offered vp a ſacrifice for you, that you likewiſe
» without any bloudſhed at all ſhould follow after him in the like, and (by the fauour
» of God) ſhould march ouer their bodies which are dedicated to deſtruction by your
» handes, and ſo you may enioy the ſpoiles which are promiſed to your valure and
» deſertes. Let vs therefore giue the onſet, and charge preſently vppon the enemie: he
» was the firſt to challenge you out of your rankes, let vs be the firſt to challenge him
» with our whole battell. Let vs force him into the field which ſeemeth to be fatall vn-
» to him, whileſt that feare and griefe haue depriued him of all ſtrength, and whilſt that
» a generall aſtoniſhment doth preſſe the hearts and minds of their people with a moſt
» ſad and ſorrowfull ſilence.

Aſſoone

Assoone as he had thus spoken (their bodies hauing beene before refreshed) about the seuenth houre he caused the trumpet to sound, and in the verie instant he marched forwarde in battell array. Behold a notable and wonderfull kinde of hardinesse in this man: marke well his resolution most worthie of an inuincible vertue, and deseruing to be admired of all posteritie. This Chiefetaine (the onely fine souldier of his time) with so small a troupe of men, brauely disdayning the great forces and mightie puissance of his enemie, durst in open and plaine fielde with armie against armie, aduenture the hazarde of so great and doubtfull a battell: not seeking by the helpe or furtherance of anie politicall inuention, or of anie martiall deuise and stratageme, to ouerreach and circumuent his enemie he had the courage and audacitie to be the first that should forgoe his trenches, and putting himselfe vpon the field, to giue the brauado to so strong an enemie: whom (as if he had bene vnready or vnwilling to come on, or as one readie to flie awaie) he seemed to force and compell forth to the conflict. In this maner with a maruellous clamor and mightie crie (made by his souldiers) he now beganne to aduance himselfe towardes the fort of the enemie: but that *Mustapha* came forth to meete and encounter him, at first with a squadron tumultuously assembled, and afterwardes with all his forces. But like as in feare and terrour they did set forwarde, so were they assoone and easily repulsed at the verie first onset, and scarce were they all come foorth of their trenches, and placed in good order of battell, but that manie of them suddenly betaking themselues to flight, did flocke backe againe in troupes, making hast to get within their fort, most basely and cowardly seeking to fence and warrant their liues with the strength of their fortresse and rampiers. Which thing being perceiued by the Turkish generall, and that neither the ensignes nor the souldiers did keepe their stande, nor any orders to the intent he might the better encourage them by the regard and example of his owne forwardnes, he cried vnto them to follow him, and where they should see him to make way, there the ensignes should follow and come after him. And therewithall bearing himselfe close with his lance in the rest, he broched his horse with his spurres, and with head and shoulders gaue in vpon the front of the enemy with a full & firme resolution, either to carie away the victorie vnto *Amurath* his lorde and maister, or else to sell his life dearely. Many of his leaders and captaines followed him, and a good number of his owne battallion: and the residue also beeing ashamed to leaue their Chiefetaine in time of neede, by little and little came to ioyne with him, and opposed themselues to the force and violence of the Christians: so that in diuerse and sundrie places gathering and trouping together, they did mainetaine the fight to the vttermost of their powers. Thus on all sides were the battels reenforced, and the fight beganne speedily to be renewed, yet was there not anie appearance of the change and varietie of fortune both to the one partie and to the other (as is commonly seene in such fights) but alwaies and on all partes a like, were the infidels without any hope of victorie, the Christians euer surmounting them by the continual encrease and proceedings of their good fortune: so firmely had the successe of the two first champions from the verie beginning, wrought and confirmed the fortune of both the armies, and had engrauen in the mind of ech man such an impression of hope or terror, that it made them either fearefull or aduenturous. *Moses* from his side, sometimes aduancing & setting forward with his horse, and sometimes bringing on his footemen against the Turkish ensignes, did so disorder them, that he easily broke in vpon them with great force & violence. They on the contrary side, who were opposed against him being vanquished, rather by a certaine fatall destinie, then by any valure & prowes of the Christians, and being scant able to shun & auoide

The battell betweene Mustapha and Scanderbeg.

the blowes and wounds which were giuen them did ſeeme as men in bonds & alreadie vanquiſhed, rather then fit to bind and vanquiſh others. *Paul Manefſey* fighting in the middle battell beſtirred himſelfe notably, leauing after him whereſoeuer he went a maruellous ſlaughter of the circumciſed. By this time were their rankes broken on all ſides, neither horſemen nor footemen continuing in fight, or keeping their place in battell array: but all being confuſed and mingled one with another, and the greater part well neere, of the Turkes hauing their horſes ſlaine by the footmen *Albanois*, with their lances in their handes, came to ſerue as footemen alſo: but on the one ſide, their bodies being vnaccuſtomed and not vſed to fight on foot: and on the other part the diſcommoditie of their armour being great, did much endammage and hinder them. And by reaſon that their own forces did more & more decreaſe and diminiſh, they imagined that our numbers did multiplie and increaſe: neuertheleſſe, being blinded with ſhame, they did ſtill abide expecting and attending the ſucceſſe of their Generall, who on the other ſide was as buſily occupied. For he (being accompanied or aſſiſted with all the moſt notable & valiant men of his armie, & hauing made head againſt the middle battell where *Scanderbeg* himſelfe remained) did thinke to haue repaired the forme and good hap of all the reſt of the ſquadrons. Sometimes the preſence of *Paul Maneſſey* did greatly vrge them, for that by the glorious and honorable opinion, which they had in their champion lately ſlaine, their fearefull thoughts and cogitations, did meaſure all things in their enemie, to be greater then they made ſhew of: ſometimes againe their hearts were incenſed and inflamed with wrath, according as either the deformed image of their ſlaine champion, or the ſhadowe of his dead bodie vnreuenged, did ſeeme to appeare before their eyes, and to preſent it ſelfe to their remembrance. Moreouer the great rewardes and recompences (which was the greateſt and chiefeſt inuitement to pricke them forwarde) propoſed and promiſed by *Muſtapha* to him that could kill this enemie (whom they hated grieuouſlie) did encourage his people to be the more deſirous and forwarde to endaunger themſelues: by meanes whereof, manie being reallied and aſſembled in troupes about *Paul* alone, they preſſed vpon him to the vttermoſt of their powers, and as men that cared not for anie of the reſt, him onelie did they ayme and ſhoote at. There was not anie one of them but did ſtriue, euen with the hazard of his owne life, and with deadly wounds to purchaſe the pretious reward of that head which was ſo highly prized. But the obſtinate proweſſe of this Cauilier, cauſed the fonde and fooliſh deſire of the Turkes, to turne to their owne pernitious and extreame dammage. For being well garded with a troupe of ſuch as were moſt hardie and valiant, he was able enough to ſuſtaine their furie and violence, and to contemne their vaine preſumptions. At length perceiuing a farre off, that one of the Barbarians had disbanded himſelfe from the reſt of his troupes, and was verie hotte and importunate vppon thoſe of his companie, he turned himſelfe towardes him, without anie word ſpeaking: and hauing gotten neere vnto him, he diſcharged ſo full a blow with all his ſtrength ouerthwart his head, and redoubled one or two ſtrokes vppon him, that he ouerthrew him headlong off his horſe, making him to take the meaſure of his tombe vpon the hard earth. When his champions ſawe him lie dead vpon the ground, they beganne preſently to turne the bridle, neither caring to reuenge his death, nor to warrant his body frō the outrage of the enemy. This made the Epirots (when they ſaw them to ſtande as it were in a ſtudie, and certaine of them flying) to preſſe vpon them the more fiercely, and to charge them with the greater furie, giuing them no time to breath, but handled them rudely, till hauing them in full chaſe, they left all the aduantage & honor to the conquerors. *Paul* purſuing them ſtill as they fled,

Paul Maneſſey aſſailed by the Turkes.

did

did gleane and take vp ſome of them that made leaſt ſpeed, and with bitter and biting termes, he thus tauntingly exclaimed vpon them. Whether flie you (ſaied he) you baſe companions, are you ſo forgetfull of all good fellowſhip: hath not *Caraguſa* here, neither brother, coſin, nor ſo much as a friende, amongeſt ſo many of you: who in honour of his corps (that lieth here dead and disfigured) will vouchſafe to reuenge him, which is the laſt good you can do him, being paſt all your aide and helping? Behold me: ſee me (I ſaie) who doe here now call vppon you, and giue you the defie, whom of late your ſelues did firſt of all prouoke, in hope of a wrong conceited glory. Abide, ſtaie a while, take with you the bloudie ſpoiles of your companion, which ſo voluntarily I doe proffer vnto you. *Speeche of Paul Manuſcy to the Turkes as they fled.*

But the Turkes (more mute and dombe then fiſhes) had minde of nothing but of ſpeedie flight and running away: and with an infamous kinde of ſilence, did neither approue nor reproue the tauntes and reprochfull ſpeeches of the enemie. And thus within a while, hauing by litle and litle gotten the aduantage and libertie of the open field, they did quickely vaniſh out of ſight, ſo as hardly could they heare the ſound or noyſe of thoſe that chaſed them: onely the archers did trouble them with great obſtinacie: as for the reſt of the troupes, they abſtained from purſuing them, becauſe wearineſſe and extremitie of trauell had dulled both the force and the ſpirits of the Chriſtians. Notwithſtanding hauing gathered vp the enſignes & half moones, which lay euery where diſperſed ouer the field (for the Turks in their ſtandards & enſignes doe beare this for their deuiſe) the ſouldiers with wonderfull great ioyes making the aire to reſound, & with their pleaſant clamors, and rude riming ſongs, did euen ſtriue and contend who ſhould carie them to the tents of *Scanderbeg*. For all had gone well on that ſide a good while before: and the Turkes being either ſlaine, did lie diſperſed ouer the fielde in great heapes, or being reſerued (according to the right of armes) with their hands faſt pinioned behinde their backes, did giue euident and open teſtimonie of their owne bad deuoire, and the clemencie of their enemies. *Muſtapha* himſelf with twelue others likewiſe of the moſt principall and chiefeſt perſons, were brought priſoners vpon an Hungarian horſe, in great pompe and triumph: to the intent he might be ſeene of all men, making the ſight to be ſo much the more worthy and notable, and mitigating as it were, the misfortune of the other priſoners. For the pernitious humor of ambition, and a peſtilent deſire to purchaſe vnto himſelfe the greater glorie, by the proofe and triall of his reſolution, had caried him furiouſly into the ſquadron of *Scanderbeg*, where (being encloſed and deſtitute of all aide & defence of his ſouldiers, and of all the meanes, either to eſcape away free, or die honourablie) the vnfortunate Chieftaine made choiſe to cõpound with the loſſe of al other things, yea and of his libertie alſo, for the ſauegard and preſeruation of his life onely. *The deuiſe of the Turkes in their enſignes.* *Muſtapha Generall of the Turkes taken priſoner.*

I can not ſay certainly, whether in all the time of the warre held with *Amurath*, there were any exploit atchieued more notable, or more fauored by the diuine power then this: So worthily did this iorney make ſhew of euery man his good courage and deſert: neuer was there any leader nor any ſouldier, nor any other perſon of what degree ſoeuer, that did euer returne more honorably charged with reputation and glorie, either in publique, or in priuate. The report is, that there were ſlaine of the enemie 10000. And that there were taken onely 82. priſoners, and 15. ſtandardes. This happie and fortunate ouerthrow, coſt not the *Albanois* much bloudſhed, for he loſt (as they ſay) ſcarce 300. men. The campe of the enemy did greatly enrich the Chriſtian ſouldiers, for that the Turkes, who had ſoiourned certaine monthes vppon the marches & borders of the prouince, had gotten together & purchaſed good ſtore of preie & booty: there were alſo found very goodly ſpoiles vpon thẽ which were ſlain, *The victory of the Chriſtians.*

and a notable number of good horſes: but albeit the ſouldiers held themſelues reaſonablie well ſatisfied with pillage, yet for all that, was not the wrathfull and fierie courage of *Scanderbeg* ſufficiently appeaſed: but that immediatly and aſſoone as he had refreſhed his troupes, that part of the day which remained, he ſpent and imploied it in ſacking and ſpoyling the territories of the enemie. And in this ſort continuing the courſe of his late victorie, ſetting fire on all things both farre & neere: that which could not be deſtroied by the ſworde, was burnt and conſumed by fire. Neither did the very meaneſt or worſt ſort of the ſouldiers, returne from thence empty and without bootie: for whatſoeuer they found any thing good and worth the taking, they forgot it not behind them. And beſides, they brought away a wonderfull manie of beaſts and cattell: ſo that, what with the wearineſſe of their exceſſiue trauell, & what with the abundance of their bootie (wherewith they were ouer charged) ſcarcely could they get home to their campe, before an houre within night. The reſidue of the night was ſpent in taking their reſt, which they paſſed very ſtill and in great quietneſſe, without any bonfires, without any noiſe and clamors, or any other ſhewes or tokens of their victorie: and the reaſon was, for that the Prince of *Epyre* ſhewed him ſelfe more ſad and penſiue then he was accuſtomed, becauſe of the newes that *Baleze* was ouerthrowen and raſed. Therefore all thoſe within the campe (who were any thing diſcreetely and ſoberly diſpoſed) framing their countenances altogether to ſadneſſe and melancholie, did conforme themſelues to the ſame humour ioyntly with him: ſometimes confirming him with good and pleaſing ſpeeches, and ſometimes raging with hatred and mallice againſt the enemie. But the agreeued thoughts & penſiue imaginations of this Prince would admit no comfort nor accuſtomed reſt ſo long and ſo often as he called to remembrance the outrage and ingratitude of the Scutarians, in regard of the benefites and clemencie which they had taſted and receiued from him.

Scanderbeg is penſiue for the razing of Baleze.

Scanderbeg therefore hauing appointed and left (according to his cuſtome) two thouſand horſe, and a thouſand foote for the gard of the frontiers: the next morning by the breake of daye he departed with the reſidue of his forces; (taking with him both the priſoners, and wellneare all the beſt and choiſeſt of the bootie,) and ſo tooke his way to the ſiege of *Dayna*: where when he had learned by *Marin Span* more certainely and particularly how all things had paſſed, he made no longer abode, then whileſt he renewed and repaired his troups: and then immediately and without delay with freſh forces (which caried with them the extreame loſſe and calamitie of the inhabitants of *Scutarie*) he paſſed ouer the riuer of *Drynon*: and diſperſing his horſmen ouer all the countrey; whatſoeuer he found tilled and ſowen in any place or quarter (for it was in the end of autumne,) all was deſtroied, waſted and ſpoiled: the vineyardes cut vp cloſe by the ground, and moſt of their trees that bare frute were felled downe: the peſants and ruſtickes themſelues were not ſaued from ſlaughter, but as many of them as were found to reſiſt againſt the enemie, were put to the ſword, and the reſidew were ſacked and euill entreated. From thence turning his furie vpon the other townes of the Venetian territorie, he purſued them in ſuch ſorte that they had good cauſe giuen them, to curſe that raſh exploite of the Scutarians againſt *Baleze*. Moſt of the inhabitants and al the forces which remained within the countrie did reuolt and adioine themſelues and take part with *Scanderbeg*, rather then they would taſte of the rigor and diſcommoditie of ſuch ruines and deſtruction.

Scanderbeg ſpoileth the territorie of the Scutarians in reuenge of the razing of Baleze.

Thus we ſee that *Scanderbeg* did largely blame and reprehende the immoderate choller of his Nephewe, but he could not acknowledge the infirmitie of his owne paſſion. He deteſted the indiſcretion of a young courage, but he could not temperate

and

and moderate his owne anger and impaciencie. The countrie being thus ouercome, made desolate and brought vnder the dominion of a strange lord, he now also began to growe terrible to the townes and places of chiefe regard. Notwithstanding the extremitie and rigor of the cold winter now beginning to approch, and the continuall falling of the raine without ceasing, did driue him home againe against his wil, and made him retire into his tents to winter vnder the wonted walles of *Dayna*. During these troubles and alterations, the gouernours of the Venetian prouince, and the magistrates of *Scutarie*, being by meanes hereof in maruellous distresse and perplexitie, (but especially in regard of these forces which were shut vp within *Dayna*, whom they well knew to haue beene brought to the last point and extremitie of want and necessitie) dispatched letters to the Senate of *Venice*, containing the miserable estate of their confederates.

Mustapha & the other prisoners ransomed for 25000 Duckets.

About the same time there arriued into the campe, certen infidels with great and rich presents vnto *Scanderbeg*, for the ransome of his prisoners: and they agreed vpon the payment of fiue and twentie thousand Duckates. Thereupon was *Mustapha* and all his companions deliuered: and the Turkes (hauing bene bountifully feasted, and entertained verie honorably, (as if all rancour and enmitie had bene vtterly forgotten and layed aside:) had guides appointed them (such as were verie skilfull in all the passages of the countrey,) both for their safe conueiance and better assurance on the way against the violence of the Christians. The money leuied and made by their deliuerie, was wholly distributed amongst the souldiers by *Scanderbeg*: his desire being, that they should be made partakers of the reward, who had bene partakers of the trauels & danger of the warre. Al this while there was not any attempt made against the towne by reason that the rigour of the colde and frostes, did not permit them thereunto. The defendants hauing abandoned the care and remembrance of al things, saue of their faith and fidelity only, did abate nothing of their former wilfulnes & obstinacie. Many and infinite discommodities had wasted and consumed their forces, but yet they reserued still one and the same minde and courage, and their spirites did seeme daily to waxe more liuely and resolute though their bodies were greatly enfeebled and their strength much abated and diminished. Thus did a small Hamlet staie the force and violence of a most excellent and soueraigne Chiefetaine: and he that was a conquerour inuincible in so manie famous battelles, sawe himselfe surmounted by the constancie of that place onely. Yet did not the shame hereof, neuertheless any whit deterre *Scanderbeg* from pursuing his attempt: but he was the more resolutely determined to winne them by famine if he could not otherwise bring them to reason. There were at this time certen secret speeches, and vncertaine rumors amongst the common sort: that the Seigniorie of *Venice* was verie willing and enclining to a peace, by reason whereof, *Scanderbeg* bare himselfe more mildly and gratious towardes the enemie: and in those roades and incursions which were made thenceforth vppon the countrie, the *Albanois* did discharge their choller and mallice with more gentlenesse and lesse extremitie. Not many daies were past, but that newes were brought of certaine Ambassadors sent vnto him by the order & direction of the Senate at *Venice*, to entreat a newe agreement of peace and amitie betweene them, and the time of their comming was hourely expected. *Scanderbeg* therefore (according to the vsage and custome of great personages) hauing sent the chiefe of his nobilitie with a great traine to meete them, entertayned them most honorably: and hauing feasted them in verie sumptuous and bountifull manner, the next day he gaue them full audience to deliuer their charge and commission. The effect whereof was this, That the Prince of *Epire* should breake vp his campe before

The constancie of the Dayniani.

A treatie of peace betweene Scanderbeg & the Venetians.

Conditions of peace offered to Scanderbeg.

» *Dayna* and withdraw his forces, becauſe it had bene once receiued into the gard and
» protection of the Venetian ſtate: and that therefore the ſoueraigntie and abſolute iu-
» riſdiction of that towne, ſhould fully and peaceably reſt and continue in their handes:
Buſegiarpeni being a part of the Demeſnes of Scutarie extending from the riuer Drymon towards Scutarie, and lying more conueniently for Scanderbeg then the towne of Dayna. that *Scanderbeg* in liew and counterchaunge thereof ſhould haue the whole right and Seigniorie in a certen countrey, lying vpon the riuer of *Drinon*, with all that circuit of land which was called *Buſegiarpeni*. This conditiõ of the peace was no ſooner propounded, but it was preſently accepted by the *Albanois*: and without any delaie or refuſall, he held himſelfe well contented and ſatiſfied with that which the Ambaſſadours had appointed vnto him: wherefore the peace being concluded and agreed vpon, and the aſſurance and all things elſe well and orderly diſpatched; a generall ſilence being commanded (for that this worthie and magnanimious prince did prepare himſelfe to make ſome ſpeech vnto them, and to giue them ſome notable ſhew and token of his magnificence, liberalitie, he thus began to ſay vnto them.

Oration of Scanderbeg vnto the Venetian ambaſſadors vpon the concluſion of peace betweene them.

My hartie wiſh and deſire is, that that prince were yet liuing amongeſt vs, whoſe death was the beginning and firſt occaſion, both of my iuſt griefe, and of theſe wearieſome warres which I haue had with you: for whileſt I ſought to recouer from you the poſſeſſion of *Dayna*, ſtayned with the blood of our Citizens, by the miſhap of an vniuſt warre: I would not at this time haue ſeene this prouince of Chriſtians and of our friendes and allies to be ouerwhelmed with ſo many miſchiefes: but I would
» haue gloried in the obſeruation of peace and amitie inuiolably with that moſt hono-
» rable and worthie Senate, the interruption and troubling whereof at this preſent,
» (happening vpon ſo ſmall, and trifling a cauſe) my hart will not of a long time but
» greatly grieue at. But this breach and debate grew vpon another occaſion: for your
» taking of armes is to be excuſed, in that the diſloialtie of others by their ſiniſter and
» peruerſe counſels, did eaſily eſtrange and alienate from me the hart and good affecti-
» on of that * Ladie, and moſt malitiouſly and with a certaine affectation of flatterie, did
Boſſa. » conceale that which was agreed betweene *Lech* and me, and were the authors that
» *Dayna* did yeeld it ſelfe into your protection. It was not you therefore with whom I
» found my ſelfe ſo much agreeued, neither did I take armes to conuince you of iniu-
» ſtice, nor yet to impute anie ambition or greedie deſire of Empire vnto the Venetians,
» whom as yet, no age did euer heare to haue enterpriſed or authoriſed any warre, that
» was vniuſt and againſt equitie. But one thing there was which did not a litle diſpleaſe
» me, that you had leſſe truſt and affiance in me then was requiſite: and whileſt you
» gaue eare, and builded vpon their tales and reportes, you thought me to be ambitious,
» and to be led with a deſire of trouble and contention. I therefore (ſeeing that right
» was not to be had but by armes onely, did lay hold vpon this occaſion of the warre,
» which was in a manner, caſt vpon me, and euen as it were put into my handes. But
» now moſt gladly doe I laie aſide my weapons (God himſelfe being willing to haue it
» ſo) & more then that (if your ſelues had not required it) euen this territorie which by
» the ordinance of the Senate you haue giuen me in recompence of *Dayna*, and for the
» confirmation of this our league and amitie, holding my ſelfe well ſatisfied one-
» ly in the good will and francke offer of your Senate, and doe willingly embrace
» the good will and friendſhippe of thoſe liberall and magnificent princes. As for a-
» ny other thing I neither deſire nor accept of: but (if occaſion ſerue, and neede
» be,) all this territorie which I haue, my whole eſtate, and my goods and ſubſtance,
» yea my very life, will I vow and conſecrate for you, for your children, and for the ma-
Peace proclaimed betweene the Venetians and Scanderbeg. ieſtie of your Empire.

Scanderbeg hauing finiſhed his ſpeech, tooke order that Heraulds ſhould be ſent throughout all the Prouince, to publiſh vnto the people the glad tydings and ioyfull

newes

newes of this peace so much desired: the siege also was broken vp and raised, and the sconces and other fortifications made during the siege were beaten downe and razed: the souldiers in all mirth and ioy (laying aside all hatred and malice both in publique and in priuate) did friendly entertaine and welcome those of the towne, and did inuite them into their tentes and pauillions. Immediately also vpon this treatie *Andrew* and *Volcathagne*, were deliuered and permitted to goe at large where they thought good: all other things which had bene lately taken from the Scutarians and their neighbours: as villages, castels, fortresses and such like, they were rendred and redeliuered to the ambassadors. The day following (after many triumphes, and many goodly shewes (as the manner is publiquely had and solemnized) the Ambassadors were dismissed, but not without many rich and sumptuous presents.

Scanderbeg leauing the siege of Daina marcheth to the spoile of the Turkish territorie.

Then *Scanderbeg* being naturally of a liuely and stirring disposition, (and being impatient of rest, and not able to endure idlenes) presently he led his troupes to the Turkish frontiers: with intent to wast and spoile them, as he was vsually accustomed: where gathering in one the olde garrison and the rest of his companies, with both incorporated together, he seemed to haue a good and faire armie: in such sort that a man would haue thought those forces sufficient, not onely to pill and spoile the fields, but to enterprise, vndertake and execute some great and notable good peece of seruice, so cheerefully and contentedly did ech of them follow on, to receiue the deserued pay and stipend of their long seruice and warfare. For in those daies the souldiers did not expect nor demaunde any other wages of their Generall then what they could get and purchase vpon the enemie by the sword and force of armes. Hereof it grewe that the Princes (his neighbours) were wont (in way of mirth and iest) to call the territorie of the enemie, *Scanderbeg* his treasurie. Afterwardes parting his hoast into three seuerall troups, he entred on all sides vpon the borders of the *Sultan*, where he spent two whole daies in ouerrunning, pilling, and harrying of the countrey: the souldiers being their owne pay maisters for their paines, at the cost and charges of the inhabitants: who went not scotfree without the losse of their liues, except such as being baptized were become Christians: and to those also they left nothing, nor shewed them any other fauor, but gaue them their liues and their libertie. After the furie of the sword, followed the rage of flame and fire; which being kindled in the houses, did deforme and disfigure all things, and burned all into ashes in such sort that if the campe of *Amurath* had happened at that time to haue come into *Epire*; there was no hope for it to haue found any victuals to haue maintained them, so much as one day, except they had caried and brought it with them. The earth therefore being left all bare, naked and emptie, with the onely shew and markes of desolation: *Scanderbeg* caused his ensignes to march homewards, & retired his armie within his owne confines. Then did he license his souldiers to depart, and sent them home to their owne houses, after he had highly praised & commended the diligence of euerie one of them, excepting the number of three thousand onely; which (being the ordinarie garrison appointed for the defence of the borders) did alwaies continue there, and neuer remoued from that place: himselfe with the residue of his citizens and his ordinarie gard, did take the way directly towards *Croy*.

The Turkish territory Scanderbegs treasurie.

Tidings being brought to the Venetians of the peace concluded in *Epire*, and of the bountie of the Prince of *Albanie*, and the Ambassadors giuing him high praise and commendation: the Senate conceiued exceeding ioy, and an incomparable gladnes: for that their prouince (after so long and fierce a warre) might from thenceforth take breath and rest themselues. Then being willing to honor the vertue and magnificence of that Prince, with some shew and argument of their thankefull hartes, in a generall

Scanderbeg & his posteritie made free of the citie of Venice, and appointed gouernour and lieutenant generall of the Venetian territories in Epire.

counsell of all the citizens and gentlemen of that estate, by a common and publique consent, he and his posteritie were created citizens of *Venice*, and enrolled in the number of the most noble families of their citie and common wealth: besides (by the vniuersall good liking of all the Senate) he was appointed sole gouernour and lieutenant General, for their common wealth in those quarters: and letters were forthwith sent away to that effect, with diuerse very rich and princely presents.

Amurath consulteth with his counsell concerning the warre against Scanderbeg.

All this while there was nothing spoken of the Turkes, neither was it heard that they made anie roads or ordinarie inuasions, or that they attempted any thing vpon the Epirots. For the rude discomfiture and ouerthrow of *Mustapha* had so terrified and abated their courage, that *Amurath* durst not stirre any further against the Duke of *Albanie*, fearing by such like enterprises (as he had formerly and vsually assailed him) he should rather augment and strengthen his forces, then be able either to breake or to diminish them: seeing that so many and so great armies, (which euen till then had entred *Epyre* for the inuasion of *Scanderbeg*) were for the most part either destroied, and left dead vpon the fields: or else shamefully discomfited and put to flight, or being brought into seruitude and captiuitie, did serue but as laughing stockes for their enemies to triumph ouer, and a fit matter for the encrease of their glorie and reputation. Supposing therefore that to be once reuenged of these disgraces it was requisite to make farre greater preparations, and to march against him with another maner of puissance, he spent whole houres and daies in diuerse consultations, still prolonging the occasion of that great honour which he had vainely conceiued, and promised to himselfe by such a iorney. But the report of the peace made with the Venetians, and the spoiling of his Prouinces, and so many discomfitures, one happening in the necke of another, comming to his eares, his heart being before mightily addicted and inclined to warre, was now much more incensed and more sharply pricked forward. Wherefore the old man (being thus full of care and thoughts) before he would decree any thing for the leuying of souldiers; caused certaine who were nearest his person to be sent for (whom they call *Visiers*, and are those of his priuie councell) to whom, as one mad for verie anger, and full of furie and choller, he discouered in the end, the secret and long conceiued hatred of his hart in these termes.

Visiers the Councellours of the great Turk

Orat on of Amurath to his councellours for the warre to be vndertaken against Scanderbeg

Hitherto (most worthy and trustie Councellours) we haue both well nourished & much augmented the prosperous temeritie of this fugitiue: and being occupied with the vrgent necessitie of the warre of *Hungarie*, we haue so long deferred the due punishment of this our hate full enemie, that by the multitude of outrages and contumelious abuses, he hath freely and without chasticement, incensed the maiestie of the *Ottoman* Empire; such as neither my eares can endure to heare reported, nor my eyes can abide the sight of. His fierce and furious madnesse, (I shame to speake it) is encreased so farre and is growne to that passe, that he dareth with all his forces, to be aforehand with vs, in assaulting vs: and openly to condemne vs of faintnesse and want of courage. What auaileth it heere to recount vnto you the misfortune of *Haly* Bassa? and the like mischances of so many other Captaines and leaders? we neede goe no further to take a view and coniecture of the image of our estate, but onely by the miserable prouince of *Macedon*, which (as I vnderstand) by continuall roades, inuasions and burnings is brought to that extreamitie, that from henceforth we haue little hope left to see therein any markes or tokens that it is our prouince, but filled rather and repleniished with our enemies: for euen of late did he enter it with an armie leauied of purpose, spending whole daies in the spoiling and dispeopling of the countrey. How long shall we endure the attemptes of this wicked and seditious wretch? shall we suffer him so long till we our selues be fettered, and that he put irons vpon

our

our owne legs: it is high time that wee ſuppreſſe his pernitious endeuors; for feare least by our negligence, this fire do increaſe; and then all too late (which my mind misgiueth me) we do begin to frame our complaints, and ſeeke remedie all in vaine: considering that an enemie being once contemned and neglected, of a ſmall and meane beginning manie times doth amplifie and enlarge his forces, and lifteth vp his head to the ruine of his aduerſarie. All things (my maſters) doe inuite you to the warres, and do ſeeme to miniſter the meanes vnto you: for if there were no other reaſon to induce vs thereunto, yet neuertheleſſe, the onely regard and lamentable aſpect of the miſeries and calamities of our ſubiects, were not that alone ſufficient to ſolicite the courages of men braue and valiant? The daylie captiuities and impriſonments of ſo many our friends, the ſmoke of our townes and vilages on all ſides fiered and burnt (which do euen call and crie in themſelues for a reuenge) would they not make vs euen to bluſh for verie ſhame if we ſhould ſuffer them? Haue we ſo often heretofore reſtrained and repreſſed the rage of the Hungarians? haue we by continuall and memorable defaits, left *Greece* mourning in her owne ſorrowes & laments? haue we broken the forces of ſo many mighty and redoubted potentates & brought them euen to naught? and ſhall we now ſuffer (through a timerous kind of puſillanimitie) theſe troubles and tumults of *Epire*, to gather ſtrength and to encreaſe vpon vs? ſhall we yet endure to ſee that prouince (which of late was tributarie vnto vs) now to ſtand in contention and to braue vs by armes? what? hath the land of *Albanie* ſo ſuddenly of late engendred another ſort of Epirots? and is it poſſible that a new & vnaccuſtomed kind of enemie ſhould iſſue forth vnexpected againſt vs? I am determined once againe, to make triall if this nation be ſo fierce and vntameable: and if the hardie and haughtie courage of their obſtinate and proud Prince can be brought vnder the accuſtomed yoke of their ſubiection. We muſt not from henceforth ſtand vpon points of ſubtiltie and vaine pollicies; nor muſt we any more ſeeke to ſurprize this enemie by ambuſhments: neither doth the time now ſerue (by the diuerſitie of the Leaders and Chieftaines and by ordinarie troupes one after another) to fill their hatefull ſoile with the blood of our ſouldiers: for we ſee that one and the ſame kind of misfortune doth follow both our leaders and our armies: and whereas we made choiſe of them to do vs ſeruice, they haue ſerued to endammage rather our ſelues thē our enemies. Shall we commit another armie to *Haly* Baſſa, or *Ferifey*, who beſides the wounds and the deformed reliques of their owne forces, haue brought vs not ſo much as one ſtandard or enſigne of the enemies? Shall we follow the vnfortunate aduiſe and counſelles of *Muſtapha*: and miniſter paye vnto the Chriſtians, and eaſe their charge in the maintaining of their forces: while he is caried onely with a deſire to extinguiſh and free the infamie of his bonds and impriſonment? We haue bene ſo often vanquiſhed, taken priſoners, ranſomed: and in briefe ſo often beaten and diſcomfited, that we haue reaſon from henceforth to abhorre, and to be aſhamed of our owne eſtate and condition: we muſt now therefore take vpon vs the charge of this warre, with our beſt meanes and the vttermoſt of our endeuors. It behoueth vs to vndertake it with ſuch forces, to employ ſo great a puiſſance, and to march into *Epire* with ſo mightie an hoaſt; that the countrey may be ſcant able to containe it, nor yet to ſuſtaine the force and violence of our armie. By this meanes without any loſſe or bloodſhed, ſhall we purge and cleanſe all the countrey: and by a notable diſcomfiture of our enemies (being either expelled and chaſed quite away, or vtterlie ſubdued and vanquiſhed) we ſhall reeſtabliſh thoſe townes in their auncient forme and faſhion: which by the diſloialtie of this fierce nation, hath bene withheld from vs: or if the peruerſe obſtinacie and obdurate ſtubborneſſe of this people (as it is likely & vſuall with

Sentence.

„ them) vpon a rash and desperate resolution, and of an inconsiderate desire to defende
„ their Prince, do betake themselues to armes: we will then vtterly destroy these wret-
„ ched soules (who do euen long for their deserued punishment) and with a singular re-
„ uenge (which we haue so long desired) we will recompence them for the old wrongs
„ and iniuries which they haue done vs, both in publique and in priuate. It is your du-
„ ties (valiant and worthie men) to vndertake this warre, not as you were wont to doe
„ against the Hungarians, or other enemies: but with a farre greater wrath and indig-
„ nation, as against those which are your slaues and fugitiues, and who (being most mis-
„ chieuously affected against you) haue now made shewe of their insolent and hatefull
„ mindes, which for a long time lay close concealed and dissembled.

Amurath resolued in person to warre vpon Scanderbeg, maketh preparation to that effect.

To this effect tended the clamor and continuall speeches of this Orator, who full of rage and choller, did insinuate nothing else into the eares of his people: and they againe very attentiuely did hearken vnto him, approuing this his inuention for the warre of *Epyre*. And (being vndoubtedly perswaded that it could not but fall out answerable to the honour and dignitie of his greatnesse) all of them with one voice and consent did agree that preparation should be speedily made, with al possible diligence for this iorney: least, failing to make their prouisions in time and season, they might (through delay and negligence) loose the occasion and opportunitie of the spring. For the winter beginning now to waxe more milde, the tops of the mountains couered with snow, began to shew forth and to be discouered. Immediatly therefore, and without anie delay, commissions were directed, and proclamations made throughout all the Prouinces and Nations vnder the Turkish obeisance, and throughout all the Realmes of his allies and confederates, and to such cities and townes by name, as the *Sultan* thought conuenient, that they should furnish him with so many thousand of horse and foote to be readie with all speede, and to repaire vnto him to *Andrinople*: for as yet had not *Greece* lost the seate of her noble and famous Emperors at *Constantinople*, neither had she at that time cause to mourne and lament their dolefull funerals; happening afterwardes at such time as they came to be buried and throwen downe vnder the yoke and subiection of the miscreants. The rumor of these preparations and huge prouisions brought with it great feare and terror to the neighbour nations and adioyning townes of the Christians: who being surprized with notable astonishment, were in wonderfull great doubt, where and vppon what place the burthen of this warre, and the extreame puissance of so great forces would powre forth and execute their bloodie effects. For hardly was any man able to coniecture of the secret counsels of *Amurath*: not his owne inward and most priuate fauorites, except certen of his councellors, in whom (as we haue said) the *Ottoman* had a speciall trust and assurance: for feare least the enemies, being thereof aduertised, might prouide themselues both of counsell and meanes to repulse the violence of his attemptes.

Secresie of the Turke in concealing his counsels.

This putteth me in remembrance how in that first expedition of the Turkes against *Scutarie*, the Barbarians were discouered and seene before our walles in a manner before we hearde any thing of their arriuall. But in truth it is a policie verie ordinary and vsuall with this warlike nation: to giue out a lying and false rumor of some vaine tumult and attempt one way; whilest they do bend their forces, & conuert the whole puissance of their redoubted armes another way: to the intent they may the more easily surprize & oppresse those, who (being least aduised) are caried away with a vaine kind of light beleefe and pernitious credulitie. But the fame and suspition of these preparations caused a generall allarme and tumult on all parts: on the one side the Hungarians mistrusting the infidelitie of their perpetuall aduersarie, began to betake them to their armes which they had found so vnfortunate: and to raise their forces which

The policie of the Turkes to oppresse the Christians.

were

were sore weakned by so many discomfitures and ouerthrowes. On the other side, the Greekes being in extreame distresse, and hauing their spirits dispersed and deuided, by reason of their priuat domesticall dissentions: yet did they take a good heart and courage vnto them, for the defence and maintenance of the poore and weake reliques of their declining and decaying Empire.

Notwithstanding *Amurath* could not any way deceiue or ouerreach *Scanderbeg*, who by long practise and experience, being well acquainted with the dissimulations of that Monarchy, had all his cunning sleightes and disguisementes at his fingers ends. Neuertheles, some say that he had also intelligence therof from some who were neare the Turke, and his speciall fauorits, by the discouery of certaine secret messengers, who albeit they could not report it in any certainety, yet did the Albanois easily beleeue it. And one principall thing that made him the rather to credit it, was the extraordinary idlenesse and vnaccustomed rest of *Ottoman*, because euen to that day, he had not sent any new forces, either to reuenge the outrage done to *Mustapha*, nor for the security & defence of the limits and confines of his own country. Wherfore *Castriot* hauing laid aside the care of the priuate and ciuill affaires of his estate, and being nothing at all dismaied nor troubled in his mind for all that mighty and perillous tempest of war and vprore by the enemy, with a most ready and aduised resolution, he prouided and accomplished in very good order whatsoeuer any other Chiefetaine (were he neuer so prudent and expert) could haue either foreseen or executed in the like case or accident. For he dispatched messengers out of hand with letters to al the Princes & nations his confederates amongst the Epirots: to the intent that both themselues might be ready in armes, & that they might arme others likewise, disposing them in fit & conuenient places for the assurance of their townes and strong holdes: both by good and strong garrisons and fortifications, and by the prouision of victuals and munitions in good store and abundance more thē ordinary. Because the hugenes of so great a multitude, and so infinite numbers, did threaten all of them with like ruine and destruction, and with desolation alike common vnto all of them: for that *Ottoman* seemed to imagine not his confusion and ouerthrow alone, but the total subuersion of the whole country of *Epire*. Himselfe (not sleeping nor being idle) after he had dispatched *Moses* & many others of his chiefest nobles, both to make a leauy and muster of men, and to prouide corne sufficient for the necessity of the time present, went from place to place, & in proper person, to visite and ouersee all things, and sending forth daily new and often commandements, taking not any rest neither day nor night, till he had bereft the enemy of al fit matter & occasion, either of getting honor, or bringing dammage vpō him. And the better to compasse it, he caused the greater part of the husbandmen, and the common sort of the people, who were vnfit for the field, (together with their families & all that they had) to retire themselues into the walled townes. But all those which were men of any strength or ability, & were of age fit to beare armes, he retained to imploy them in diuerse seruices of the wars. Neither did he forget the garrison of *Macedony*: but they, and many other great troupes (assembled from all partes) and day by day repairing to *Croy*, when they came to be incorporated & ioyned in one, made a faire and goodly army. It remained now that he should part his companies, and appoint them to their seuerall charges. First therfore he reserued for his own regiment 10000. men, of those whose seruice he had lately vsed in the warre of *Venice*, and at *Chronichea*, for with them he was assured, he might make head against the Barbarians, according as the oportunity of the place should minister meanes vnto him. To the old garrison of *Croy* (besides the number of citizens) he added 1300. souldiers, all Epirots and men of approued valour, which made the Croians also to furnish themselues with all sorts of

Scanderbeg maketh preuision of resistance against the Turke.

Scanderbeg ordereth his forces against the inuasion of the Turke.

armour and munitions, ſeruing for the defence of their walles and the repulſe of the enemy, but eſpecially it encreaſed their courages, and the greatneſſe of their ſtomackes, which were faithfully deuoted to the preſeruation of their liberty. The ſame time therfore that the garriſon was brought into the towne, was the feeble ſexe of women and children drawen forth without the wals, and none ſuffred to ſtay within, but the youth of the towne only, and ſuch as were fit for the wars. And yet were not they interrupted nor confounded with the baſeſt of the popular ſort, in whoſe harts and courages, commonly the liuely ſparks of honor and of liberty, did not enter and penetrate ſoone or eaſily. Thus did *Scanderbeg* with good & graue aduiſe and deliberation prouide for the importance of his affaires, becauſe that city was the chiefeſt place, and (as it were) the key of all his Realme, and the ſureſt fortreſſe to ſtay the courſes & attempts of the Turks: and vpon which depended the whole ſtrength, the hope and the preſeruation of the reſidue of the ſtate of *Albany*. But here might it be doubted, whether it were better done, thus to take away the wiues and children from the ſight of the citizens, or to haue ſuffered them to continue there ſtill, conſidering that their preſence and countenances full of griefe, the ſight of their teares, and the hearing of their lamentations, the miſery and feare of their ſeruitude, and the infamy of bonds and impriſonment threatned vnto thē, are of far greater moment and of more force, beyond al compariſon to animate & to encorage men, then the bare remembrance of them away and abſent. But it may be notwithſtanding, that old and expert warriours, did hold it more expedient, and a matter of more certainty and aſſurance that they ſhould be abſent. For albeit in the eie of the regardants, this encoragement be in truth proper & conuenient in the middeſt of their trauels and perils, to make them hazard their liues liberally and without feare: ſo is it of no ſmall force and efficacy to make the enemy more hard and obſtinate, by reaſon that the vnmeaſurable deſire of the prey (which they hope for) doth driue and cary on the ſouldier with a more ſetled reſolution, and doth enflame much more ardently the corages of the Barbarians to giue the charge & to purſue it: making them to aduenture more fiercely, euen in deſpite of woundes, and to expoſe themſelues more furiouſly to the violence of the ſword: whereas (on the contrary) they goe on more coldly and temperatly, when they ſee nothing within the place, but the force and ſtrength of men ſtout and reſolute, when they ſhall ſee vpon the walles, none but ſuch as haue their hands thirſting greedily after bloud, and whoſe bodies are euen vowed and deſtinate to die without all care or regard of life.

Scanderbeg remoueth old perſons, women & children out of the citie.

Queſtion. If better that women and children ſhould be excluded or retayned in a towne beſieged?

It was a pitifull ſpectacle to behold this mournfull multitude of the Croians, when they were to depart the towne, and to forſake their owne houſes & habitations, euery where was to be heard nothing but complaints and lamentations of women. There was no houſe, ſtreet, nor corner of the towne exempted or free from griefe & ſorrow: the market place did reſound with diuerſity of cries, ſome rebuking & ſome blaming their friends for their grieuing at their departure, others inuiting and procuring them to teares and exclamations. But the moſt notable marke and ſhew of the publique misfortune and dolefull affliction was to be ſeene at the temples and in the Churches, for there was a moſt maruellous concourſe of people of all ſorts and conditions. Infinite were the vowes and deuout praiers and ſupplications, intermingled with aboundance of tears & lamentations, which were poured forth before the Altars. And that which made the ſight of this miſerable calamity to be the more hideous and terrible, was a cuſtome which this nation had in doing outrage to themſelues, by tearing their faces and beating their breaſts moſt pitifully. The like paſſion and vehemency of griefe did appeare in the graue women & ancient matrones, who (beſides the deforming of their viſages) thought it a moſt pleaſant thing to imitate the ſorowfulnes of the others. Nothing

A notable deſcription of the lamentation of the Croians vpon their departure out of the city.

thing was held shamefull, nothing was accompted too much or excessiue in this accident: but shee was reputed to haue deserued most praise and commendation, whose discomfort was deemed to be most euident and apparant. There wanted not some also, who (according to the vse and nature of mortall men, though not without singular impiety and wickednes) did exclaime vpon the diuine power, attributing to God the cause of their griefe and misfortune. At the length when their sorrow (somewhat eased with their teares) began in part to be mitigated and appeased: the mothers (addressing their speaches to their sons) with oft repetitions would command them many things, euer and among embraeing them and kissing them. Sometimes they would put them in remembrance of the good offices and kind entreaty with which they had vsed them in their infancy, and of the mutuall loue and affection which they had deserued in recompence of their kindnesse: and sometimes would they shew their aged lockes, and their Venerable white haires. All of them were in one case and vsed like speaches: the wiues shewing their sucking babes vnto their husbands, did deplore & bewaile that from thenceforth they should remaine in their dwellings in case of orphanes, and in pittifull estate of widdowhood. The aged fathers (as men confounded) and altogether silent for very griefe, and being in a wonderfull great care & perplexity for the life of their sons, durst not by speaking vnto them, neither animate nor pricke forward their valiant hearts, who were of themselues sufficiently fierce & courageous. Neither durst they disswade them from the trauels and dangers of armes, nor frō their deuoire & perseuerance in their seuerall charges & duties, for doubt least they should be thought to prefer their affection to their children, before the loue and duty which they did owe vnto their country. But a general commandement being come from the Prince, that the town should be discharged of this burdensome company: & that they which were in armes, should repair euery man to his charge, (telling them that in heaping vp of vaine plaints, and by their priuate consultations, they did but spend & trifle away the time:) hereupon began the sorrow to be renued, their cries and their teares began a fresh, neither more nor lesse, then as if they had already seene the enemy to ransacke and spoile al things, to draw and drag away their husbands, their fathers, and their mothers into cruell bondage: to raze and breake downe their wals, and to violate, pollute, and prophane their Churches, and all holy and sacred mysteries. Hardly could the multitude be drawen from that which they had once embraced, and euery one would haue remained as the companion of his friends danger, and the partner of his fortune: notwithstanding, seeing that the criers and other officers of the Prince, did now presse and importune them to depart, (then taking their leaue with their last kisses and embracements) all of them at length, each after other, with sighes and groanes, left the sight of that which they held most deare: and still casting backe their eies towards the city wals, they set forward on their way without any care or regard, where they set their foote, or which way they went. It is sayd that they were transported into the townes of *Epire*, that lay vpon the sea side, and in other places and cities vnder the obeysance of the Venetians, and other their confederats: where likewise an innumerable multitude of husbandmen and laborers were retired, with their cattell, beasts, and moueables, to the intent the enemy should finde nothing to prey vppon, whereby he might be relieued or holpen.

After that the multitude was sent away, and that this trouble and tumult within the towne was ceased, *Scanderbeg* spent the rest of the day in dealing with the victuallers and marchants of corne, and other munitions, in appointing publique garners for graine, and distributing vnto euery souldier by the poll, victualles to serue him for a whole yeare. Besides, he gaue away a great quantity of weapons, and an infinit num-

Scanderbeg prouideth victuals, armour and munition for the warr.

ber of targets, to the intent by this his bounty and largesse, hee might preuent and assure the faith and deuotion of his souldiers: telling them (as he deliuered the same) that he gaue them with intent that they should keepe them continually to themselues: or (which he held more commendable) that they should employ them against their enemies. Thus did he ordaine & take order for all things, and by sundry gifts and presents did he binde and allure vnto himselfe the good will and affection of euery one. The day following sending for *Vranocontes* an Epirot by birth, and by him lately appointed gouernor of *Croy* (a man whom he highly loued and fauored, both for the merit of his ancesters, and for the proofe & testimony of his owne vertue) with him he debated concerning many things: and a long time enquiring and demanding of him, what he thought of the siege of *Croy*, and of the wiles and cunning sleights of the Turks. Their conference being ended, he came forth into the market place, and there in the midst of his armed forces, with a high and loud voice (appealing to the faith & loialty of them all in generall, and enioyning them to behaue themselues wel and manfully) he recommended vnto them the protection and safety of the city, & assuring each of them both of reward and recompence, in case they were faithfull and loyall, and of condigne punishment if he found them trecherous and disloyal. He admonished them chearfully to behaue themselues in discharge of their duties, and the defence of the towne: and that with a setled and obstinate resolution, they should repell the enemy from approching neare them: and not to suffer themselues in any case to haue any conference or communicatiõ with the aduersary, nor to listen, or to haue their ears open to any perswasions they should vse. That the *Ottoman* by such deuises would lie in wait, & vnder colour of a mortall and pernicious peace, would deceiue them by such illusions and perswasions, if they did not looke well to themselues, or if he found thẽ any thing willing to leane vnto him, or credulous to beleeue him. Contrariwise if he found them coragiously affected, and their ears deafe and stopped vp against his vaine flatteries and allurements: his first assaies being frustrat and disappointed, his misfortune would make him in time to trusse vp baggage, and depart confounded and vtterly ashamed; except it did so fal out, that (as one desperat and voide of hope) he were caried away with a furious desire to see the end and ruine of his own people: and by a rash & vnaduised hope (to satisfie the mallice of his wrathful courage) he would cast himselfe headlong into the manifest and euident danger of destruction. That their towne was so notably defensible, and so exceedingly strong by the naturall site thereof, that the very place alone (though the citizens should in a manner sit still with their hands bound behind them) would easily contemne & set at naught al the violence that could be attempted against it. Then what can I say more (quoth he) to admonish you? or wherefore should I sollicite or animate those any longer, whose valour and fidelity being so often tried and approued, is well knowen almost throughout the whole world? in such sort, that were it, you had neuer giuen me any proofe & triall, nor left me any testimony of your constancy, yet neuertheless I should thinke it greater reason, that my citizens should deceiue me, then that I should any way distrust their fidelity.

Vranocontes gouernor of *Croy*.

Encouragemẽt of Scanderbeg to the Croians, who instructeth them how to demeane thẽselues against the Turkes.

The strong situation of the city of *Croy*.

Scanderbeg hauing finished these exhortations to those of *Croy*, he tooke his leaue of all the company, & issued presently out of the city. At his departure, infinit people, and in a maner the whole city did conduct and attend him, till he was passed without the Port: the which being shut vp with all speed and diligence, he came to the rest of his forces which lay encamped in a faire plaine, in the open view and sight of the towne. And immediatly after he had scoured the fieldes, he sounded to horse, and caused his campe to march, the which had not gone far, but he met with *Moses*, who came vnto him accompanied with a goodly regiment of his owne and very well appointed. He

Scanderbeg issued from Croy to the Campe.

Moses ioyneth with Scanderbeg with his Regiment.

was

was newly returned from *Sfetigrade*, the which being seated vpon the Turkish frontiers, was cause of great doubt and care to *Scanderbeg*: but the *Dibrian* had taken order for the fortification and defence therof, and had assured it with all things requisit, both with men, munition, victuals, and certaine bulwarks according as he thought needful and conuenient. And he had remoued out of that place also all those, the weaknes and imbecillity of whose age or sexe, might work any impeachment or hinderance to the safety of the towne. The gouernment of the place he cõmitted to *Peter Perlat*, a graue and wise captaine, and one that was well experienced in armes and martiall affaires. But that which at the beginning was held to be most for the suerty of the towne, and seemed to be ordered with best aduise and discretion, did discouer it selfe in the end by the euent and issue, to be the losse and destruction of that garrison: for that it consisted almost wholly of Dibrians: of which our *Moses* had expresly made choise out of all the forces of *Albany*, as of the chiefest and best souldiers among all the peoples of *Epire*. *Scanderbeg* did like so well of his deuise, that he commended him greatly, & then hauing so well fortified, and so abundantly furnished this place, he deliuered vnto him certain other companies (which he had there in a readines, and were prouided for the stuffing and filling of all the fortresses within the prouince) sending both him and diuers others of his Princes and chiefe captaines, to see all places prouided for, with such forces, as should be thought needfull & necessary. So that there was not almost any, but had his particular charge and imployment: to the intent each one doing his deuoire with all diligence, there might not ensue any danger by delay or negligence. He himselfe with a small company of horse, galloped to the gates of *Sfetigrade*: for he was in greater care and torment for that city onely, then any man can expresse or would imagine, as if by some secret inspiration, he had forseene the misfortune that was to come vpon it. Wherefore the better to strengthen the courages of them of that garrison, and to make them acquainted, and to arme them against the traines and cunning practises of *Amurath*, (which he feared and doubted as much or more then his open forces;) he entred into the midst of the towne, where the souldiers were thickest and in greatest numbers, and there in the presence of many of the chiefest and most notable men of marke, (who stood round about him) he vsed these or the like speeches vnto them.

Sfetigrade fortified by Moses

Peter Perlat gouernour of Sfetigrade.

If you would haue wished (you men and citizens of *Sfetigrade*) for a fit occasion to eternize your faith and fidelity, and by some memorable & singular example to make shew of your loialty, and to preserue the remembrance therof euerlasting & perpetual: God (infinitly good and omnipotent) could not haue presented you at this time with a better nor fitter subiect & oportunity then this, that hath now called you to arms, and which hath caused you to take your weapons into your hands. In the former wars we fought for victory, for glory, for the reputation of our realme and country: but now we are to fight for the pulique safety of the common liberty, & for the wals and preseruation of this your city and country: in defence whereof, it behoueth you to striue with your vttermost forces and endeuors, least the infinit praises and commendations, and that excellent honour and glory, which you haue happily deserued and purchased by armes vnder my conduct, be now stained and blemished with great shame and ignomy. The better and greater part of our good fortune consisteth in your vertue, because the first attempt of *Amurath* presently vpon his entry into *Epire*, & the first fury of the Barbarians (my self will be the man who shall first acquaint you with this danger) will be addressed against you and your city: to the intent, that the first fence & bulwarke of the prouince being beaten downe and razed, he may the more freely lead on his forces into the heart of the countrey, which by this meanes will be the more exposed to the violence of his fury. The first fruites therefore of this war, doth stay and attend for

The oration of Castriot vnto the citizens of Sfetigrade.

» you. Wherefore if there be any valour remaining in your hearts, and if the mindes of
» men ſo braue and valiant be any thing carefull or mindfull of liberty, you may eaſilie
» tame and abate the proud attempts of the enemy, and you may ſoone ruinat, and van-
» quiſh theſe arrogant and haughty ſtomacks. According to your cariage and behaui-
» our wil the *Ottoman* begin to conceiue either feare and diſcomfort, or hope and good
» heart. If he find you ſo ſtout and full of courage, as I do now ſee you to be furious and
» reſolute, he will be in doubt leaſt he be encountred in all other places, with a greater
» violence and much more forceable and dangerous. So ſhall you teach him to forbeare
» and abſtaine from the other cities of *Epire*, & to reſerue himſelf to more eaſie exploits:
» making him vnwilling to preſſe you with any long ſiege: or elſe (if his age make him
» ſo wilfull & ſo vnaduiſedly obſtinat, as to ſeeke to force you) his troupes (I doubt not)
The ſtrength of Sfetigrade » ſhall waxe gray headed ere they depart. For ſuch is the naturall ſituation of this place,
» that it need not feare nor make accompt of any aduerſary how fierce & furious ſoeuer.
» Reſolue your ſelues therefore (my good citizens:) and by the firmnes of your determi-
» nations, and the conſtancy of your faith, doe you purchaſe vnto your ſelues and your
» country this immortall victory. Vpon the ſucceſſe of your vertue and proweſſe, (I do
» repeat it willingly) doth depend the faith and conſtancy of the reſt of the people of *Al-*
» *bany*. All men haue their eyes fixt vppon you, either to commend you or condemne
» you, or to follow and imitate your vertue. What need I vſe any further ſpeaches? that
» which is wanting, I had rather you (moſt worthy Dibrians) ſhould meditate with
» your ſelues, then that in aduertiſing you with ouer much care and curioſitie, I might
» ſeeme by many wordes to haue conceiued ſome ſecrete doubt and miſtruſt of your
» faith and loialty.

Amurath leaueth a mighty army againſt Scanderbeg.

The ſame time that *Caſtriot* with his forces here and there aſſembled from all parts of *Epire*, was making towards *Croy*, to take order for the ſafety and aſſurance of that city: the Turkiſh army which had bene leauied in *Aſia*, was tranſported into *Europe*, and by long iorneis was arriued at *Andrinople*, their numbers not exceeding 40000. For whenſoeuer the *Sultan* had any war in *Europe*, the moſt part of his forces were vſually leauied in thoſe quarters neare the ſame place: both for that the ſouldiers of thoſe parts are better acquainted & accuſtomed with the maners of the Chriſtians in their wars, and alſo for that their preparations may be there made more commodiouſly, & with greater celerity, as being at home and in his owne countrey.

Amurath conſulteth with his Baſſaes for the order of the proceedings of the wars againſt Scanderbeg.

Whileſt the *Ottoman* forces did on all parts daily take head together, and that *Amurath* had almoſt ended his great preparations, and had aſſembled a great and mighty puiſſance, hee called a counſell of his Baſſaes and moſte expert Chiefetains, in the which they propounded and debated vpon diuerſe meanes and manners for the commencement and beginning of the war. Some held opinion that without any temporizing or further daliance, it were neceſſary to ſend before into *Epire* a running campe of
Alcanzi, aduenturers without pay. » horſemen (whom they call *Alcanzi* or *Achimzi*,) and whom we may wel reſemble to
» our aduenturers, (a moſt cruell and brutiſhe kinde of people, and giuen extreamelie to
» robbing and ſtealing.) And that theſe, as an outragious tempeſt comming vpon them
» ſodainely, and ſurprizing them at vnawares, with notable violence ſhould deſtroy,
» confound, and turne all vp ſide downe: and that the enemy (not carrying themſelues
» very wary and circumſpect) but vnder colour of fained fight, being deluded and de-
» ceiued by theſe troupes, ſhould be drawen forth to the fight, in ſuch ſort, that his maie-
» ſty following neare at hand (in proper perſon) with the groſſe of his whole army,
» might the more eaſily and entirely oppreſſe and vanquiſhe them. Others were of a
» contrary aduiſe, perſwading him in any caſe to forbeare by ſuch meanes to prouoke,
» and incite the enemy: for feare either of giuing occaſion to the Chriſtians to prouide

them-

themselues of things necessary for so long and tedious a warre, or least they themselues might runne headlong first of all into their traines and counterwayes: that the late slaughters sustained by others had sufficiently taught them. Besides that they had intelligence (which was now euery where and commonly reported) that the whole prouince of *Albanie*, being throughly prouided and prepared, was already in armes, their townes strongly fortified, and their fortresses garnished with souldiours for their defence, and with other preparatiues in good quantitie: and that all places both passages and streightes were purposely possessed and full of souldiours: that *Scanderbeg* with the residue of his troupes did dayly ride vppe and downe visiting the prouince, and searching and viewing the thickettes and secret corners of the woodds and forrestes, to the intent he might once againe conueniently and according to his minde lodge in them his happy and fortunate ambushments: that it was a most pernitious thing to imagine to preuaile against so cautelous and warie an enemy by warring in that manner: that they ought rather to take an other course of better assurance, and which the issue and euent might not yet once againe reproue and condemne, as it had done in times past. For what should let (sayd they) but that all of them might miscarie vnder the sword of the *Albanois* before that the same succours of a campe so heauily charged should be able to retaine them. Wherefore to preuent the Christians that they should not by the bloud and slaughter of their people, presage vnto themselues any good fortune in this warre, they held it better to march on with their whole armie all at once, to the intent they might at length deliuer the Empire of *Ottoman*, from the labour and burthen of this troublesome warre. Neither of these opinions was allowed, but a third (indifferent betweene both) caried away the matter, as being more fitte and commodious for the qualitie of that time, and for the honour and reputation of such an enterprise. It was concluded therefore that the third part or little lesse of the whole army, should aduaunce forward before the residue, supposing that that number would suffice, not onely to repell, and keepe the enemy from going forward (but if neede were) to set vppon them: and that by their sodaine comming, they should be able both to disturbe the course of the enemies affaires and purpose, and consequently to prepare a free passage for the army royall of his Maiesty.

Amurath sendeth part of his army before to besiege Sfetygrade.

According to this conclusion, there were immediatly chosen & sent away 40000. light horsemen, whose ordinary armes were sword & targer, & lance, a plate of maile and a mace of iron. Their commission was to march on directly, the next and shortest way towards *Sfetigrade*, and there to begin the siege of that place, according as they amongst them selues should aduise and deliberate. *Amurath* after his counsell was ended, commaunded the residue of his army to be mustered, and to be raunged in order of battell. Infinite almost was the number of the leaders and commanders, for ordinarily their trouppes are deuided into diuers Regimentes, or charges, which they call Flamburats or Saniacks, and are gouernments of prouinces, vnder whom doe march the Timariots, which properlie are those which haue a yearely fee or stipend allowed them. And euery Flambur hath vnder him also many Subaffides or chiefes of companies, who are of a higher regard and accompt, and haue a larger stipend then the Timariots: and according to their qualities are allowed either a greater or lesse number of horsemen vnder their charge. The foote bands likewise both of *Asia* and *Europe* haue their order certaine, and are distributed into seuerall companies vnder their Captaines. In like manner the auxiliary forces, or extraordinarie succours (which in time of warre are commonlie decreed, and sent to the Grand Seignior) were not of any meane or small number. Besides there were a great multitude of

The order and diuision of the Turkish armie.

Flambur.

Saniacke a Counsell of horsemen.

Timariot a horseman.

Subaffides a leader of horsemen.

voluntarie men (as in all expeditions cõmonly there is no want of such.) After all these followed about three thousand men, all of them banqueroute and indebted, or for some misdeede and forfeiture rased and casierd out of the Prince his pay, with a great number also of other youthfull and lustie gallants: all which line in hope and expectation, and doe seeke by some notable and valiant acte, either to abolish their former disgrace and ignominy, & to be restored to their former estate & degree: or else to deserue of their King and Emperour some new reward, or some militarie pay and stipend. The tent or pauillion of the soueraigne is continually garded by more then 7000. armed men, whereof some were on horsebacke and are named *Spachi*, *Sulastari* and *Vlufagi*. The others (who are called *Ianissaries* & may be properly accounted of the *Sultan* his familie) are all footemẽ & like to the Macedonian phalange, or squadrõ of pikemen amongst the ancient Macedonians. These were newly instituted & raysed by *Amurath*, a most warrelike and martiall kinde of men picked and chosen of purpose: and them he commonly reserued for the last refuge in fight, and for the securitie and defence of his person: & by the valure of these, both he and his successors haue obtained so many great & mighty conquests, & subdued all the leuant. Besides all these, for the greater shew & ostẽtation of his forces, there marched with them a most wonderfull & marueilous multitude of slaues & base persons vnarmed: whom he had brought together & ioyned to his army, to terrifie rather then to imploy them against the enemy: and to the intent also that these being offered to the sword & butchered (as a flock of sheepe appointed to the slaughter) might so wearie and weaken the enemy by ouerlabouring them selues in killing of them, as they might haue the better hand, & more easily preuaile against them: which is one of the greatest and most notable stratagems that the Turkes doe account of amongest the whole number of their martiall policies. Two principall chiefs had the conducting of this army whõ they call *Beillerbies* as a man should say Lords of Lords (one of them being the chiefe commander of *Asia*, the other in *Europe*.) It would be tedious to the reader, if I should vndertake to recoũt and enroll euery particular by name: it shall suffice therefore for this matter, briefly in this place to haue set downe some certaintie concerning the summe and whole number of this army, wherein also (aswell as in other points) there is som variance & contradiction which may in some sort diminish the credit & truth of the thing in the opinion of such men as do approue nothing, but that which is sure and certaine. For some there be who affirme, that the great Turke had in his campe 150000. fighting men: namely 90000. horsemẽ & 60000. footemẽ. Others say, he had but 120000. in al, deducting from the horse 20000. & frõ the foote 10000. For my part I hold it not much material, whether of these 2. opiniõs we cleaue vnto, & yet in my iudgement the greater number seemeth more likely, if we will make it answerable to the wonderfull preparations which were so long time forethought on, & in prouiding: and yet true it is, that this army was not so exactly ordered, nor the discipline therof so streightly regarded, as it was vsually when the Turkish monarch marched into the field, & purposed to fight a battell: where cõmonly the true value & vertue doth liuely shew it selfe. For all the endeuors & all the preparations did tend & were ordeined for the besieging of townes, & the battering of wals, rather thẽ for any seruices in the plaine & open fields.

Spachi. Sulastari. Vlufagi. Ianissari.

A Turkish stratagem.

Beillerbey.

The number of the Turkes forces.

After that *Scanderbeg* had confirmed the courages of the *Sfetygradians*, and assured the estate of their affaires, so far as he thought it expedient: he remoued from thence to other places of his dominion: and visiting all the prouince with singular vigilancie and quicknesse of spirit, he did pricke forward & enflame the faithfull harts of his subiects, sometimes by commending them, somtimes by presents and gifts, and somtimes by the shewes and representation of the horror and hugenes of the danger imminent.

Scanderbeg visiteth and encourageth all parts within his prouince.

Moses

Moſes in the meane time had fortified all places with ſtrong garriſons, with prouiſiõs of corne, armor, & other munitiõs ſufficiẽt, to abide any fortune & extremitie of war. Wherfore the care of all theſe matters being now laid aſide: *Scanderbeg* with all ſpeed went to his armie not farre from *Croy*, where they were commanded to attend his returne. The *Dibrian* with his companie did ouertake him on the way, and then ioyning their forces together in one, with great ioye and comfort they reſorted to the Campe. Scarce had they any leaſure to ſpeake vnto the ſouldiours, or to the Captaines, but that there came ſodaine and ſtraunge newes: and meſſengers from all parts arriuing one after an other, bringing theſe fearefull and ſorowfull tydings: That the enemy was come already, that the countrey was on all ſides of a light fire, and that all things were in a miſerable eſtate and confuſion. They certified him (as feare maketh men credulous) and yet were they vncertaine of it, that *Amurath* him ſelfe was there in perſon, and had already filled and couered with armes, men, and horſes, both the mountaines and vallyes, and the champion and plaine countreys: and they inſtantly prayed their Prince, to prouide for the ſuretie of his troupes, and of his perſon eſpecially: and not of a pernitious and ouer much hardineſſe to attend in plaine field at the firſt comming, the furious violence of ſo puiſſant an enemy: that he would retire his ſouldiers into ſome place of a notable height & inacceſsible, from whence he might behold the vſage of the enemy, and ſo to deuiſe and reſolue vpon ſome ſure courſe, which ſhould be moſt for his profit and commoditie.

The Turkes inuade Epire.

Theſe ſpeeches did not much moue *Scanderbeg*, neither could theſe perſwaſions make him diſlodge from that place, whereof he had once made choiſe to encampe in: neuertheleſſe when he perceiued and vnderſtood that his ſcoutes did on all ſides returne vnto him with more then poſting ſpeede: and their reportes did agree all in one, ſaue that they differed in the number and quantitie of the enemies forces, of which they coniectured diuerſly, (for the Turkes were not yet ſeene nor diſcouered altogether: neither were they deſcended all of them into the plains: neither were their Batallions ſo vnited and ordred, that a true and certaine eſtimat could be made of their iuſt numbers:) *Caſtriot* thereupon chooſing out of his whole army, 4000. horſe, and 1000. foote, whom he commaunded to follow him and diſlodging as ſecretly as he could, from thence drew directly towardes *Sfetigrade*, where he knew that the enemies were to encampe themſelues. It was in the dawning of the morning in the twilight, that the ſouldiers had the ſigne giuen them to ſet forward. The day following notwithſtanding, when it was ſcarce the third houre of the night, they came to encampe within ſeauen miles of *Sfetigrade*, betweene which towne and *Croy*, were litle leſſe then 60. miles. There *Scanderbeg* hauing choſen a place ſure and commodious for his company, cauſed it to be entrenched round about, making it by that meanes more ſtrong and defenſible. Afterwards hauing diſtributed both horſe and foote into the ſeuerall quarters of the campe, he commaunded to ſet the watch and to place the courts of guard, and then ſecretely to ſearch out what places were fit to ſerue for ambuſcadoes: meane while he forbad all of them in generall to make any fires within the trenches. All things being thus diſpoſed and ſet in order, and euery man being commanded to vſe ſilence: he (taking with him *Moſes* & *Tanuſe de Thopy*) went to ſuruey and conſider vpon the forme and ſituation of the campe and countenaunce of the enemy: and with great ſecreſie, ſometimes through the thickets of the forreſtes, ſometimes by the ſecrete paſſages of the vallies, he gained the toppe of a certaine mountaine directly oppoſite againſt *Sfetigrade*, from the height whereof, hauing diligently noted and ſurueyed all things by faire day light, he tooke his way very quickely backe againe into his owne Campe. The execution hereof was not without mar-

Scanderbeg with 5000. m̃ againſt the enemie.

Scanderbeg go eth to ſuruey the campe and countenance of the enemie.

uellous contrariety of opinions, for seeing the barbarians were encāped vnder the wals of the Towne, and were possessed both of the mountaines adioyning and of the fieldes vnderneath them: the chiefe leaders did not see any great likelihood or appearance (without some notable losse of their men) how to execute any thing with good successe, because the daunger was manifest and imminent, that so small a number charged with so great a puissance sometimes in the plaine, and sometimes in the descent of the mountaines, should easily be broken & ouerthrowen. They doubted also (which was a cause necessarily constraining them for that time to abstaine from all reason of fight) least the residue of the royall troupes, comming vpon them sodainly and vnprouided, they should be all entangled, enclosed and shut vppe in the middest of them: and for the same reason they held it as perillous to call the garrison forth to helpe them. It was held therefore more expedient and a course of more certaintie and safetie to separate & deuide (if it were possible) by their ordinarie sleightes the power & forces of the aduersarie: and being once sundred & deuided to draw them into places of greatest disaduantage. Nothing was done notwithstāding for that day, because the night (comming vpon them) did preuēt their determination: only there were sent forth certain scoutes on all sides both far & neare, to discouer the approch of *Amurath*, and that the enemy should lay no ambushmēts to entrap thē. The moitie of that night was allowed thē to take their rest, the residue was imployed in diuers actiōs & affaires, for that the Prince of *Albanie* (changing his first lodging) went to encampe somwhat nearer the town, so that he was not now aboue 5. myles from the enemy: supposing & hoping that (being once entised forth to fight) the nearer he was to them the more easily they might be ouerthrowen. Wherefore after that euery man had sufficiently rested himselfe & taken some repast: & all of them being ready at hand with store of such things as were needfull & requisite, first those places which were fit for ambushments, he filled with able and lusty men: and the thickets and bushes he enuironed on all sides with store of souldiours, of which number such as serued on foote, were placed in the wings and steepe of the mountaines not easie to be approched, or in the thicke of the woods and bushes: himselfe taking his place among the horsemen, kept at the foote & bottome of the mountaines all along the plaine, and in the crookes and turnings of the vallies.

Scanderbeg consulteth vpō the manner of assayling the enemie.

This done, he called vnto him *Moses* & *Musache de Angelina* (a gentleman of special marke, & one of the chiefest among the horsemen) whō hauing exhorted with many good and friendly speeches, he sent accompanied with 30. others (all young men both hardy and courageous) willing them to allure forth the enemy out of their trenches, and to draw them within the daunger of his traines and ambuscadoes. You must not thinke that *Scanderbeg* did forget to make choise of his companie out of the most worthy & sufficient of all his bands both the men & their horses: besides they were disguised in the apparell & furniture of simple souldiers, least that their militarie habit (being any thing rich and sumptuous) should discouer their attempt, which he had an especiall desire to keepe secret. There was scant any of the souldiers but had an other horse loden with corne, to driue before him, to the intent they should be taken for forragers indeede, who returned from gathering it abroad. And that nothing might be wanting for the aduantage of this martiall pollicie & to beguile the enemy, they were enioyned to bend towards the town by such waies as were least vsed & frequented, & on that side where the mountaine was free, and not garded by the enemy: & that they should make shew as though they ment that way to enter into *Sfetigrade*. These leaders (being very expert & of a quicke & excellent conceipt) did not omit any thing of that which was commanded them: and the souldiers also with singular obedience & resolution did follow thē most chearefully, not doubting any dāger that might befall them:

A notable stratageme of Scanderbeg practized against the Turkes.

Vpon

Vpon the dawning of the day, and by that time that the ſtatres began to grow out of ſight by the breake of the morning, they were now come within little more then a myle of the tentes of the enemy: at ſuch time as the Turkes ſentinels hauing diſcouered them from aloft, began firſt by ſignes ſhewed in the aire, & then by their often cries & clamors to bewray them. They nothing troubled nor abaſhed with their noiſe, did only haſten their pace ſomwhat faſter: (for as yet, neither needed they to feare any danger from the enemy, neither would their flight haue bene to any purpoſe.) At the lēgth one of the Turkiſh ſquadrōs being wakened by the ſentinels, & yet (by reaſon of their ſleepe being in ſome doubt) taking their weapons in their hand, they aduanced them ſelues forward & began to ruſh vpon thē, ſuppoſing them to be ſhepheards, or peaſants loden with corn. The Albanois diſdayning the ſmal number that came to aſſault thē, prepared themſelues with more courage then reaſon, to receiue them: notwithſtanding vpon their firſt approch, reculing a little backe, they turned their backes, faining them ſelues to be afrayde. The Barbarians coniecturing their feare by their flight, purſued after them with great ſpeede and charged them behinde in moſt rude & furious manner. Then they all at once ſtopping their horſes, turned about, and making head againſt them (with their ſwordes drawen,) they went on and drew neare to encounter them (as being enforced by neceſsitie either to incur the laſt extremitie of danger,) or elſe by oppoſing their bodies and turning their faces to make reſiſtance and to repulſe the violence with which they were ſo egerly purſued: for that whileſt they held on this their diſſembled flight, they were in manifeſt daunger, their enemies horſes euen breathing cloſe at their backes: yet were not the Turkes any whit abaſhed for all this, but couering them ſelues with their large targettes, and meaſuring the enemy by their habite onely, they approched them, and were the firſt that gaue the onſet againſt them. One of them borne in *Aſia*, being of a mighty ſtature and wonderfull ſtrong made, marched before his fellowes with a heauy mace of iron, the which after he had oftentimes whirled about with his right hand to giue it the more force, with a mighty cry and clamor, and with an incredible violence, he threw it ouerthwart the whole troupe of the Albanois: the which (being cloſe knit and ioyned together) albeit they ſuſtained no harme thereby, yet could they not auoyd the force of the blow cōming againſt them ſo violently and rudely. For being caried with a maruellous force into the middeſt of the troupe, a yong Dibrian tooke and bare the blow vpon his target: and therewithall the others following their fellow, the fight was begun ech aſſailing other with his Courtelax. The number of the combattants being almoſt equal & their armes not much vnlike, it was a very goodly and pleaſant ſight, and it gaue good grace vnto the combat. For the Turkes were no better armed then the Chriſtians, by reaſon they made ſuch haſt out of their trenches, and did in a maner contemne their enemies. The weapons wherewith they were armed, was but a cimitary and a ſhield. In one point only the Infidels had the diſaduantage, and that was, that the very choiſe and beſt men at armes, and the floure of the youth of *Albany* was there in place, where as their company on the contrary were intermingled with people of no reckoning & men of valure both together: for that according as the skoutes had raiſed them confuſedly and in tumult, ſo did they iſſue forth both one & other to the fight. This was the occaſion that euen in the very firſt fury of the encounter, their fortune did appeare to be far inferior. For the Aſian (in whom conſiſted the ſtrength of the reſt) being ſlaine by the hand of *Moſes*, the others were ſuprized with an incredible feare, diſpairing not only of the victory, but alſo of their life & ſafety, if they had not ſpeedily ſome ſuccors from the campe. Wherefore by litle & litle retiring themſelues, in the end they began to ſhew their backs: and (with change of fortune) by a moſt ſhameſull flight, forſooke

Moſes and others ſent to draw the Turkes forth to fight.

A skirmiſh becomme certain Turkes and Epirots.

The Turks fall to flight.

draw

the field in the which but a little before, they had so hotly and fiercely pursued others. *Albanois* gaue them libertie to flye where they would, without giuing them any ill wordes, or in shewe of their victorie making any cry after the vanquished, but gathering themselues soberly neare vnto their captaines, without any regard had, either of the bodies or of the spoiles of those which were slaine, they returned to their beasts of cariage: & (as men that desired, but to saue themselues) they made hast to driue them the way from whence they came. Their audacitie and courage was greatly augmented through fortunat successe of this encounter, yet did they defer all their ioy, till such time as they had accomplished a happy cõclusion of the enterprise which they had vndertaken. It chanced that one of their company well knowen amongst his fellowes, through his manifold good desertes in the wars, found himselfe to be greeuously wounded: in somuch that his continuall complaints, and the impatiencie of his paine proceeding of his wound, did greatly trouble the contentment of all the rest, and did not a little discomfort his companions: for one of the Turkes with his sword had thrust him through the left shoulder so as he had not sufficient strength, either to carie his armes, or to guide his owne horse. *Moses* tooke great compassion of his griefe, and dismounting from horseback, he tooke him downe with his owne handes, and set him vppe behinde one of the souldiours, to whose charge hee committed him, willing him to haue a care that he did not fall from behinde him, because if he galloped his horse, his handes were not able to sustaine him: and that he should make hast with all speede possible to carie him to the Campe, to the intent before any other allarme or tumult were raysed by the enemie, he might be gotten within the tentes amongest his companions: as for the rest of his fellowes, they were all sound, and not one of them besides him, returned hurt from the medly: Of the Circumsized there were fiue slaine and eight wounded, few to count of, but yet many in regard of their small number.

The Turkes campe in a tumult vpon the discomfiting of their fellowes.

By that time that the horse (whereon the two souldiours were mounted) had caried them quite out of sight, there was heard a maruellous cry and noyse in the Campe of *Amurath*: for those which had bene wounded, at their returne filled all with their plaints and exclamations, and shewing their deformed and vnmeasurable woundes, they set all the hoast of the enemy in a tumult and a rage: especially such as were of any affinitie to those that were slaine. Wherefore (not respecting any cõmand made to the contrarie) they disbanded themselues on all sides from their ensignes without any chiefe, without order and all discretion, according as their anger and desire of reuenge enflamed them: but proclamation being made ouer the whole armie, by the commandement of their commander, that no man should stirre or bouge, euery man retired: then they arranged themselues in order of battell before his tents, there attending his pleasure. Their Generall did greatly doubt the accustomed sleights and traines of the Christians: suspecting that vnder pretence of forraging, some notable deceipt and guilefull pollicie might be lurking: and the rather, for that the strange largenesse of the woundes of his souldiours, did plainely argue that it was not the arme of any base or rascall persons, nor the swordes of countrey clownes that could giue such strokes and cruell blowes. He determined therfore to take out of his whole armie foure thousand horse, such as were most fierce and venturous: to the intent the fewnesse & small nũber of his people might not stil cause them to returne with shame and disgrace: them he enioyned both to scatter those forragers, and to put them from their horses: and then with diligent search to raunge throughout all the mountaines, hils, valleyes, woods and secret places to discouer the ambushments of the *Albanois*.

Neare about the time of these directions, the souldiour whom the *Dibrian* had sent

with

with his hurt companion was arriued in presence of *Scanderbeg*, and hauing deliuered his charge to some of his fellowes, who came to meete him, and willing them to haue a care to the curing of his wounds; himselfe ranne vp and downe in the sight of the souldiers, as one almost out of his wits: and calling many by their names he cried with a loud voice, Arme arme, the enemy is comming, all their camp is in arms, they haue taken their allarme: and (pointing with his finger) he shewed them the dust, as an argument of their comming. At the first, *Scanderbeg* was somewhat moued & abashed, fearing least his people had miscaried, for of all the troupe he saw but two onely returned, and both of them (as it were) shamefully flying: the one of them also halfe dead, embrued and polluted with the warme blood that yet issued from his wounds: and the other by the fooliſh crie and exclamation which he made, did shew himselfe full of feare and ill assured. But after he vnderstood by him how all things had passed; his sorrow being turned into laughter, and his care into boldnesse & confidence, he willed his men to be al of good courage, and that euery one should be in a readines with his horse & armor. By this time had our Sentinels (which were placed vpon the height of the mountaines) discouered *Moses* and the Turkes comming after him, ouer the plaine champion, euen readie to fall into their ambuscado, and to be deliuered to the sword of the Epirots. For at the first our men made no great haste, but rode on, driuing their beasts faire and easily, bending their course sometimes here, sometimes there, and rather attending for them, then flying from them: but as soone as they perceiued a farre off, that the Infidelles were issued foorth of their trenches: then leauing both their sackes & their carriage, they prepared themselues to a round and speedie flight. Wherefore hauing poasted ouer the plaine in a moment, they got to a hill which (on the North side being opposite vnto a certaine valley) did couer the center and bottome thereof, where our men lay close, and couertly encamped: and before they were ouertaken with the danger, or that the enemy could presse too neere vpon them, they did secretly conuey themselues among their fellowes, both they and their horses so spent and out of breath with their continuall coursing and trauell, that it made shew they had fled in good earnest. The enemie perceiuing that they were in a moment gotten out of sight, & thinking (because they were so suddenly slipt away from the top of the mountaine) that they were hidden in the bottome of the valley. They followed directly after thē without any feare or consideration. But as they came neere vnto the place, to the intent they might more easily enuiron and enclose them, both on the one side & on the other, all scattered & out of order, they prepared themselues, some to gaine the top of the hill, and others by some meanes or other to enter into the valley. But at their arriuall notwithstanding, hearing a great neighing of many horses, they began to be astonished, & to stand still, without speaking a word, but vsing silence for a season, till such time as the noise of the horses being more certainly discouered, and growing more sensible to be heard, did manifestly discouer the ambuscado of the enemie. Then did all things seeme greater vnto them by sight of the eye, then they had imagined by the eare: and the vncertaintie of the danger being interpreted (as is vsuall) according to the greatnes of their feare, did easily perswade this people (thus amazed & terrified) to betake themselues to present and speedy flight. As they were ready to breake & make away, *Scanderbeg* (cōmanding the trumpets speedily to sound, & putting them in a wonderfull feare as not expecting any such thing) made head against them, & went to charge thē on the right hand, *Tanusee* on the left hand, & the footmen frō a loft out of those ragged & woddy places of the mountains, where they lay in ambush descending suddenly vpon thē, all at one instant, with great fury did beat them downe & ouerthrow them: neuertheless they did abide, surprised

Alarme in the campe of Scanderbeg.

Turkes pursue Moses and his companie.

Turkes fall into the Ambuscado of the Epirots.

rather with a kind of admiration & aſtoniſhment, then of any certaine reſolution to endure the fight. But when they ſaw that neceſſitie did enforce them, & that the furie of the Chriſtians did vrge thē to do their beſt: then ſetting ſpurs to their horſes, with ſingular fiercenesſe they got poſſeſſion of the mountaine: where firſt lifting vp their lances, & caſting thē againſt the enemy (as if they had bin darts) for that the vprightnes of the place, the vneuennes of the ground, & being withall very ſteepe, did not ſuffer them otherwiſe to helpe themſelues with thoſe weapons: they kept the ſouldiers for a time from cōming neere them. But *Peic Manuel* being gotten vpon the hill on the other ſide, with a company of footmen (of which 200. were archers, & as many crosbowes) did ſoone beate them off the place & droue them downe with more then good ſpeed. Beneath were they beſet on all ſides with our forces, & aboue them did the intollerable violence of the ſhot ſo gaull them, that there was ſcarce any free place for the miſerable wretches to get forth. In this extremity, drawing forth their Cimitaries & deuiding thēſelues into two troupes, deſperately they ruſhed vpon their enemies, & (as men that had cloſed their eyes againſt all perils) with a greater ſlaughter of their companies they oppoſed themſelues to the blowes & ſwords of the enemy. But it was no difficult matter for the greater to beat back the leſſer nūber: & for men freſh & ſound, to put them to the retreat who were wery & ſore trauelled: eſpecially in the right ſide, where *Scanderbeg* himſelf with a groſſe troup, both of horſe & foot armed with pikes did ſtand in manner of a wall or ſtrong bulwarke. This was an occaſion that the Turks did altogether reſolue thēſelues to try the vttermoſt of their valure: & therfore ioining themſelues cloſe together in one ſtrong ſquadron, they gaue in vpon the left ſide, and with an equal & deſperate kind of fury, they made thēſelues way with their ſwords, euen through the midſt of our battallion: and thus purchaſing thēſelues a paſſage with great loſſe & bloudſhed, the remnant fighting & flying al at once, prouided for their owne ſafety. Then began a ſudden confuſion, and the Albanois forſaking both their ranks & the keeping of the mountain, (euery man forgetting all other matters) tooke care only to purſue the vanquiſhed, & made haſt to the executiō, laboring by all means poſſible to make the others alſo in their fight copartners of the like mortall calamity & bloudy ſlaughter. In that tumult (when they ſought to iſſue thorough the enemy) more were beaten downe & ouerthrowen, by their owne weight & the armes of their fellowes, then by the power of the aduerſary. Notwithſtanding there eſcaped of them litle leſſe then 2000. the reſidue remained behind for a gage, and their carkaſſes (whileſt they were yet panting) being diſpoiled, were left naked vpon the ground, in thoſe very places where their deſtiny had laid them. Of thoſe that fled about 80. were taken priſoners, the reſidue were not purſued aboue 20. paces or little more, becauſe of the ſudden retreat ſounded by cōmand of *Scanderbeg*, who cōtented himſelf with this victory: alleaging that if he ſhould ſuffer his ſouldiers to fulfill their own deſires to the extremity vpon their enemies, there was great danger leſt he ſhold pay dearely for this proſperity. There were won frō the barbarians 3. Enſigns or Cornets (for more had they not brought with thē). The horſes of thoſe which were ſlain being full 1000. or better, did greatly augment & enrich the booty: the reſidue were killed in the fight. Of the vanquiſhers, were 22. only wanting, & about 15. wounded.

Conflict betweene the Turkes and the Epirots.

Peic Manuel.

The victorie of the Epirots againſt 4000. Turkes before Sfetigrade.

Thus did the Prince of *Albany* by a notable prey & victory reward & recompence the loſſe of his corne, vpon the bringing whereof into the campe of the Turks, lying before the towne, euery one of thē made great ioy & triumph, expecting hourely that theſe victuallers ſhould haue bin led thither tyed & bound to their appointed puniſhment, & to haue bin offered as a ſacrifice to the vnhappy ghoſts of thoſe 5. who were firſt ſlaine. But when they ſaw afterwards contrarie to their imagination, the maſſacre

and

and hiddeous shew & deformity of so great & goodly a companie: of pure despite and vaine indignation conceiued, they made great lamentation, and through extreme sorrow they stood for a time (as men inchaunted and amazed) not without maruellous feare & trembling of all the armie, and doubting least the Christians animated with this prosperous aduenture, should come on with the like successe, to force them within their campe. For they suspected that the numbers of our men were much greater, & that all the Prouince had bene in armes before them. Their chiefest care therefore was to set a good and strong watch ouer all the army, and carefully to arrange euerie companie in order of battell, neere the tents of their seuerall commaunders, and to enuiron them round about: and accordingly the bands were parted into their places. Their horses were kept standing with their bridles on, as if they had bin assured that the enemy would haue visited thē immediatly. But the *Albanois* was otherwise determined, neither did this victory cause him to be the more high minded, nor yet made him any thing the more loftie: but he redoubted as much the enemy, as they stood in feare & doubt of him: & he did looke euery houre that they should attempt somwhat vpon him, to abolish the dishonor of their last ouerthrow: and especially for that the report ran firme & constant how the army roiall was at hand. This made *Scanderbeg* to looke to his busines more carefully, & therfore the first thing he did, was (assoone as it grew dark night) quietly to trusse vp baggage & to depart, encamping 5. miles farther from the enemy. The next day before sunne rising, he sent *Tanusee* towards *Croy*, with 50. horsemen & ech of them a varlet, both to hasten away those forces, which he had left there with *George Streese*, and to haue the guiding of that conuoy which was sent for the conueiance of the horses and other pillage lately gotten from the enemie, into other places within the Prouince, where he willed they should be transported for their more safetie and securitie. In 7. daies space was all this ordered & dispatched, and the whole troupes vnited and incorporated. And yet about two daies before the arriuall of these supplies to the campe, there came in sight 5000. Turkes vaunt cutrours of the armie royall: and a three houres within night they pitched their tentes before *Sfetygrade*. The day following, about the shutting of the euening, thither also came *Amurath* himselfe in person, with the rest of his armie and all his carriage.

The griefe and trouble of the Turkish campe vpon the ouerthrow of their forces.

It was in the yeare of our redemption 1449. and the 9. yeare after that *Scanderbeg* had recouered his estate, & vpon the 14. day of May: (a time wherin the corne beginning to grow ripe, and the medowes full of grasse, did yeeld abundance of food and forrage to campes lying in the fields:) the Barbarians do vsually & willingly obserue that season as most fit for the wars, especially in forreigne expeditions. This was it also that moued the *Ottoman* expresly to forbid his souldiers to waste or spoile any thing within the enemies country, nor to tread down their corne, to the intent whē it shold grow ripe & be readie to reape, it might serue for the prouision of his army. The *Ottoman* at his arriuall before *Sfetygrade* did make a glorious shew & ostentation of all his forces before the towne: and this he seemed to do not without any reason, but vpon good consideration & aduise, both because it is the custome of that Nation, & to the intent he might by the sight therof terrifie the inhabitants. First of all, the squadrons of his footmen, & the Asappy were set in order: after them the horsmen, the Tymariots, the Subassys, the Saniackes and other Chieftaines euery one in their place marching before him, went in this order round about the walles, making great triumph with military cries & loud clamors, which were seconded also with the thundring & cracking noise of the artillery & great ordinance. This done, they went to prouide their lodging, & fastning their ensignes on the ground, pitched their tents in diuers places. The greatest part of the infanterie and common souldiers, were encamped at the foot

Amurath commeth to the siege of Sfitigrade. 1449.

Asappi, footmē commaunded vpon the Prouinces at three duckats a moneth.

of the mountaine, neere the wals and in such places as were most subiect to daunger. The horsemens quarter, was some three, some foure hundreth paces from the towne. The tents royall and pauilion of the Turkes monarch was some eight hundreth paces and more from the circuit of the towne wals. That night was wholly spent with great mirth both of songs, and other kinds of pastime, in setling of their campe and ordering of their courts of guard. All this while notwithstanding was not the mind of the *Sultan* free or exempted from trouble and care, both for the griefe which he tooke through the late discomfiture of his people receiued by the Christians: and for the smal hope and likelihood which he saw of obtaining the place without great and singular difficulty, by reason especially of the situation of the towne, which being seated vpon the height of a ragged and craggie mountaine, and in the very steepe & pendant of it: the same being deuided and (as it were) cut a sunder from the rest of the mountaine, did make the place in a manner impregnable, and it was not almost possible that any footeman (were he neuer so light and actiue) could keepe his footing, or (crept he neuer so close) could come neere vnto the wals: in such sort that if he ment to gaine it, it behoued him to vndermine the faith of the defendants, and to obtaine it rather by smooth and cunning practises, then by any violence of armes whatsoeuer. This was the occasion that the next day also nothing was attempted against the wals, but the souldiers being kept quietly within the camp, had no liberty to issue forth nor skirmish with the enemy. But about the euening the *Sultan* sent his Heralds towards the towne to acquaint them with his pleasure and demaund, to admonish the citizens of the dangers which were imminēt & hanging ouer their heads in case they did not at the sound of the trumpet & first summons prepare thēselues voluntarily to yeeld vp the towne. And he gaue them also in charge to make knowen vnto them the summe of his cōditions, which were, That *Amurath* would not make any change or alteration on touching the former estate & condition of the citizens. That he would suffer them to enioy the same liberties and priuiledges, or whatsoeuer had bin formerly granted vnto them by *Scanderbeg*. There were great offers made likewise both for preferment and benefits vnto the Gouernor, & that the garrison should haue free libertie & sufferance to retire themselues where they thought good. Besides that, he promised them 300000. aspers, which is a coyne & peece of money currant among the Turks to the value of 12. d. starling, and he gaue them that whole night to resolue vpon: whereas if they did persist in their peruerse obstinacie, they should assure thēselues by the next morning, to see so many armed souldiers ouer their heads, that their wals being broken downe and ouerthrowen, they should (but all in vaine) desire this composition which they had once refused & reiected. The Gouernor of the town was at that time vpon the market place accompanied with a great number of souldiers, where there came vnto him one from the wals telling him, that there were some without come from the *Sultan*, who demaunded to parley with him. He presently made hast to the place where it was reported that the enemies Heraulds did attende him: and being there arriued, he willed them aloft from the walles, that they should speake their minds by an interpreter: but they requested him foorthwith that he would cause all the multitude to be remoued, for that they had a message and certaine speciall matters to treate of from the graund Seignior with him selfe onely. Thereunto *Perlat* (in sport and iest merrily cauilling) replyed verie pleasantly and with a good grace: Truely (my friendes quoth he) you haue done well to make choise of this time and season so verie fit and conuenient to referre these your secretes to the darkenesse of the night: to the intent they might not onely be concealed from my souldiers, but from the light also, which maketh me to mistrust, that the message which you bring me is of

Sfetygrade summoned by Amurath.

Conditions offered to the citizens from the Turkes.

The Gouernors answere to the Heraulds.

of that ſubſtance and qualitie, that not without good cauſe it doth abhorre the ſhewe and brightneſſe of the light. And yet it may be, you do it of modeſtie, and then it is to be commended. Notwithſtanding I learned this example from my anceſtors, That I ought neuer to aduiſe vpon any affaires of importance, without the priuity and preſence of my ſouldiers, who are my companions in daungers and perils: nor yet to remoue them frō cōference & parley with the enemy, whom I haue made choiſe of for their fidelitie, both to haue the tuition of the eſtate of *Scanderbeg*, & the defence of the libertie of *Albany*, & the guard of my perſon particularly. Beſides, it is not my faſhion to call the darknes to witneſſe of the counſels & conſultations which I haue with any without the towne, eſpecially in this troubleſome time, wherein all thinges are in a hurley burley & confuſion. That they ſhould for that time hold him excuſed, & that the next morning if they pleaſed, he would giue them the hearing ſo long as they thought good. This ſaid, he willed them ſpeedily to retire from the walles. Then did the ſouldiers & the cōmon people ſhew themſelues greatly ineenſed (ſo litle a thing doth ſet thē on) & being aſſembled round about the Gouernor, they cried out aloude, that their comming was but as ſpies to take a view of the place, and not to intreate of any compoſition. They vrged it very earneſtly that the gates ſhould be opened, that being apprehended & brought into the towne, they might be compelled to confeſſe the truth. And that (their hands being cut off, the ordinary puniſhment of ſpies) they might be ſo returned againe into their campe. But the wiſe & prudent Gouernor did not only refuſe to harken to their fooliſh demaund, but with ſeuere & rigorous ſpeeches, he reformed the inſolency & licentious behauiour of the ſouldiers, telling them: That there was not any thing in the world, or among men, more truely to be regarded, then to keepe themſelues from the breach and violating of their faith and fidelitie. That they tooke vpon them, either to be prophets and diuiners, or to be ouer carefully curious and too ſuſpitious, in carying this mind: that vpon the vncertainty of their ſurmiſe only, they might peruert & violate both the rights of the law of Nations, and the vſage and law of armes. The Heraulds therefore were permitted freely to returne to their ſoueraigne, both in as great ſuſpence and vnreſolued as they came thither, without hauing declared or obtained the effect of their meſſage: and being alſo not any wayes outraged or offended, neither in word nor yet in deede.

Garriſon of Sfetigrade murmur againſt the Turkes Heraulds.

The puniſhment of ſpies to haue their hands cut off.

Anſwere of Perlat to the garriſon and ſouldiers of Sfetigrade concerning the Heraulds of the Turke.

Heraulds free by the law of armes.

At the firſt, the old man was highly diſcontented, as thinking himſelfe ſcorned and contemned: and he was halfe in a minde to haue aſſaulted the towne rather by armes, then to trie them by farther termes of emparlance. Notwithſtanding (moderating his courage) he ſuppoſed nothing ſo baſe or reprochfull, but that a Prince (deſirous of conqueſt, and for the intereſt of his eſtate, and for the deſire of glorie) may and ought to ſerue his turne therwith: eſpecially in that caſe when a man may by benefits & good meanes, gaine the harts and deuotion of any people, and obtaine their townes and fortreſſes, with the indemnitie of the ſouldiers, & ſubdue them without the detriment & loſſe of his men. The day following therfore he ſent thē againe with the ſame inſtructions to trie the minds of the citizens, adioining vnto the meſſengers one of his Baſſaes (a graue & ancient perſon, ſubtle & cunning to perſwade them, and borne in *Albany*) by meanes whereof, both the matter might ſeeme the more weighty, and of greater credit & countenance: and perſwading himſelfe alſo that their obſtinate & hardned courages, might be the more eaſily mittigated & molified; partly by the entreatie, & partly by the perſwaſions of one that was of their owne language, & could talke vnto them familiarly. As they drew neere to the towne, before that they came to haue any conference, *Perlat* had taken order, that they ſhould haue a diligent regard, and carie a watchfull eye from the wals towardes the mountaine, and

Sentence.

Perlat his prudence and prouidence.

the neighbour woods neere adioyning the towne, for feare of ſome ambuſhmentes which might be laide behinde them. Afterwardes by a poſterie gate named the Dibran, he admitted the ambaſſadors into the towne. The Baſſa onely with three ſouldiers and two of his ſeruants, were receiued in, and they were conducted through the middeſt of the market place into the Church of the virgine *Marie*, where (the councell being appointed to be helde) none but the auncients and the principall of the towne were called or aſſembled: for all the younger ſort were excluded, leaſt that any mutinie ſhould ariſe among them. The Turkes Embaſſadour pretending that it was his part to ſpeake, becauſe he had procured the parley: at the very firſt, enforced himſelfe by a number of flattering and entiſing ſpeeches to purchaſe credite with the citizens, and to gaine their fauour and good liking. He beganne with the examples of many cities and Nations, diſcourſing in all points ſo well and eloquently, that you could not haue reprehended him in anie thing, ſaue onely (the more to terrifie them) he extolled beyond all meaſure & humaine capacitie, the power and puiſſance of the king his maiſter. *Perlat* made him aunſwere ſaying, That he had eloquently and excellently well pleaded this matter, had it not beene to ſuch men whoſe courages were reſolutely determined, and whoſe hearts were vowed to the maintenance of their libertie. That all of them could be well and willingly content to yeeld to his demaunds, if either the bootleſſe threates and menaces of *Ottoman* and their enemies, could preuaile with their couragious hearts: or that the commaund or Seigniorie of *Scanderbeg* were grieuous and yrkeſome vnto them. But neither could they charge him for his part with any miſdeed or ill deſert, neither did they know wherein *Amurath* had benefited them, whereby they ſhould be drawen to preferre a ſtranger before a citizen, an enemie before a friend, or an Infidell before a Chriſtian. That the *Sultan* ſhould doe, aſſay, and enterpriſe what he could by armes: that he ſhould by the ſword ſeeke to terrifie the defendants: that he ſhould not ſpare to batter their wals. In brieſe, that he ſhould firſt of all make a maſſacre of their bodies, and lay their dead carkaſſes in huge heapes, to ſee if the inhabitants terrified and feared with this ſpectacle, would then come vnto him vppon their knees, and proſtrate themſelues at his feete, to graunt them theſe conditions of peace and compoſition. That for the preſent he held it a thing infamous and meerely rediculous, to abaſe and ſubmit their heartes to ſo great an indignitie: before ſuch time as they had ſeene the enſignes of the enemie to make proofe of their valure againſt their wals and bulwarkes: before the ſouldiers had preſented them with any skirmiſh: before they ſaw any ſignes of lamentations, of wounds, or of bloudſhed among their owne people: and before ſuch time as they did perceiue, either the frame of their walles diſioynted, or their towne diſpoyled, and made naked of her flankers and defences. That *Amurath* ſhould doe much better to quite himſelfe of the daily cares and vnquietnes of the warres, to take his way backe againe to *Andrinople*, to raiſe his ſiege from before the towne, and to ſpend the reſidue and end of his life and aged yeares, quietly at home, and not any longer to prouoke and incenſe by his armes, a people who is fatall vnto him: and whoſe faith and excellent fidelitie in the conſeruation of their libertie, and whoſe ſingular affection and deuotion to their lordes both in publique and in priuate, he had often tried and approued with ſo much bloudſhed, and the ruine of his owne ſouldiers and ſubiects. That he for his part, as long as his life laſted, would neuer forſake or abandon the deuoire and dutie of his faith once ſworne vnto his Prince: nor the towne which he had committed to his cuſtodie and protection. That he helde it ſufficient and ample recompence, and reputed it honor ynough for him, if he did either ſuruiue to ſee his countrie ſafe and preſerued, or (if it ſhould happen to come to ruine and deſtruction) then

Ambaſſadors of Amurath admitted into Sfetygrade, deliuer their meſſage in an open councell.

The worthie aunſwere of Perlat to the Turkiſh Embaſſadour.

then should the strength of his right arme neuer cease to seeke the reuenge of the publique libertie, till such time (as keeping cõpanie among the dead bodies of his friends) his innocent soule did passe and depart away to the liberte of a better countrie.

This his answer and the assembly did finish both at once: for the great men and magistrates of the towne there present, all with one voice and with infinite commendations, (extolling the speech of the Gouernor) did generally approue it, and concluded on it accordingly. The Turke his messengers holding it but lost time to vse any further speeches vnto such deafe eares: and seeing the assembly broken vp and dissolued, they issued out of the temple: the Gouernour followed after them, accompanied with those of his companie. And (because it was neare dinner time) after he had feasted and entertained them daintily with great magnificence and sumptuously, conueighing them to the towne gate; he there dismissed them, and they returned to their campe.

The Turke his messengers returne in vaine from the towne.

The assurance and grauitie of the Sferigradians, together with the prudence of their Commander being vnderstood by the *Ottoman* did not a litle moue him. The like did the abundance of all good prouisions marked within the towne by the Ambassadors: for it abounded in such plentie, that they had not onely to suffice for their necessitie, but euen with excesse and superfluity. And *Perlat* had caused them purposely to make shew thereof throughout the streetes, in the view and sight of the Barbarians: to the intent that relation being made thereof afterwards to the grand Senior, it might take from him all hope to gaine the towne by long perseuerance of the siege or by the discommoditie of hunger and famine. The *Sultan* therefore being mightily enflamed with anger and spite, that so small and vile a castle, so paultry a hamlet, and a handfull (as it were) of robbers there inclosed, should dare to prescribe lawes vnto him for the warre: and to take vpon them to counsell him in his affaires, and specially for that by an vsuall prouerbe (as it were) they termed themselues fatall and vnconquered: and perceiuing now by these speeches, that there was no other meanes and remedie for him to tame them, but onely by the rigor and extremitie of armes; he caused presently to be assembled within his owne tent his Bassaes, his councellors, & all other persons who were of anie degree and reputation in war, to deuise secretly with them vpon the best & fittest meanes to assault the place: and hauing heard their seuerall opinions propounded in the councell, he debated and discourse long and at large concerning the same: and thereupon order was immediatly taken by his commaund (for the parting and distributing both to one and other) of diuerse things which seemed needfull and requisite to that seruice. The rest of the preparations, and the assault of the towne, was put off and deferred to the day following, because the greatest part of the daye was neare past and spent.

Policie of Perlat.

The end of the fourth Booke.

THE FIFTH BOOKE OF THE FAMOVS ACTES OF GEORGE CASTRIOT, SVRNAMED *SCANDERBEG.*

The Argvment.

Sfetigrade is battered, and assaulted by the Turkes. Scanderbeg giueth a Camazado to the Turkish campe, making a great slaughter of the Infidels. Amurath appointeth Feribassa with an armie to resist the inuasions of Scanderbeg, for the safetie of his campe. The battell betweene Feribassa and Scanderbeg, and their priuate combat, wherein Feribassa is slaine by Scanderbeg, and the Turkes defeated. Amurath practiseth the winning of Sfetygrade by treason, which he effecteth by a strange accident. The garrison of the Dibrians vpon a superstitious conceite, yeelde the towne to Amurath, who hauing fortified Sfetigrade, leaueth Epire, and returneth to Andrinople.

THE arriuall of the Turkish Emperour, and the report of his huge and mightie armie, had alreadie filled with feare and terror all the people of *Epire*, especially the Princes and Potentates next adioyning, who were in great doubt and care least that so insolent & redoubtable an enemie (hauing once swallowed vp this towne already besieged) should bring the others afterwardes to the same estate and condition, and reduce them to the tenour of the like calamitie. Wherefore accordingly as it was resolued in their secret assemblies and consultations, albeit they had before prouided for most things requisite, both for the stuffing of their holds with strong garrisons, & for the gard of the streights & passages for their countrey: they sent notwithstanding from all partes Ambassadours to *Scanderbeg* entreating him not to suffer *Amurath* any longer to vexe and tyrannize ouer the townes of *Albania* at his pleasure, and with such impunitie. For if by any mishappe the proud tyrant should happen to haue his will of *Sfetigrade*, it was most certaine that taking the same as a happie presage of his victorie, and as a baite of his fierceneſſe and crueltie, he would not leaue till he had brought them all vnder the same yoke, and to endure the like fortune: and yet they wished him in the meane while to haue a care and good regard, not to attempt alone, and with so few men the forces of the enemie, nor so weakely accompanied to prouoke them to the fight, whose campe was so vnmeasurable great and mightie: because that could not be but with the singular inconuenience and greater perill of them all in generall. They offered him likewise armes, horsemen, munition, and whatsoeuer else should serue their turne, for the remouing of such a flood and deluge before that it should endanger all of them to be ouerwhelmed with the rage thereof. That they thought themselues sufficiently

The Princes of Epire offer Scanderbeg their aid and furtherance for the repulse of the Turke.

ficiently defended and in safetie, if they could at this time free & acquite him from the greatnes of that perill: vpon whom did depend both the peaceable and quiet possession of their Seigniories and empire, and the preseruation of them all in generall: as also the whole strength and assured stay of all the prouince, and the perpetuall glorie of the Albanois.

The Ambassadors thus charged with these instructions, and many other particular testimonies of the readie and perfect good will and affections of the confederates, tooke their way directly to the mountaines of *Sfetigrade*, where they knew that the Prince of *Albanie* had pitched his campe, albeit he were at that time absent. For assoone as euer the troupes of the *Ottoman* were arriued in *Epire*; and that the bruite of so great a puissance, and so new an accident had filled the eares and mindes of euery man with feare and terror: *Scanderbeg* (accompanied only with *Tanusee*, and *George Streese*, and tenne other chosen men of his garde: and (apparelled as he was wont) with the simple cassocke of a common souldier, had secretly conueighed himselfe from his army to goe and visit those townes of the prouince which were nighest to the daunger; and to confirme and strengthen them in their faith and obeisance, who were any thing dismayed or discomforted, knowing well, (that in so new and fresh a case of danger, the mindes of men would be maruellously cast downe and appalled, by reason of so strange a commotion, and by the rumors (though for the most parte false) encreasing daily: and that therefore he might greatly remedie the perplexitie & timerousnes of their counsailes and imaginations: and those which should in any sort staggar and be readie to fall away, might be confirmed and reestablished in their ancient vigour and courage, and in the accustomed constancie of their faith and loyaltie. Of all this which he had so purposed and conceiued, he forgot not, nor left any thing vnaccomplished. For beginning at *Croie* (as the chiefest place of his realme and his chiefest care) he sent for *Vranocontes* to come vnto him to the citie gate with a certaine number of souldiers, and all the principall citizens (for he would not that any man should enter within the towne) and there he enforced himselfe with a kind of superfluous care (according to the briefe instance and hastie occasion of the time) by the discourse of many things to incite them, and (as a man might say) to spurre them forward in their deuoire. But he receiued from the Gouernor a notable answer: the recitall whereof (as well beseeming and worthy of his sound faith and loialty) I see no reason why we should omit: or by an vngratefull kinde of silence, to defraud so great and honorable a person of his deserued praise and commendation. For at the first blush shewing himselfe as one full of indignation & discontentment for his comming thither, he thus spake vnto him.

Scanderbeg secretly disguised goeth about visiting & comforting all the places of his prouince.

Scanderbeg encouraging Vranocontes & the Croians.

Answer of Vranocontes to Scanderbeg.

It had bene much better at this instant (ô *Scanderbeg*) if the Croians had seene *Amurath* himselfe, and the shew of that his glorious and excellent armie (which thou tellest vs of) then to see thee heere as thou art at this present: for this is certaine that as thy speech is nothing pleasing nor agreeable vnto vs, neither in generall nor in particular: so is thy comming at this time no lesse grieuous and discontenting vnto vs. For what could the sight or the hearing of the enemy haue done, either more to haue troubled the mindes of men that are couragious, or to haue worse offended the harts of those that are fierce and generous? We are now at that point, and such is our loue and deuotion towardes thee, and to the dignitie of the estate of *Albanie*: that as long as these troubles shall continue within this prouince: and as long as *Amurath* shall preuaile or haue any authoritie with his armed forces in *Epire*: it shalbe more pleasing, and farre more acceptable vnto vs beyond comparison, to see the face & countenance of the enemy, then to haue thy presence and company: because thou bringest vs no-

thing but secret plaintes and doubtfull feares, as though we were enclining to a reuolt, or that we were like to proue disloyall, wheras the presence of our enemy could not but minister vnto vs good and fit matter to merit praise and commendation, and might yeeld some notable and worthie experience of our fidelitie, and be a perpetuall occasion for the purchase of renowme and glorie.

Castriot knew not what to say here against, but only to purge and excuse himselfe: telling him that he came not thither to vse anie exhortations vnto them, but onely to aduertise them how all things stood. And thereupon after he had embraced the Gouernour, he tooke his leaue both of him and of his souldiers, and so passed onwardes to other places: where finding all things according to his desire, he left them as hee found them: and retyring towards his armie, he came to his campe somewhat before day, being extremely wearie through the long trauell of his iourney. Yet assoone as he perceiued that the Ambassadors of the league did there attend him, he had scarcely taken time to refresh himselfe, but that he gaue them audience in the full and open assembly of his Captaines and other the principall persons of his campe, willing them freely to make knowen the summe of their Ambassade which they had in charge. The which being declared and heard, *Scanderbeg* by the common aduise of all in generall, both highly commended the willing mindes of their Lords and maisters: and gaue them great thankes for their good affections, and especially for that they shewed themselues to haue, the safetie and reputation both of his person and of the countrie of *Epire* in such care and recommendation. As touching the succours which they offred him, his answere was: That they should be of good courage, that his intent was not for that time to vse any greater forces against the enemie, nor (all things being as yet in good case) to disarme the flankes of his confederates: but he would wish them in the meane while to be ready prepared, and to haue a good eye to the *Ottoman*: for that it was very difficult to discouer the enterprizes and counsels of one so trecherous and disloial: that assoone as good occasion were offered him to enterprize any thing, he would not faile speedily and beyond their expectation, with such forces as he had to inuade him: & when the necessitie of his affaires should exact it, or that the importance of a greater danger, or the occasion of a set battell did require it: that then he would vse their aide and readie succours as farre forward as his owne forces. These things thus dispatched, the tables were couered after the souldiers fashion: and after that they had refreshed themselues, and had bene honorably rewarded with great presents: about the ninth houre of the morning they were licensed to depart.

Ambassadours from th' Princes of Epire to Scanderbeg, offering him aide against the Turkes.

Answere of Scanderbeg to the Ambassadors of th' Albanian Princes.

Whilest that matters did thus passe on by consultations: and that *Scanderbeg* rather with wordes then deedes did seeme to inuade the Turkish Prince; the other beganne the battery against *Sfetigrade*, which though it had bene long deferred, yet was it fully concluded & agreed on. He placed therefore two pieces of artillerie of exceeding greatnes (for he had brought no more with him) vpon a certaine high place directly against the towne, where the walles were most open and discouered. Three whole daies together did the thundering of the cannon continue; by which time hauing made a large and wide breach, the *Sultan* imagined presently, that his ensignes the next morning would haue cleared the breach: and (by reason that it was of a great largenesse) both the flanckers, and the wall being on all sides beaten downe and ouerthrowen, he was fully perswaded, and did in a manner promise to himselfe: that his souldiers might easily enter the towne: and that (notwithstanding any resistance or deuise which the defendants should vse against them) they should not be able to hold them out, but that they would get the possession of the place. Of all this, *Scanderbeg* had notice the same night by his espials, and by such as were appointed to keepe the watch

Sfetigrade battered by the Turkes.

watch in ſeuerall places thereabouts: and therefore giuing a neere coniecture of the ſecret intent and purpoſe of *Amurath*: he was at the firſt in ſome doubt and miſtruſt, leaſt they within the towne being preſſed with the exceeding multitudes of the aſſailants ſhould not be able and of ſufficient power to repulſe them: beſides that the ruine of the wall on that ſide, did augment this his feare and ſuſpition. Wherefore after he had debated many matters in his mind, he concluded at length, that he would diuert and take vpon himſelfe ſome part of the perill and of their labours: & that he would ſomewhat eaſe the beſieged of their trauels. About midnight therefore (taking with him victuals for one day onely and no more, and leauing all the reſt of the baggage in his campe) he went to entrench himſelfe within fiue myles of the enemie, in the ſame place where he had laſt layed his ambuſcado. But he ſent before him, two of the chiefeſt of his nobilitie *Muſache*, and *Gnirize de Vladrenne* (men of a notable and ſingular conceipt and ſubtiltie) to take a view of the camp of the enemie, and to marke what courſe they would take in the aſſault: he himſelfe in the meane time abode there ſtill without any noiſe, till ſuch time as they returned, that he might then reſolue vpon his proceedings accordingly.

Scanderbeg approacheth neere to the Turkiſh camp.

About the ſeauenth houre in the morning was the returne of theſe gentlemen to their Generall: and at the ſame time, the Aſappi and Ianiſſaries (men that contemned and regarded no perils) were brought foorth of their trenches: and being armed of purpoſe with a notable reſolution, they marched vp the mountaine. The horſemen for all that they could doe, were not able to get aboue ſome three ſteppes aboue the bottome and foote of the hill, by reaſon of the ſteepeneſſe and roughneſſe of the place: and therfore ſtanding there aloofe, and ſhooting with their arrowes towards them, they did rather feare then repell the defendants at the breach, whileſt the raskall multitude and vile and baſer ſort of the Turkes, were drawen on to preſent themſelues to the firſt furie of the Chriſtians: to the intent that they being tyred and wearied with the killing of theſe ſlaues and raskals: and the citizens being otherwiſe occupied and drawn away with eſcaladoes, from the defence of the places aſſigned to their cuſtody, the others might afterwards find the leſſe reſiſtance, and with the geater eaſe make themſelues maiſters of the rampiers, which by this meanes might be diſfurniſhed of all defence. This was it that was attempted on that ſide where the violence of the cannon had made the breach. But the ſudden mounting of the place being of it ſelfe naturally vpright and ſteepe riſing, did eaſily beat backe the aſſailants; who at ech ſtroke that was giuen them (were it neuer ſo litle) were turned vpſide downe by the defendants: who alſo had ſpent all the night in repairing and fortifying of the breach, by caſting vp a rampier or countermure in faſhion of a platforme: which they trimmed with plancks, boords, and baskets made of oſiers, and well ſupported and borne vp with ſtrong poſtes faſtened round about, and with great heapes of ſtones: ſo that the verie height and downefall of the place, did make their dartes and other ſhot (being but weakely throwen and deliuered) either to flie ſtaggering and without any force: or to be beaten downe backewardes vpon thoſe which preſſed forward: who could ſcarcely find any ſtay or reſt, or any plaine or ſmooth place to get themſelues footing, as they preſſed to the aſſault, nor yet to ſtop and ſtay their bodies as they tumbled and rolled downe when they had the repulſe. On the other ſides of the towne, and eſpecially towards the gates where the place was more plaine and open, and where the riſing and falling of the ground did ſeeme more eaſie and pleaſant for the ſouldiours: there the Aſappi with their targets and pauiſhes were placed round about in the forefront: behind them were appointed two great and choſen ſquadrons of hargabuſſiers and croſſe-bowes who with the thicke ſhowers (as it were) of their quarels

Sfetzgrade aſſaulted.

A ſtratagem vſed againſt the Turkes.

and deadly bullets, might make them within to quit and abandon the defence of their walles: to the intent the Ianissaries, who followed after them, might the more easily carie the place, and make themselues maisters of the towne by the helpe of their scaling ladders: with the which they pressed forwarde so furiously, and with a countenance so resolute and obstinate, that forgetting all care and feare both of wounds, or yet of death: some of them whole and sound, others wounded and maymed in their approch to the walles, were now gotten vp and had laid hold vppon the toppe of the battelments. For on that side, the walles had not felt the diuelish rage and furie of the Cannon: neither had they any other helpe or receipt (as it appeared) to carrie the place but onely by a scalado. But notwithstanding all this their labour and striuing, by how much the higher they were gotten from the ground in skaling of the walles, so much the lesse force had they to keep their stand. For many of them being ouerborne with their proper weight, and the burthen of their owne heauinesse, did tumble downe to the ground with their heeles vpwardes, and their ladders vpon them, the same being broken with the ouergreat weight of those that clymed on them. Others hauing their fingers cut off, were enforced to forgo their hold: and so their weapons falling first out of their hands, themselues followed after, and their bodies tumbled likewise. But the chief and principall furie of the fight was with stones and such like, which being cast downe from aloft with exceeding great noyse and offence, did mightily both spoile and encomber the assailants, their armour, and all other their furniture. Howbeit though there fell continually innumerable with their heades downewards, yet was the number of the assailants nothing diminished, but still there came others fresh and lustie in the place of those which were wounded or wearied, who succeeding into their roomes, did still maintaine the assault, rushing furiously ouer the carkasses, and through the bloud of those that lay dead, with a greater desire of reuenge, then of any great hope to preuaile: and without any apprehension or feare of death, and with an horrible noise and tumult, they made hast to seize on the battelments, and by their ouermuch hastinesse & striuing to mount ech before other (euerie one not being able to get vp with the first) the one of them did (as it fell out) hinder and hurt the other. Concerning the besieged, as they had no want of armes and munition, so you may imagine that their force and strength did no way faile them: besides that, the place did greatly fauor them in all points, and did seeme to yeeld succour vnto it selfe. Moreouer they had certaine pauishes and thicke plancks extended in the forme of bucklers to keepe off the shot and blowes of the enemie, to the intent that the souldiers standing behind them close and in couert, might the better maintaine the defence of the places assigned them: and euerie man might the more frankly employ himselfe to the discharge of his deuoire and dutie. Many of the Turks might haue bene taken aliue, by reason that their ladders being exceeding long and high, their bodies were euen aboue the toppes of the walles: and some of them also hauing left their armour behind them were mounted vp vnarmed: because the waight thereof would haue hindred them, if they had come otherwise to the assault. But no man had any mind or care of the liuing more then of the dead: for feare least if in the heat and furie of the fight, they should haue had anie desire to reserue the enemies for their prisoners, or to couet after gaine and bootie, the towne might haue bene foolishly lost by their negligence and auarice. This was in a maner the whole proofe of the valure and deuoire shewed by the Barbarians in the first and second assault, from the which seeing themselues repulsed with shame and ignominie: and beginning now to perceiue their bootles and vaine assaies, and their foolish desire how they ran headlong to seeke their owne deaths, euerie man comming to consider his proper wounds, and the

Turks repulsed from the assault of Sesigrade.

the ſtreames of bloud which ran downe their bodies: then (their corages being ſomewhat abated) they began to mitigate their furious and beaſtly fiercenes, their blowes grew to be more faint: and they fought not with their wonted ſtomack, their choller was well cooled, and they went not ſo hotly on to the aſſault, becauſe by litle and litle their forces failed them: and (as it is commonly ſeene) men going continually vpwards and mounting ſtill aloft, do waxe faint and weary, and do looſe their breath in going. Notwithſtanding the Baſſaes & other the roial leaders being at their backs, ſolliciting and encoraging them, ſometimes with good words, and ſometimes with rough ſpeeches and menaces, did enforce thē (weary as they were) to paſſe on againſt the enemy: and if any were ouerſlow and lazy in their march, they would with blowes driue and force them on, beating them with cudgels or baſtinados in moſt cruell maner. Wherupon thus conſtrained, they went on again to the aſſault: & drawing on their fainting and wearied bodies againſt the enemy, they came to the wals almoſt tired: where they continued in fight, though to no great purpoſe, til by litle & litle growing to be ſpent, they yeelded vp their miſerable ghoſts in the ſight of the Chriſtians. Many of them (as their ſoules were departing from their bodies) being dragged away by the feete, their fellowes (whileſt they endeuored by ſo charitable a deed to conuay them to their tents & to ſaue them from the fury of the citizens) prouiding for others better then for their owne ſafety, were themſelues mortally wounded from the wals: by meanes whereof they tumbled and fell vpon their companions half dead & almoſt breathles: and were reduced to the ſame, if not to a worſe plight & condition. The Sfetigradians the meane while aloft vpon the wals making ſhew by their loud clamors and pleaſant ieſts, that they were the victors, did with open mouth mocke & deride the aſſailants, which did not a litle exaſperate their griefe, and renue the ſorrow of their miſchaunce.

Feribaſſa ſent with a new ſupplie to renue the aſſault.

The *Sultan* himſelfe being not able to endure this iniury, nor to ſuffer it without reuenge, ſent a ſupply of 3000. men vnder the leading of *Feribaſſa*, who being one of his moſt ſufficient captains, was gretly renowmed for the great ſtrength & dexterity of his body and of his mind: and he furniſhed him with an infinit number of ſcaling ladders and other warlike engines of all ſorts. Immediatly hereupon the noiſe grew to be appeaſed within the towne, and their ſtill ſilence arguing a new feare & doubt, did recall the ſoldier to a more difficult and harder peece of ſeruice, & to the beginning of a new labor. Wherfore both the ſpirits and the eies of all men were intentiue to receiue, and to repell the aſſailantes, and to trouble them in their proceeding, keeping them aloofe from the wals at the beginning, with force of arrows, quarrels, harguebuſſe, & all other kind of ſhot, whereby they might be hindered from making their approches. But perceiuing that notwithſtāding al their deuoir, they marched cloſe on with their enſigns without all fear, and that they made roūdly to the wals: they threw downe vpon them huge peeces of timber, and ſtore of ſtones both ſmall and great, beſides artificiall fires, as baskets and fagots nointed with oile and pitch, and ſo ſet on fire: in ſuch ſort that the Infidels being ſore terrified with the fiercenes of the fire, whileſt ſome of them haſted to quench it, and others to auoid it, they could not preſent any great number of ladders againſt the wall: and of thoſe which were ſet vp, the moſt part were burnt and fired. During this contention and confuſed noiſe, their commander himſelfe with part of his troupes, ſomewhat remoued from thence, hauing ſlaine ſome of the defendantes, had raiſed vp ladders againſt that part of the wall, where fighting eagerly & incenſing his ſouldiers with often admonitions, he encoraged thē to enter in on that ſide which was almoſt naked and void of defence. There wanted not in the ſoldier obedience nor readines, nor in the common ſort forwardnes or corage: but of themſelues they were ſufficiently enflamed. For al of them pricked on with an exceeding fury, & almoſt en-

raged, as if the one of them had enuied the other) they did striue to purchase the credit to be the first man that should enter: well knowing what high fortune and rewardes, (besides the crowne due vnto him that first got vpon the wall) were prepared for that man that could attaine thereunto. But *Perlat* with a good number of Dibrians, running speedily to the place, and filling it with fresh men in stead of those which had bin slain, did soone disappoint both the exhortations of the Turkishe commander, and the endeuors of the souldiers. For bringing a whole shoure and tempest (as it were) of shot vpon them, both the assailants were by that meanes oppressed, and all their engines and other prouisions were broken in sunder and dispersed. Therupon began the cry to be renued within the towne, & the Infidels were repulsed with greater fear then danger: for but 30. were slaine of that cõpany, and about 18. of them wounded. Notwithstanding, they desisted not frõ pursuing the assault by all other means, till such time as they heard the retrait sounded: and yet was it only a meere obstinacy and a most wilful humor that made thẽ so to perseuer: and shame rather then corage pressed them forwards on al parts: so that the Christians had good and sufficient leisure to refresh them selues.

Scanderbeg goeth to inuade the campe of the Turke before Sfetigrade

But the sodaine comming of *Scanderbeg* did soone after yeelde them some more aduantage to refresh them: for the approch of their friends gan now to be discouered, & the thicknes of the dust with the great noise made through the trampling of their horses, did euidently bewray their comming to the eies and eares of euery man. The long stay of our men (for before their arriuall the assault had continued more then 3. long houres) grew vppon this occasion: because after many opinions debated in counsell, it had bene aduised as the surest and safest course, that the first onset to be giuen vpon the enemy, should be protracted a while: till such time as the Turkes hauing left their tents void & empty, should employ the forces of their whole camp against *Sfetigrade*, and that euery man should be busied in his particular charge and duty, supposing that then would be the fittest time to make them yeeld an accompt of their expedition, and to quit the assault which they had vndertaken. But the prouident *Ottoman* was not found so negligent and sleeping, neither did this Emperour (being so wise and politicke) shew himselfe faulty in so grosse an ouersight & absurdity, as to make head with his chiefest strength against the towne, and to leaue his back bare & open in the mean time to the mercy of the Albanois. For the truth is, he had placed a strong & mighty court of gard about 500. paces from the wals: in the midst whereof himselfe stood enuironned with his ordinary gard, both as a surueior and encourager of his people: and besides he had prouided a strong battallion of yong men purposely picked and chosen to the number of 15000. all horsemen, tõ whom he had giuen in charge to course vp and downe, and to discouer all places, and on all partes, for feare least some stur and tumult might be raised behinde them at their backes. Nowe *Scanderbeg* hauing gotten within 2. miles of the enemy with 7000. good horse, & 3000. foote, he had according to his custome, made a deuision of his companies, appointing *Moses* to lie in an ambuscado with all his footmen, and 2000. horse, to preuent the diuerse inconueniences which might fortune to befall him. He himselfe with the rest of his horsemen, taking the wide and open champion, did march on with great fury and violence against the enemy, and with a great and notable cry before he came to the encounter, he added corage to the besieged, & discomforted the assailants. Therewithall the Battallion roiall of the Turkish horsemen, which (as I haue sayd before) stood there ranged to that intent and purpose, with all speed went to meet him, and with a ful careere made head against them. The Albanois nothing abashed at their great multitude, but keeping close in good order of battell, went to the charge with such brauery, that at the verie first onset, they beate them backe and disordered them: and many of them being entermingled

Amurath his policy and great prouidence.

Conflict of Scanderbeg with the Turkes.

mingled in fight together, did with their swords or cimitaries rudely and fiercely entertaine each other. The Infidels holding good for a time, by reason of their numbers only, did within a while recuile all together, and casting away all shame by a fearefull kinde of flight, by litle and litle did seeme to confesse, that the Epirots were no men for them to deale withall. Whereof as soone as their Prince had knowledge, and seeing that he fought on all sides with so great misfortune and bad successe, (as if God himself had bene against him) he commanded presently to sound a retrait: and pointing with his finger to the small number of the Christians, he spake thus vnto his souldiers.

What a shame and reproach is this (q. he?) what? hath so small a troupe of theeues and robbers had the power to make & see you turne your backs? Nay, I my selfe haue seene it also, which (if you were men of any valour) would make you blushe for verie shame. What? haue your enemies, euen the Gods at their command? and do they cary victory with them in their bosomes? and haue you nothing but your swordes (and those vnprofitable) and your hands dead and without life, and your bodies feeble and subiect to the sword and iniuries of your enemies? Behold how they do yet abide you and stirre not a foot from you, wherefore stay you? Can you endure that a handfull of such base & infamous persons, should present them selues as conquerors before your eyes, whom you are able to swallow vp whole both horse and armes? Reuenge your owne bloud (my souldiers,) and if the common reputation doe any thing at all moue you, reuenge the deaths of your fellowes and companions, at leastwise your owne priuate wrongs and iniuries.

Speeches of Amurab reproching his souldiers flying from Scanderbeg.

Vpon these his speaches and exclamations, all of them sodainely turned their faces towards the enemy, & euery man (leauing al other busines) ran confusedly on all sides: and those also which were on the mountaine descended to charge the Albanois. But the Prince of *Epire* would not attend them though they were almost breathles & out of order: but retiring speedily to the place prouided for his surety, he kept the aduauntage which he had gotten in that encounter, without any losse except of one only, and 3. wounded: and so came & ioined himselfe with *Moses*, holding that the only way for his safegard from the enemy. Of the Turkes there were slaine some 60. or better, of which number (men say) that *Scanderbeg* slue fiue of them with his owne hands. The Barbarians did not pursue them far, because the *Sultan* doubted of some secret traine or counterwaits: and the rather, for that he had some apparaunt signe of the other troupes in the ambushment: wherefore he commanded them againe to a second retrait. It was a notable sight to see how in one and the same instant, the Barbarians on the one part did charge vpon the Christians, and on the other part themselues were charged at the backes by those of *Sfetigrade*. The Turkes scoffed at *Scanderbeg* as he retired from the fight, and being not able to hurt him with their swordes, they prosecuted him with taunts and villainous speaches. But *Perlat* on the other side was much more troublesome and despitefull vnto them, and did more grieuously importune their companions: for he not onely angred thē by the hearing of his quips and fine girding speeches, but he vexed them also with good store of blowes at their backes both with pikes, shot, and other kinde of weapons. For as soone as he perceiued, that at the only name of *Scanderbeg*, they gaue ouer the assault, and descended a pace downe the mountaine, he (embracing the occasion offered him with a traine of three hundreth men quicke and well armed) issued out vpon them with a great clamour, and playing vpon them with his shot as thicke as haile, he went on beating, killing, and chasing them euen to the foote of the mountaine.

Garrison within Sfetigrade sallie out vpon the Turkes.

Thus was that day most vnfortunate to the *Ottoman* and all his enterprises, for that time fell out to be vaine and vnprofitable. The assault was broken off, the enemy was

not seized vppon, but without any losse vanished out of sight. The audacity of the defendantes was augmented and encreased, and the most part of the Turke his readiest and best souldiers, lay dead before the walles of *Sfetigrade*, besides the incredible hauocke and spoile of his munitions and artillery, and other prouisions for the assault. For the number of those which were slaine in that iourney, was reckoned to be full three thousand: and more then foure thousand hurt and wounded, and infinit engines and instruments for the warre, were broken in peeces and consumed with fire. This victory cost the towns men the losse only of forty men: but of them that were wounded the number was very great: yet was there an inestimable quantity both of armes and other baggage found before the walles, and caried into the towne, whilest the enemy was busied in the pursuite of *Scanderbeg*, which was some amends for the losse and dammage they had sustained. For that day the Turke gaue no other attempt, but retiring him selfe from before *Sfetigrade*, he spent the whole night in sorrow and sadnesse, silent and melancholicke. On the other side the Prince of *Epire* holding him selfe sufficiently contented with this good and happy successe, in that this discomfiture and repulse of the enemy, did yeelde some time of respite to the besieged, he made no longer stay there, then whilest his souldiers must of necessity to breath themselues. But he imediately after returned to his first campe where hee had left his baggage at his departure, and there his people refreshed themselues both with sleepe and victuals. The next day early, the first thing hee did, was, to send away messengers, who rode post to cary the ioyfull newes of the victory of *Sfetigrade*, both to *Vranocontes*, and to the other townes and peoples vnder his obeysance. He him selfe the day following with two hundred horse onely, taking his way through the height of the mountaines, went to take a view of the demeanour and countenaunce of the enemie. All things were there in quiet, and the towne at good rest: by meanes whereof, being returned to his tentes, he soiourned there two dayes longer, and the third day trusing vp his baggage, he remoued his camp into the vpper *Dibria*, & there entrenched him selfe in a place strongly seated and well defended, about fifteene miles from *Amurath*. The principall cause that moued him so often to remoue from one place to another, was (as I take it) either for feare least the souldiers (abiding long in one place certaine) might accustome them selues to ouermuch idlenesse: or least the enemy might thereby take some course and occasion, either by some draught layed, to surprize his person, or to guard him selfe the better from those traines which the enemy should prepare to entrappe him.

Number of Turkes slaine and hurt at the first assault of Sfetigrade.

Stratageme of Scanderbeg in often remoning of his campe.

Amurath all this while being exceedingly malcontent for the vnhappy euent of this first assault, and badly digesting in his stomacke the rude repulse sustained by them of *Sfetigrade*: after hee hadde now sufficiently tormented his thoughts, with vaine consultations, griefes, and complaintes, once againe hee called together the ministers of his rage and vengeaunce, charging them diligently to consider of the site of the place, and on what side the towne might be best inuaded and offended. The place being once assigned, he appointed the ordinaunce to be planted against it, and then consumed three whole daies in battering the towne on that side, thinking to haue dismanteled it by the the force of the Canon, but their labour was all in vaine: for albeit on that part the flankers of the wall were beaten downe, and though fortifications which had bene made by hand, did tumble to the ground, yet the excellent and naturall strength of the place, would not suffer it to be forced, neither by any violence or industry that could be vsed against it. For if it had bene laid wholly open, and no man there to defend it, yet had it not beene possible but with great difficulty, as (the saying is) by creeping both on hands and feete, for the most nimble and actiue persons to approach

Sfetigrade again battered.

Sfetigrade, her naturall strength and situation.

proach it, much lesse for men armed and carrying their furniture with them. So craggy, rough, & ful of woods were the mountains, so raggedly & vneuen did they stand, sundered each from other, with such variety of turnings and windings in and out, and so steepe were their bottoms and downefals: that they made the towne being seated vpon them, both inaccessible and impregnable. And againe on the other side where it seemed more assaultable, though the wall might easily of it selfe haue bene battered, and a breach made, yet right opposite against it, there presented it selfe a certaine belly of ground, swelling (as it were) or rising vp with a knob in forme of a Bosse, which running out from the backe of the mountaine, did so fitly couer and shadow the wall, that from the place where the enemy lay encamped, it was not possible to plant their cannon, nor to manage their artillery in any sort to offend them. But for that both the getting vppe at the first approach was very difficult, and because the towne was too neare a neighbour vnto them, they did attempt it though often, yet in vaine: for the besieged by their ordinary sallies (being helped with the fauour of the place, did daily hinder them of their intent, breaking the engines all in peeces. And besides, with their Cannon shotte and other artillery from the walles, they did in great safety and security disappoint the enemy of their purpose, and disturbe the endeuours of the assailaunts. Thus on all sides was their labour lost, and there was no appearance or hope of any good successe, which might encourage the aged *Sultan* to come to the end of his desires. Yet was he resolued to pursue the siege to the last point: and by often and continuall skirmishes, to trauell, toile, and weary out the defendauntes without ceasing: affirming, that this was the best and likeliest way to consume their forces, and to bring them to nothing: and that though the first dayes assault had cost him dearely, yet hadde not the Christians made any great good market, considering their small numbers, and that hee both durst and would make further proofe of that way, though not by the venture and hazard of a generall battell, both because the enemy did by his continuall and dayly inuasions and canuazadoes keepe him in awe: and the remembraunce of his late discomfiture and ouerthrowe, did daily renue his sorrowes. Thus were the townes men neuer assailed, but onely by loose and light skirmishes: and the *Ottoman* forces did onely watch and lie in waite for some good occasion, amiddest their often incursions, sodainely and vnprouided to surprize the citie. Neuertheless they left not with their shotte each to annoy other aloofe and a farre off: neither did they intermit or giue ouer any of the other ordinary seruices accustomed and vsed in the siege of townes.

Amurath resolueth to consume the garrison of Sfetigrade by often and light skirmishes.

Little or none at all was the dammage and hurt sustained all this while, either on the one side or the other: neither was there any exploite done worthy of memorie. There was no new assault giuen to the walles, neither were the scaling ladders anie more vsed, till such time as certaine Ianissaries, secretely gotten out of their campe, did perceiue that there was one place of the towne on the other side thereof, which being abandonned and vndefended, the inhabitantes thought not needefull to be manned, by reason both of the height of the place, which was naturally defended, and in a manner inaccessible: and the knoppe of the hill being seuered and deuided, and sodainely disioyned from the mountaine. The matter being reported vnto the *Sultan*, did make him exceedinglie ioyfull and glad: and therefore liking well of the opportunity, he sent very many, some at one time, some at another, who by creeping hauing gotten vp to the toppe, were now a sufficient number able to make a reasonable good troupe or squadron. By good happe the gouernour him selfe went the rounde at that time, to ouersee and view the rampiers and fortifications: who being speedily aduertized of the daunger by the next Sentinell, and court of guard, went pre-

Turkes thinke to surprize Sfetigrade.

ſently to the place, accompanied with a good number of choſen ſouldiours, and with great prouiſion of munition both of ſhotte and armour. And at the firſt he kept himſelfe cloſe, regarding and beholding the bold enterpriſe and aduenture of the enemy: and he could not but greatly wonder at their hardy and audacious attempt, or rather at the great folly of this people, who durſt ſo to hazard their liues, without all care or feare of daunger. Hereuppon to the end hee might vſe guile for guile and (as the ſaying is) cut them ſops of the ſame loafe, and giue them drinke of the ſame cup, hee held him ſelfe ſtill and quiet behinde the rampiers, marking how euery one of them was buſily occupied at their worke, with their ladders raiſed vppe againſt the walles, and ſome of them already mounted, and others yet climing towards the top. Therewithall ruſhing forth againſt them with his onely preſence, hee ſo terrified and amazed them, that leauing their armor and weapons, and many forſaking their companions (according as each mans feare did leade and aduiſe him,) they began to flie before that any ſhot came to touch them. Many of them as they fledde to ſaue themſelues, were oppreſſed and beaten down with ſtones: all the reſidue in a manner, were moſt miſerably cruſhed and bruſed with falling from their ladders, tumbling downe headlong from the top to the bottome of the ſteepe mountaine: in ſuch ſort that their bodies were ſo ſtrangely battered and disfigured, that at their returne to the campe, they could not be knowen nor diſcerned by their owne fellowes, for that ſcant there appeared any ſhew or ſhape of humaine forme to be ſeene in them. Of the defendants, not any one that had any hurt or dammage. And during all that time, there was not heard in a manner, ſo much as one ſigh within the towne: for with very good aduiſe and conſideration all the day long they would ſpend their time towardes the place where the battery had bene made, and when the darke night came on, then woulde they fill vp and repaire the breach, with great ſtore of earth, ſtones, and other ſtuffe, ſtrengthening it with fagots, poſtes, and ſuch like.

Scanderbeg ſcoureth the country.

Whileſt they did thus by light skirmiſhes and conflicts incenſe eche other, & that the Turks did rather enflame the choller of the defendants, then any way diſcourage or appall them: *Scanderbeg* accompanied with 2000. horſe did ſcoure ouer all the country, leauing no corner nor place vnuiſited, to ſee if he could any way finde the oportunity to entrap the enemy, either as they went on foraging, or ſeeking for freſhe water, or (which he was in hope of and might haue happened) that he might meete with ſome of their companies, ſent forth by the *Sultan* to ouerrun, ſacke, and waſte the countrey: but he was euer deceiued of his expectation, for I neuer heard, that either then or at any other time during the ſiege of *Sfetigrade*, any ſuch thing was enterpriſed or vndertaken by *Amurath*. Wherefore *Scanderbeg* ſeeing that all his draughts did turne to ſmoake, and that he could finde no fit matter, whereupon to diſcharge his choller, he returned to his campe more agreeued then he went forth.

Scanderbeg goeth to viewe the armie and demeanour of the Turkes before Sfetygrade.

It was now the two and twentieth of Iune, about two houres after noone, that *Scanderbeg* (as one that hadde of a long time beene kept faſting from the bloud of the enemy which hee ſo eagerly coueted) mounted againe on horſe backe, and taking with him *Tanuſe* and fiftie other tall ſouldiours, he went about his ordinary and wonted taske: namely to vnderſtand ſome newes of the enemy. Now it happened as he beheld their Campe from aloofe: that he found all ſtill without any ſtir or noiſe, nothing being to be ſeene that caried any ſhew or countenaunce of enemies, but the enſignes and ſtandardes onely: the men lay wallowing all along vnder their tentes, pell mell amongſt their horſes, (for it was at that time when the Sunne being in *Cancer*, and in the extremity of heate did burne and broile their bodies moſt intollerably.) *Caſtriot* therefore ſeeing them in this plight, turned his face to them in his companie,

and

and with a smiling countenaunce (as the report goeth) spake vnto them in this maner.

O what a goodly sight haue we here my friendes! See here the Emperour of the Orient, euen *Amurath* the terrour and feare of nations: see here this armie the Conquerours of the world, who haue so often adorned & beautified their Barbarous houses with the spoyles of *Hungarie*, the treasures of *Asia*, and the wealth & riches of *Morea*: see (I say) how they now lye buried and ouerwhelmed with sleepe, and ouercome with sloth and griefe, hauing bene lately vanquished by the garrison of *Sfetygrade*, by a Towne of so small force and estimate, that they seeme to be in case rather of men besieged, then of such as besiege others. Hardly can any minde be satisfied with this sight, to see how filthie and vncleane a shewe they make on all partes, resembling very beastes and brutish creatures. O that the great Princes of Christendome were here now present to behold them: I doe not thinke, but doe fully assure my selfe of it, that ioyntly with me they would shed teares when they should come to measure the indignitie of their misfortune by the infamous estate, and by the vile habite, and base shewe of the vanquisher. For your partes (my good souldiours) as you cannot now behold this filthie spectacle proposed before your eyes, without the singular disdaine and contempt of these base miscreants: so (I pray you) let the remembraunce of this sight be so deepely engrauen in your stomackes, and imprinted in the very bottome of your harts: that they may continue still mindfull of your libertie. Go to then, let vs make haste while the day yet lasteth, and whilest the representation of this spectacle, remaineth fresh in our memory: let vs returne to our campe to take vp our enfignes & to arme our cõpanions, whilest our enemies thus laid along all at their ease, ouercome with sleepe & drowsinesse, do offer themselues as a prey to our swords and do inuite vs and giue vs such oportunitie to the cutting of their throats.

Speeches of Scanderbeg to his souldiours touching the security of the Turkish army.

This sayd, he pricked forward and being fully repleniſhed both with hope and choller, he returned to his Campe, where without giuing any respite vnto his souldiours (scarce so much as a litle to refresh themselues) and causing them to carie victualles for one day onely and no more: with singular diligence he willed the enfignes to be displaied, and commaunded all the companies to followe him with all celerity. For the guard and custody of the Campe, he left onely fortie souldiers: for the residue of those that stayed behinde, were but varletues, and men of seruile condition. A litle before the Sunne setting, the earth began to be couered with a darke mist, during the which, the Prince of *Epire* with a soft and easie pace was gotten neare the Turkishe army, but he euer hadde some horsemen continually riding and scouring the countrey before him, to suruey and regard all places round about, and after their ordinary and accustomed manner of searching (by turning and winding, here and there on all parts, to sound euery forteſt and daungerous place, least there might haue bene laied some ambushment to surprize and beguile him, who was his crafts-maister in such traines and artificiall sleights of policy. For this expert Chiefetaine, either was continually in feare and doubt, or else he did purposely faine and dissemble a kinde of feare by a certaine singular dexterity of his spirite, to the intent hee might make his souldiers more wary, circumspect, and aduised, and the more attentiue to all accidentes whatsoeuer. And this was the reason (as the report is) why he was wont commonly to haue these speeches in his mouth. That many more excellent captains & triumphant armies, haue bene ouercome & vanquished by surprizes then in open and set battell: that he had rather fight against ten men resolutely, and openly being prouided for them, then against two vpon any vncertainty & suspition either of place or any other inconuenience. Because that all things whatsoeuer which are doubtfull

Scanderbeg his order and policie in marching with his armie.

Saying of Scanderbeg.

» are more ſuſpitious and fearefull, and vpon a ſuddaine do ſeeme more hard and dif-
» ficult.

When *Scanderbeg* was come within a quarter of a league of the enemy, he made a ſtand, being not minded to aduaunce his enſignes any farther, till he had firſt ſent two ſouldiours (to whom he had promiſed a good ſumme of money) to the tentes of *Amurath* to ſee and vnderſtand the doings of the enemy. *Moſes* likewiſe voluntarily tooke vpon him with a gallant and chearefull courage ioyntly with them to be an actor in the matter: for that he thought there was not any great confidence to be repoſed in their skill and ſufficiencie. Immediatly therefore leauing their horſes (for that being on foote they might the more ſafely deceiue the Turkes ſentinels) he being diſguized in a varlets garment & a Sclauonian ſword by his ſide went chearefully on, and was ſoone out of ſight, with both the other ſouldiers, who followed him without any feare at all. They in the campe when they ſaw that *Moſes* did not ſpare to aduenture himſelfe in that enterprize, conceiued a ſingular hope in the matter: neuertheleſſe they ſtill expected in great perplexitie (by reaſon of the darkneſſe of the night, which made them somwhat both in feare and doubt) what would be the end of this attempt, and to what ſeruice they ſhould be drawen, when this worthy ſpy ſhould returne to make report what he had ſene. Neither did the Dibrian deceiue them of their expectation, for I may iuſtly ſpeake it) he did not onely compaſſe all the trēches & fortificatiōs of the infidels, to take a view & notice of euery thing: but he went euen through their inmoſt courts of gard, paſſing & ſearching the moſt ſecret places of their campe. I am not ignorant, that ſome haue aſcribed the proofe of this hardy and audacious fact vnto *Scanderbeg*, of which for my part, neuertheleſſe I will not robbe nor depriue *Moſes*: relying in this matter (though there be no great certainty thereof) vpon the pluralitie of opinions which do defend it: howbeit that this was not the firſt time that *Moſes* merited this commendation, neither was this peculiar to him alone. For it cannot be denied but that euen *Scanderbeg* did aduenture himſelfe to the like hazard (eſpecially during the ſiege of *Croy*, with the like courage and good ſucceſſe, I will not ſay, counſell and good aduiſe ſeeing in this caſe there is not any thing in a maner gouerned and guided by reaſon, but by meere chance and fortune. And therefore I dare not much commend in a Generall of an army that valour or vertue which is careleſſe & ſo prodigall of his life and ſafetie. Howbeit fortune herſelfe ſeemeth to haue exempted *Scanderbeg* from reproofe and blame in this behalfe: in that ſhe did continually ſo accompany and ſecond the endeuors & heroicall cōceipts of this worthy perſonage, that it was a thing very ſeldome ſeene in that age, & it was a ſpectacle both rare & ſingular to ſee a happy iſſue & euent ſtill ioyned with counſell & wiſedom, & that vertue ſhould be ſo attēded by fortune. But we ſhall haue occaſion elſewhere to entreate of this matter: let vs now returne to our campe with *Moſes*: who being perceiued a far off by the court of garde (for the moone was then at the full and did ſhine all night) they went to meet him and receiued him with infinite ioye and gladneſſe, and ſo conueyed him to the generall. Then might you ſee the priuate and common ſort of ſouldiours mingled pell mell with the nobles and chiefe commanders, all of them running in great deſire to vnderſtand what he had ſeene, what he had learned, and what likehood he brought either offeare or hope. When it it was knowen that all was well, and that matters ſtood in good caſe, and this ioyfull newes being diſperſed & publiſhed to euery one of them: *Scanderbeg* knew that the wiſhed houre did now approch for them to march on againſt the enemy: he beſtirred him ſelfe therefore on all ſides, and you might haue ſeene him ſometimes there amongſt the rancks and ſquadrons of his armed ſouldi-

ours,

Moſes with two other ſouldiours goeth as a ſpie into the campe of Amurath.

Scanderbeg went as ſpy into the Turkes campe lying at the ſiege of Croy.

Generall of an army not to be commended for aduenturing his perſon ouer hardily.

A rare thing to ſee fortune and vertue in one mā to be alwayes ioyned together.

ours, taking order, both for the men and their armes. Now disposing of some in the vauntgard, and others in the rereward, each one to his charge. And therewithall he encouraged them with many braue speeches and exhortations.

An Oration of Scanderbeg to his army being to giue a camizado to the Turkish campe.

Although (sayd he) my good friends and companions, both the present time and all things in a manner round about, especially your valour and prowesse so often manifested, may summon me now to be silent: yet the noueltie of the course which we now take, and this vnaccustomed fashion of fight, which now we are to begin (it may be) will giue you cause to think, that my speeches are not needles nor impertinent considering that it behoueth you now at my command to yeeld some new testimony of your auncient vertue against the enemy in the darknes of the night, and not as heretofore you were wont, in set battell open and orderly raunged. This is the cause, that I do now freely speake vnto you, and as instantly as possibly I may, I do pray and entreate you, I do exhort you, and I do require you, that euen the night it selfe may shew you to be mindfull of your noble courage, & to be mindfull of your honor & reputation which you haue purchased and continued so many yeares. For now cannot I be either a beholder or encourager of the valour or of the sloth of any of you, onely the moon-light shall be the witnesse of your valure, and your valure must animate and encourage you. Notwithstanding the successe and issue also of this nights seruice will giue an open testimony of your deuoire, and my selfe wilbe the particular iudge of your seuerall desertes, when I shall see your victorious handes bring me the bloudy spoyles of our dead enemies, their ensignes encountred and conquered before their trenches, and the heads cut off from the carcasses of their slaughtered bodies.

These and such like speeches did he vse vnto his souldiours, as it were in iest and meriment, admonishing them notwithstading in any case to abstaine from the pillage of their campe, least in thinking to satisfie their vile & couetous humour, their booty might happen to proue fatall vnto them, and be the occasion of their death and destruction: that nothing could be more pretious, neither could fortune offer any thing of better value to the braue souldier then the throat of the enemy.

Scanderbeg giueth a camizado to the Turkish campe.

This done, and hauing made their praiers and vowes of all sorts vnto God for the obtaining of victory, about the fourth houre of the night, hee caused his ensignes to march, but the clattering of their armour, and the neighing of the horses, did discouer their comming to the skoutes, before that they came to the tentes of the enemy: and they giuing the allarme to their Captaines, filled all parts with disorder, tumult, and confusion. Vpon this so sodaine and vnexpected a noise, the tents of the Graund Seigniour himselfe were striken with feare and terrour, and the old man being soone awaked, as a man amazed and destitute of all counsaile, did prouide as well as he could vpon so desperate an accident. But *Scanderbeg* for all this, neither slacked his course nor abated his fury: and although he perceiued by this tumult, that all the campe was in an allarme, and that the souldiers did runne in and out to the gardes, and passages of the campe, yet did he not diminish any part of his fury and fierceneesse formerly conceiued, but with high cries and wonderfull noise, he inuaded their trenches and fortifications. The first quarter that was assailed, was where certaine souldiers of *Asia* lay encamped, who being by chaunce the first that were encountred, had their tents and lodgings ouerthrowen in an instant, and themselues as they stood vpon their defence being partly slaine & partly put to flight, did draw on the like fury and destruction vpon others that succeeded in their roomes. For many who had taken armes in great hast & tumult, came to make head against the enemy, but being not able to make their party good, by reason they were vnequall to our men both in number and in fierceneesse, they were quickly cut in peeces, or driuen to forsake the place. From thence the

Christians passing further on, they found diuers tents and pauillions voyde and emptie, which they caused to be fired, and the cordes being cut in sunder, they left them thus ouerthrowen in poore estate. Thus did *Scanderbeg* a long time continue victorious without any losse or bloudshed of his men, till such time as a strong batallion of Turkes being rallied and gotten close together, did come forth and aduaunce forward from the hart and strength (as it were) of the Campe to repulse the shame and ignominie of this dishonour. Then began the fight to be doubtfull and ambiguous, the place was couered with dead bodies, and dyed with much bloud. For the Generall of the Albanois making head against them with a troupe of harquebusiers and crosbowes and all his companies of archers, and bearing them off bravely at the first encounter when they came to charge him: he gaue them such a volley of shot both with bullet and artillerie, and he handled them so rudely, that growing at the very beginning to be astonished, and the night redoubling their feare, they stood a while in a doubt whether they should presse forward or returne backward, neuertheless trusting to their number wherein they thought them selues the stronger (for there were more then 14000 fighting men:) they resolued at length to try the extremitie and last hazard, neither would the Albanois in any case quit the place which he had once set foote on: but marching still on with obstinacie & perseuerance, he prepared himselfe both to giue & to take blowes with like hardinesse & resolution. For albeit he could not pierce any further into the campe of the enemy (because the thicknes of the presse and multitude trouping close together) did hinder them: yet would he not for any danger whatsoeuer giue ouer this occasion of so notable a victory. Wherfore ioyning close with the enemy, & setting foote to foote, sword to sword, & target to target, they came to encounter together man to man, and hand to hand, all of them taking good heede to keepe them selues from entermingling with the enemy, for feare least in this confusion and in the darke, they should not be able, to discerne their friends from their foes. And their fight did seeme in shewe and resemblance to be in the nature of a particular combat, for so eger and furious was their fight, that they seemed like mad men, and so vehement was their hatred which they bare each other (not so much in publique as in priuate) that euery one did imagine the enemy then before him, to haue bin predestinat vnto him, and therefore each man did his best and the vttermost of his endeuours to lay hold on the bloudy spoyles of his enemy.

Now did it appeare on all sides how notably the late oratiō of *Scanderbeg* was fixed & imprinted in the memories of his souldiers, and what effect his particular preceptes & instructions had wrought in their harts: For on all sides the Circumcized yeelding vp their soules, did sigh and grone vnder the hands of the Christians, and their throats (as they were cut a sunder, did euen crackle & make a noyse through the aboundance of bloud which like streames, issued from them: so ardent a desire had euery one of the Albanois to shew vnto his Prince the heads seperated from the carcasses) as the certain & euident pledges of their faith which they had giuen him, & the assured markes of their prowes & vertue. But our men did not lōg enioy this libertie of killing & massacring: because the Turkes (seeing how their batallion was pressed & ill entreated) did now retire on all sides, both those which were whole, & those that were wounded, all together: and they conueyed themselues into the most secure and safest places of their campe euē to the lodging of their Prince. By this time their whole army being drawn out of the seuerall quarters of their campe, & orderly raunged) as the time & tumult would permit) they made towards the place of the combat, where purposing to haue done their best against the Christians, their comming was not so furious and so violent as it was in vayne and vnprofitable, for they euen vpon the first flight of their enemies,

mies, being partly wearied and partly satisfied with the slaughter, were departed. And albeit they were scant a mile from thence, yet durst none of them be so hardy, as to follow after them for feare of ambushments. They remained therefore and abode still in that place, till such time as the morning light did discouer the horrible butchery, and the sorrowfull obiect of the dead bodies of their companions, which them selues did bewaile with warme and bitter teares. It is generally agreed that there were slaine 2000. and more then 500. hurt and wounded: for two and fortie of the Christians which lay buried amongst the heapes of their dead enemies, whom afterwardes being found (though their bodies were stone cold and their eyes pale (as in dead men is vsuall) & though their members stiffe and cold had lost their vse & ordinary functions by the departure of their happy soules) yet these miscreants neuertheless, through a vaine desire of reuenge most inhumanly tearing them in peeces, did endeuor to satisfie their rage and malice, vpon the deafe and senceless trunkes of their dead carcasses. *Number of Turkes slaine in the camazed.*

This meane while the Prince of *Albanie* had gotten ground, and being past cleane out of sight and hearing of the enemy, he caused his army to make a stand in a certaine valley which the inhabitants call the fayre valley, and was about fiue miles from *Amurath*. There did he make some stay, to the intent both to breath his companies, and to set his troupes in better order by the benefite of the day light, as also to prouide for the that were wounded, whom visiting one by one, he did gratiously comfort, and without any respect of the dignitie of his estate, with a souldiourlike regard (as one that had bene but a meane footeman) him selfe did handle and looke vnto their woundes. All things being well and diligently ordered and disposed, he disloged thence with his ensignes displayed, and came to his Campe about the eleuenth houre of the day a little before noone. He had made the lesse speede, because the wounds of his souldiours did much hinder him: so likewise did the extremitie of the heate, and the burthensome cariage of the preye and booty gotten from the enemy. Besides there was a great number of prisoners both good and bad: for whatsoeuer was found within the enemies tents was taken and caried away. Amongest the rest of the pillage, there were 230. horses and seuen ensignes: but the heades of the Turkes, cut from their bodies, which the souldiours held and caried in their handes, as the notable markes of their priuate vertue, did singularly grace & beautifie the sight of this triumph. And *Scanderbeg* forgot not both with high praises, and rich presents and rewards, to honor all of them openly and in publique. The prisoners were sent into the next townes there to abide, till such time as they were ransomed. The ensignes with certaine moueables and riche ornaments, were sent vnto the Princes his associats: the rest of the spoiles were graunted and parted amongest the souldiers. After this for a while was the campe in good rest and quietnesse, and they had leysure to repaire their forces with new supplies. The third day being past, they remoued with bag and baggage, and all their cariage into the plaine countrey of *Emathia*, where they encamped. *The fayre valley.* *Scanderbeg returneth to his Campe.* *Scanderbeg encampeth in Emathia.*

The wrath and anger of the Turkish Emperor did so far preuaile with him, that the same being conuerted into rage and meere madnes (both for the peruerse misfortune and slaughter of his people, and through the deformed shape and aspect of his campe: and seeing no other meane nor matter of reuenge, he disgorged the rage and fury of his heart (yet all in vaine) against the besieged, and against the wals of their city. For three daies together did the Bassa of *Romania*, with a great and puissant preparation, enterprize vppon them, and as often was he repulsed, and with notable great losse ouerthrowen and beaten backe. By meanes whereof, as the hardy and couragious fiercenesse of the defendants was encreased more and more, so did a vehement indignation and broyling rage more and more torment the heart of the *Sultan*. And *Sferygrade assaulted for 3. dayes together by the Bassa of Romania.*

though his body were euen wasted and worne out with age, yet the exceeding vigour of his spirite (suruiuing within him) did euen reuiue and quicken it selfe a new, through the remembraunce of the worthy exploites, and the notable deedes of armes which he had atchieued in times past. He told his souldiours, that the euents of warre are diuers, and that the vnconstant humour of fortune doth not shewe it selfe in any thing whatsoeuer, more vnstable and variable, then in armes and martiall matters: that all difficulties by deliberate obstinacie and continuall study may be easily surmounted: that the strongest Townes and fortresses are but weake and feeble: that rampiers and all fortifications are of no force nor of long resistance: In briefe, that all things are easie to be compassed and effected, whereunto men doe frame their mindes, and intende their thoughts, and apply their continuall trauelles and endeuours. With these and such like speeches animating his people, and giuing them therewithall large promises of huge and excessiue rewardes (such as he had neuer made the like to any since the time of his comming to the Empire) the appointed a new assault to begin the next day following.

Speeches of Amurath to his souldiers: encouraging the to a new assault of Sfetygrade.

Nothing of all this was concealed or hidden from *Scanderbeg*, but dayly assoone as the Turke had decreed or determined vpon anything: he was speedely aduertised of it, both by espialles which he had abroad of purpose, and also by the discouerie and relation of the Paynims themselues, of whom many did dayly flye vnto him, either for that they were wearie of the Turkish tyranny & dominion, & did desire to follow that good fortune which seemed (as it were) to smile vpon this Prince fauoured by God him selfe: or (as it often happeneth) being drawen thereunto through the inconstancie of their owne dispositions. More then this, the franke and liberall nature of the Epirot, and his admirable prudence did so rauish the hartes of all such as did repayre vnto him: that if any of them came vnto him, with an ill and fraudulent intent, and with a purpose and resolution to deceaue him, they would soone alter their minds: so suddenly would he vanquish them with the regard of his bounty and with this clemency and benignitie. Now *Scanderbeg* vpon notice had of *Amurath* his determination, made no longer stay but till the returne of *Moses*, whom he had sent to leuie certaine new men for the supply of those whom he had lost in the former seruices. The rest of his troupes in the meane time stood ready ordered and raunged for the fight, as if they had bene to charge and giue battell presently, and as if the enemy had bene in sight to encounter them.

Turks fly from Amurath to Scanderbeg.

The day being come which *Amurath* had assigned for the assaulting of the Towne, early in the morning the ensignes being brought close vnder the walles, and the alarme giuen, the assault began euen by the breake of day. On all sides where the Towne was approchable was it enuironed round about, and all places were couered with armed forces. For the monarch of the Turkes hauing published and made it knowen, that this assault should be the last that he would attempt: he laboured tooth & nayle, and employed & bent all his forces & puissance against the defendants. And in the meane while to the intent he might preuent the sodaine comming of *Castriot* from troubling (as he was wont) the course of his furious desiignes & endeuours, he gaue vnto *Feribassa* that braue warriour, (at his owne instant & earnest request) an army of 12000. horse & foote, for the encountring of so daungerous an enemy, that making head and opposing him selfe, against the violence of his inuasions, he might keepe him still doing: so as his other troupes might not be disturbed nor withdrawen from the Towne, nor the assault discontinued. The sufficiencie of this chieftaine was great and notable: he was of a very good conceipt, & aduised, & full of courage, as one whom the continuall practise of deeds of armes had brought to haue the

Feribassa appointed with an army to resist the inuasion of Scanderbeg, during the assault of Sfetygrade.

Feribassa his praises and commendations.

the reputation of a moſt worthie ſouldier and an excellent Captaine. Hauing receiued his charge and ordered his forces, he neuer ceaſed courſing vppe and downe of all ſides, and ſending foorth his ſcoutes to diſcouer euen the moſt remote and farthest places from the campe: and in great impatiencie both of choller and of reſt, and as being grieued and diſcontented, that ſo faire an occaſion of honour and commendation, ſhould be ſo long delaied and detayned from him, he did attend and expect the enemie with a ſingular deſire and deuotion: and did wiſh that he had euen then beene there before him. So mightily doth the immutable deſtinie of the heauens inuegle and blinde our eyes, and the licentiouſneſſe of vnaccuſtomed libertie, that it maketh vs oftentimes more hardie and audatious then either in reaſon or neceſſitie is requiſite. And ſo was it with *Ferybaſſa*, who being an vnskilfull iudge of his owne ſtrength and puiſſance, had long ſince determined to trie himſelfe in priuate and particular combat againſt *Scanderbeg*, vpon the firſt opportunitie that he could get in the tumult of armes, and in the furie of the fight. *Sentence.*

By this time was a great part of the towne beaten downe, and certaine of their fortifications ouerthrowen. The Turkes likewiſe had filled the walles with ladders and with all ſortes of weapons: but eſpecially with long and great hookes did they aſſaile and preſſe vppon them which ſtoode vpon the walles, whileſt that others (though all in vaine) did not ceaſe, by hollowe caues and mynes digged through the earth, to haue made themſelues way into the towne. There wanted not alſo ſome who caſt balles of wildefire into diuerſe quarters of the citie, (for as yet were not Mortyers in vſe, or not knowen at all:) but ſoone was the fire quenched by the inhabitants, who without ſparing their liues, did carefully guarde and defende the walles on all ſides. But the chiefeſt ſtirre and whole daunger in a manner was towardes the great gate, where the Mahometans by the helpe of a great number of ladders, and long plankes and bordes heaped together, had raiſed vp (as it were) a certaine tower or plotforme, by the which manie might get vp at once, and hauing once gotten good footing, they might afterwardes ayde themſelues both with their ſhotte and dartes, to make the defendantes to forgoe their places. The number of the enemies reſorting thither did ſo increaſe continually (aſſoone as they ſawe this matter intended) as if they had nowe founde the way to enter into the towne. Some brought great and long beames both to ſtrengthen and to enlarge this newe building: others made them ſecret lodgings in couert cloſe adioyning to the walles, and then brought diuerſe inſtrumentes, as pickeaxes, barres of yron, and ſuch like, to digge and vndermine the wall. They prouided likewiſe ſtore of arrowes, dartes, ſtones, and other flying weapons, by which they might oppreſſe the defendauntes from the toppe of this their building. Nowe beganne the heate and furie of the aſſaylantes on ech ſide, in the other partes of the towne by little and little to waxe colde: and thither was drawen all the daunger and violence of the conflict. Beſides that the tumult and horrible crie of them without did make all things ſeeme more fearefull and terrible. Feare and diſpaire mingled together, had mightily ſeized vppon the hearts of the Chriſtians, who were very buſily occupied in the defence of this place: when they ſaw the matter brought to that iſſue and extremitie, that the enemy could neither be remoued, nor yet hindered from the obſtinate purſuite of their endeuors. For by how much the more they were repulſed and beaten downe and ſlaine, by ſo much the more did their numbers ſtill encreaſe: and freſh men continually ſucceeding in their roomes, did by heapes mount vpon the walles, not giuing them any time of reſt and breathing, or anie intermiſſion: in ſuch ſort that the defendants did not only now want weapons to repell them, but their force and ſtrength began to faile them. *Aſſault to Sfetigrade.*

Perceiuing therefore that their reſiſtance did ſmally auaile them, and fearing the imminent daunger leaſt the towne on that ſide ſhould be wonne by the enemie: they ſent ſpeedily to call the Gouernour. But the brute and terrour running from one to an other, was alreadie come to the eares of *Perlat*, and had ſummoned him to make haſt thitherwarde: by meanes whereof thoſe that were ſent to call him, found him neere at hande, and comming to the place withall poſſible ſpeede and good diligence, and accompanied with a good troupe of citizens. For all the people both olde and young, being as men confounded and amazed, neither more nor leſſe, then as if they had heard that the towne had beene alreadie taken by the Turkes: yet (being in ſuſpence, and vncertaine of the matter) they ranne thither ſighing and ſorrowing, yet deſirous to ſee the iſſue of this lamentable ſight and ſpectacle. The preſence of this hardie and ſtout Chieftaine, did at the verie firſt onſet beate them off that were mounted vppon the wall, and certaine ſtandardes of the Turkes, which were found raiſed vppon the rampier, were quickely pulled away, and with great crie and clamours caried into the market place, to the intent the ſight of this bootie might encourage and hearten their companions, and free them from their former care. One thing yet remained of eſpeciall importance, and that was, to breake in peeces and to beate downe this maſſye heape of woode, and thoſe great beames of timber which lay ſo neere the wall: vnder the couert whereof (as we haue ſaide) the ſouldiers being lodged, did both vndermine the foundations with pickeaxes and iron barres, and did furniſh the aſſaylants with diuerſe thinges needefull for the aſſault. Beſides the enemie yet ſtanding firme aloft vppon this tower, and preſſing the defendants with a furious and eger fight, did hold them continually in allarme, and in ſmall ſecuritie. To remoue this inconuenience, they got together manie heapes of great and huge ſtones, which they cauſed to be rouled downe vppon this building, caſting downe alſo withall great quantitie of oyle, vineger, and ſeething water, all of them boyling whot, which they continued ſo long, that with the force and violence thereof, and with the often ſtroakes of the ſtones, and other things caſt from aloft, both the plankes of this tower, and the whole frame, by which the ladders were ioyned and helde together, beganne at length to be broken, and to be laide euen with the grounde. In like caſe the other engines and inſtruments of the enemie, were broken and buried vnder the ruines of this frame: beſides more then a hundreth common ſouldiers, and with them alſo two of their chiefe Captaines, were cruſhed to death and ſmothered by the deadly fall of this building. The towne being freed and deliuered from this feare, the rampiers being newly repayred, and the walles furniſhed and guarded with freſh ſouldiers (for that there was ſcarce any one left either vnſlaine or vnwounded of thoſe that were placed there at the firſt) the Gouernour with his traine went ſpeedily from thence to oppoſe himſelfe elſewhere againſt other attempts of the enemie. For by this time the like debate and conflict was riſen in other places, and the Turkes did preſſe ſo hard to get the aduantage of the walles, that the towne ſeemed to be in as hard an eſtate, and in as great a daunger as before. Within a while after the Gouernour his departure, the Mahometans (which had beene repulſed and beaten backe from the aſſault, by the freſh ſupply of our men that came againſt them) hauing for a litle while withdrawen themſelues from the wall: aſſoone as they knewe that the Gouernour was abſent (imagining that the former heate of the Chriſtians was ſomewhat abated) they beganne once againe to goe in hande with their former worke, and to vndertake the taske which they had beene forced to leaue vnfiniſhed. Raiſing vp therefore once againe their beames of timber againſt the walles, which were yet

ſuming

fuming with the bloud of their companions, they ſeemed to giue the defendants a new repreſentation of their forepaſſed daunger. But their laſt aſſayes were no more fortunate then the former, by reaſon of the ſudden arriuall of *Perlat*, who with little labour ouerthrewe this worke but newe begunne: and the ſtuffe being ſcarcely yet brought together for that intent and purpoſe, was quickly diſperſed and caſt to the ground.

In the middeſt of theſe contentions and varieties of fortune at the aſſault, there preſented it ſelfe another kinde of fight, farre more notable and more worthie to be regarded, the which was able to haue withdrawen the thoughtes, and to haue ſtaied the handes both of the one ſide and the other, and to haue made them (as if all armes had beene laide apart, and all choller and rancour quite forgotten) not to purſue their attempt, but to ſtande ſtill wholly attentiue to the ſucceſſe of their companions. For now was the Prince of *Epyre* approched neere with his armie, and (being come almoſt within ſixe hundreth paces of the enemie) he was determined ſuddenly to breake in vppon their campe. On the other ſide, *Ferybaſſa* was readie prouided to receiue him with the forces which the *Sultan* had giuen him to that purpoſe. For he did not thinke that the Albanois had anie other intention, but onely by a faint and falſe allarme to hinder the aſſault that was begunne, and to make the Turkiſh bandes to retyre from the walles euen in the chiefeſt of their furie: wherefore to preuent him in this point, he made towardes him, and would not ſuffer him to paſſe forwarde, till they had debated vppon the matter. *Scanderbeg* feigning a kinde of feare, beganne ſoftly to retyre drawing on the enemie (who ſtill followed him) ſome ſeuenſcore paces farther: and then with all his forces, well ordered to the battell, marching againe forwardes directly againſt him, he charged him moſt furiouſly. The Turkiſh Captaine (who had beene euer deſirous of battell) did not in anie ſort refuſe him: but hauing ſeene the ſmall number of the Chriſtians, who were but nine thouſande men, or little more, (for *Scanderbeg* had left the reſidue of his troupes, being but fifteene hundred at the moſt, with *Muſachie*, about a mile and a quarter off for the ſafegarde of the others, if anie misfortune ſhould betide them) he oppoſed againſt them all his footemen and foure thouſande horſe, whom he placed in the front before them: and with theſe he made head againſt the Albanois, and receiued them to the ſhocke. The reſt of his horſemen with a wylie and fine ſtratageme, he cauſed ſecretly to withdrawe themſelues from the bodie of the armie, and a farre off to fetch a compaſſe about, to the intent they might get behinde the Albanois at their backes, and ſo, (hauing them encloſed and entangled on both ſides) they might ſhut vppe the paſſage, and bereaue them of all meanes and poſſibilitie to ſaue themſelues, and perhappes alſo take *Scanderbeg* aliue. But this olde beaten and expert ſouldier did preſently diſcouer the deuiſe: wherefore leauing *Moſes* to maintaine the fight of the middle battell, himſelfe with a troupe of horſemen moſt readie and reſolute, ſetting ſpurres to his horſe, turned aſide to the right hande: where at the firſt ſight, hee ſtaied the courſe of the enemie that haſtened to haue encloſed him, and afterwards comming to handie ſtrokes, and preſſing rudely vppon them, he made them giue ground, and in the ende to change their determination, and to looke to their owne ſafegarde. There were of the Turkes more then foure thouſand horſe, whereas the Albanois did not fully make two thouſande. Neuertheleſſe, for a while the hope of the victorie reſted indifferent on both parties, and their courages were equall, though their fortune were not alike, for that there fell a farre greater number of the circumcized. *Muſachie* likewiſe (hauing beene called footh by ſome of the Albanois) had now charged the Paynims on the

Scanderbeg commeth to inuade the Turkiſh campe

The battell betweene Scanderbeg and Ferybaſſa.

Stratagem of Ferybaſſa to enclоſe Scanderbeg.

left hand, and with all his forces kept the reſt of them there employed. In this manner both the armies, being deuided tripartite, did repreſent on the one ſide and the other, the forme of three ſundrie fightes and combats. *Moſes* behaued him ſelfe wonderfull aduiſedly, and ſeemed to vſe rather pollicie then force againſt the enemie. For neither would he giue the bridle to the furie of his ſouldiers, nor would he aduenture them to the hazarde ouer haſtily: till ſuch time as he perceiued that the two winges beganne to haue ſome likelihoode of good ſucceſſe, and had made an entrance to the victorie: to the intent he might reſerue the ſtrength and vigour of his men freſh and luſtie. Till then therefore he helde the rankes of his battell firme and cloſe ioyned together, and with a kinde of ſubtiltie ſeemed to temporize and to prolong the fortune of the fight, till the comming of his companions. This made *Feribaſſa* the more fierce and inſolent, and to preſſe vpon them without any intermiſſion: and oftentimes would he vſe to encourage and hearten on his ſouldiers with theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches.

Encouragement of Feribaſſa to his ſouldiers in the battell againſt Scanderberg.

On, on, (my good ſouldiers) vſe the fauour of the gods, take the benefit of the victorie, whileſt the ſwords of the Chriſtians doe ſtand (as it were) amazed, and whileſt their forces doe growe faint. Goe we on to ſeeke out theſe heads which are vowed to the ſlaughter, and to cut in peeces their curſed bodies. See how they faint on all ſides: ſcarce can we diſcerne any tokens of enmitie in our enemies, neither doth their countenance, nor their voice, nor their geſture make anie ſhewe that they haue a minde to ſtande vppe long againſt you. Or (it may be) that they doe purpoſely delay the combat, and attend the comming of the night, becauſe (as theeues and robbers) they are vſed to the night. It behoueth you to aide your ſelues with the light, and you muſt keepe them from this policie, and take that opportunitie out of their hands, euen now whileſt we do exceede them in number, and do ſurpaſſe them in valure. If we ſtaie for the night, the leſſer numbers will be equall to the greater, and the cowards will match the moſt valiant and hardie. But what do I blame theſe, or why doe I preſſe vpon them, whoſe obſtinacie will ſoone ceaſe and vaniſh as the ſurges of the ſea, when the tempeſt is gone and paſt? We muſt cut off their head, and then the bloud of the other (as it is but vile and baſe) ſo is it of no force nor reſiſtance. Where is this wicked fugitiue, the author of ſo manie miſchiefes? I my ſelfe alone will diſpatch him of his life without the hazarde of any of you, if it be my good happe to encounter him in the battell. And I will ſacrifice the bloud of this ſauage and wilde beaſt, (whom ſo many theftes and robberies haue made inſolent) to the ſoules of our ſlaine brethren, friendes, and kinſfolkes. I haue (my friendes) of a long time bene of this minde, and this my deſire is not of any ſudden or new affection. It is long ſince that my thoughts did ayme at this combat: and my ſpirit hath beene euer enflamed to ſeeke the puniſhment of this wretched, vnhappie runnagate. I will once make proofe whether this my ſword can cut well or not, whether that bodie of his be penetrable, or that it be fatall to thoſe that encounter him. And I will ſee from whence he hath that corporall ſtrength and vigour: and in what this happie warriour (whoſe fortune hath beene of ſuch long continuance) doth excell and ſurpaſſe all others.

Feribaſſa challengeth Scanderberg to the combat.

In this manner did the Barbarian ſpeake vnto his ſouldiers, and then ſwelling with pride and furie (more then was befitting a Generall of an army) he went vp & down ſearching and ſeeking amiddeſt the preſſe, and caſting his eies on all ſides to ſee if he could finde out *Scanderberg*: and his minde being ſet on nothing elſe, he made ſignes with his hands and with his voice, ſtill calling and demaunding for *Scanderberg*. The ſouldiers were nothing diſcontented with the hearing of theſe vauntes: and albeit

the prowes and valure of the Christian Captaine, did seeme vnto all of them to be inuincible, yet did they attende neuertheleſſe with great deuotion (as the cõmon sort is desirous of nouelties) to see the succeſſe of so notable a spectacle. Besides they were in hope, that (the aduantage of the fight and victorie falling to the one or the other of them) it would be an occasion that the bloudines of the fight would be the sooner determined, and their labour would be the more speedily at an end. Many of them notwithstanding, whose minds were more intentiue to higher matters, and who were respectiue of their honour, did diswade *Ferybaſſa* from this combat (yet with gentle perswasions least they should seeme to haue imputed cowardice vnto him,) and they shewed him (as well as they could,) that the triall of this combat, was no leſſe perilous then strange & without any president or good example: that the Generals of armies should not in their owne persons make themselues the obiect of a sight, whereof they ought to be the beholders and the iudges: that such contentions were proper vnto souldiers, and were the offices of particular & priuate persons, that the charge of great Captaines was to giue counsell, and to commaund rather then to fight and to handle the sword: that if occasion were, there would be store enough of others found who would valiantly vndertake this enterprise, rather then that he by this ouer hardie fiercenesse and immoderate desire of danger, should leaue at sixe and seuen, and commit to blind chance and fortune the honor of the victory, which they had in a maner sure and certaine.

Sentence.

Ferybaſſa dissuaded from the combat by his owne men.

The office of a Generall to consult and to commaund rather then to fight.

Ferybaſſa hauing his eares shut to all these reasons and perswasions, and litle or nothing regarding this good and wholsome counsell, with a mind & humor quite contrarie, set spurres to his horse: and being attended with a strong squadron of horsmen, went to call for *Scanderbeg*, and with a loud voice willed him to prepare himselfe to his defence. The king of *Egypte*, albeit he had before heard almost the whole discourse of his aduersarie: yet not remitting for all that the heate and fury of the battell already begunne, but either dissembling, or in respect of his royall dignitie disdayning him, he would scarce turne his face towards him. But when he saw the victorie already enclyning vnto him, and that the barbarian did so presse and importune him: then his fiercenesse being augmented with the new and happie succeſſe of that aduantage, he refused not the challenge: but being all besprinckled and embrued with the bloud of his enemies, he went well accompanied to meete with *Ferybaſſa*. The fierce and austere countenance of the Epirot, whom the Mahometan had prouoked to present himselfe there before him: the wings of his owne legions being then in rout and disorder, and the losse of so many of his souldiers, might haue sufficed to diswade this rash and temerous Turke, and to haue bethought himselfe better. The view and pitiful regard of his misfortune, ought to haue terrified him & speedily to haue suppressed all desire of entring into combat. Neuertheleſſe whither it were the necessitie of his destiny that did constraine him, or that the feare of shame & infamy did restraine him, he shewed not any change of his first resolution, nor bewrayed any alteration of his courage. Now in an instant both the one part & the other ceased from fighting, and the fury of the souldiers was staied by their Generals, in such sort that betweene both the armies, there was not heard or perceiued any noise nor any shew of malice and enmitie. All things were still and quiet, except certaine of the Lords & chiefe Captaines of the Albanois, who inuironning their Prince, did endeuour sometimes by praiers and petitions, and sometimes by their importunity to entreate him: that he would not meddle with the clamarous and rayling beast: and they told him moreouer, that his head only after he were slaine, did appertaine to their Generall, but that his slaughter belonged vnto them & was their dutie: that it should redound more to his honor

Scanderbeg preparath himselfe to the combat with Ferybaſſa.

Speeches of Scanderbeg by his Nobles entreating him not to combat with Ferybaſſa

» and more aduantage the eſtate of *Albanie* for the *Ottoman* to ſee, that the ſouldiers
» of the Epirots were to be compared for their valure with the Captaines and leaders
» of the Turkes: and that there was no compariſon betweene their Generals. Beſides
» that it was not conuenient, that ſo great a Prince ſhould aduenture the reputation and
» honour of ſo many honourable exploites, and the glorie and renowme purchaſed by
» ſo many yeares: in combatting with one that was but a ſlaue and bondman to *Amu-*
» *rath*. That it could be no increaſe or augmentation of honour or fame vnto *Scander-*
» *beg* to ouercome this barbarian, whereas *Feribaſſa* by this act might grow more tri-
» umphant and glorious, then by all the deedes and demerits of his life before paſt. All
theſe perſwaſions notwithſtanding, *Scanderbeg* hauing highly commended and ex-
tolled their ſingular affection and good wils towards him, whileſt he was preparing
himſelfe to the iouſt: he thus replyed vnto them.

Anſwere of Scanderbeg to his Nobles, diſſwading him from the combat with Feribaſſa.

God defend (quoth he my friends) that as long as this hand of mine can handle the
ſword, and as long as this bodie of mine retaineth his wonted ſtrength and vigour,
that any of you ſhould carrie away from me the ſucceſſe of this aduenture: the which
(whatſoeuer it be) I referre to him that is the giuer of all victorie. Reſerue there-
fore theſe your offices of good will to ſome other ſeaſon when you ſhall ſee me aged
» and ſtricken in yeares, when my limmes beginne to faile, and when I ſhall aſſure my
» ſelfe that my ſtrength doth decay. At this time you ought to haue a care, leaſt whileſt
» you ſhew your ſelues too carefull of my life, you doe enuie my honour and reputati-
» on. And what would the enemy ſay if (according to your requeſt) I ſhould yeeld you
» the hazard of this combat: but that my holding backe and refuſing of the fight were
» but a meere diſſimulation of my cowardice, and a true confeſſion of a fearefull and
» faint heart, and that I durſt not encounter him, nor were comparable vnto him. For
» (to anſwere your obiections) it is not amiſſe ſometimes for a Generall of an armie
» to vndertake a combat as well as a priuate ſouldier. That glorious combat of *Alex-*
» *ander* the Great with *Porus* king of the Indians was it any diminiſhing to his honour
» and reputation? Did our anneeſtors euer diſcommend the fight that was betweene
» *Pyrrhus* and *Pantachus*? I will not here ſpeake of the *Marcelli*, the *Torquati*, and the
» *Coruini*, who with the ſingular glorie both of themſelues and their citizens, haue o-
» uercome their enemies that challenged them to the combat. Theſe are the hands that
» muſt vndertake this hazard: for me it is that the enemie calleth with ſo many mena-
» ces and brauadoes: to me it is that this cruell beaſt ſpeaketh. I could do litle if I ſhould
» refuſe him in ſuch a matter, and he might thinke me very vnkind if I ſhould not ſatisfie
» his deſire in ſo honeſt and reaſonable a requeſt. He is a man of ſufficient worth to feele
» the weight of this my ſword, whom *Amurath* thought ſo worthy to haue the charge
» and commaund of ſo great an armie.

The combat betweene Scanderbeg and Feribaſſa.

This ſaid, he ſent preſently one of his guard to tell the Barbarian that he ſhold make
readie to receiue him: and immediatly he preſented himſelfe vpon the place aſſigned
for the conflict, being conueyed thither with many acclamations and high clamors
of his ſouldiers. The inequalitie of the combattants (the Turke not being compara-
ble in valure to his enemie) and his ſhort and ſpeedie ende, (for he was too too ſoone
diſpatched) did make the fight and ſpectacle leſſe delightfull, and made the combat
leſſe notable then otherwiſe it might haue bene. For at the firſt courſe and encounter
with their launces, *Feribaſſa* being ſtriken through the face into the head tumbled
Feribaſſa ſlain by Scanderbeg. downe to the ground, and left both his life and his horſe both at once. *Scanderbeg* ta-
king no regard either of his bodie or of his ſpoiles, but returning preſently to his cõ-
panie, willed them to renue the fight, and to inuade the enemie a freſh. But the infi-
dels being enraged, would not giue them the leaſure: for aſſoone as they ſawe their

Generall

Generall laide on the ground, at the first they made towardes his corps with their troupes close and firme together, thinking to haue guarded his bodie from the outrage of the enemie, and to haue dragged him away by the feete. But being not able to effect it by reason that the Christians suddenly comming vpon them, did hinder their attempt, they thought it better to withdraw themselues, and to carrie the newes of their misfortune vnto their soueraigne: and therfore turning their backes, they fled away with might & maine, which the Albanois perceiuing (who were come thither with a full resolution and good deuotion to haue charged them) many of them, especially the vauntcurrets fell to the chase, till such time as the retraite being sounded, caused them to returne. *Scanderbeg* ioyous and glad of this victorie, after he saw that all was quiet and that there was nothing to be seene but the footesteps of the enemie, and the earth washed with the blood of their cold carcasses, presently sent the common souldiers to gather the pillage, whilest himselfe with the residue of his best and braueſt souldiers arranged in order of battell, stood vpon his guard for feare of some commotion that might be made from the campe of the enemie.

Victorie of Scanderbeg against the armie of Ferybassa.

This ouerthrow and vnhappie discomfiture being first reported, and afterwards perceiued by the *Sultan*, did so ouerwhelme his heart with griefe and sorrow intermingled with feare, that he stood mute for a long season as if he had bene in a traunce: for he sawe himselfe so frustrate of his hope and expectation, as if all the powers of heauen had conspired against him. But the violence of his passion by little and little leauing him, he prouided by reason of this accident, and tooke order for all matters so fully and in as good sort as any Generall (were he neuer so prudent and expert) could possibly haue done. First therefore he placed souldiers on all sides, charging them diligently and carefully to espie the drifts and counsels of the enemie: then drawing downe certaine small peeces of artillerie from before the towne, he planted them towards that part of his campe where the townes men did most vsually sally out vpon him, and which was most subiect to the iniuries and inuasions of the enemie. Moreouer hauing augmented and restored the troupes of *Ferybassa* with a supply of foure thousand men (for so many had bene slaine in the fight betweene him and *Scanderbeg*) he appointed them for the defence of the trenches and fortifications of the camp, expressly charging and enioyning them, that no man should set his foote without the trenches to oppose himselfe against the Christians, till such time as they sawe them entred within the campe: and that then they should make some barricado at the place, and playing vpon them with the peices (which were placed there of purpose) they should oppresse them with the force and violence thereof, rather then with the hazarding of their bodies against them: supposing by this meanes, that both his souldiers should be the better preserued, & that so he might happen to recompence them both for his forepassed and future losses sustained at all times in seuerall conflictes. Thus did he make prouision to preuent all inconueniences, so as the siege and assaulting of the towne should not be any way interrupted. Notwithstanding the courage of the Mahometans was mightily decreased and diminished, their strength beganne to faile them, and the force of their blowes seemed to waxe faint and feeble, after they once saw that the fortune of the fight did succeed so vnluckely against them, and that contrarie to their hope and expectation, the fauor of the field did seeme to smile vpon the aduerse partie: and principally for that the vertue and fortune peculiar to the prince of *Epire*, had gotten him the good will and liking of many euen of their owne company: especially them who measuring matters by their successe and euent, do variably frame and conform their faith accordingly. For I find it recorded, that the same day of the discomfiture of *Ferybassa*, more then fiftie Turkes left the seruice of *Amu-*

Amurath fortifieth his campe against future inuasions of his enemie.

Number of Turkes slaine in the battell betweene Scanderbeg and Ferybassa.

Turkes flee to the Christians.

rath, and came and yeelded themselues to the Christians. The honor of this iorney seemed to encrease and (as it were) to yeeld a kind of nouriture to the forces and courage of the Sfetigradians: whereof they gaue a large and blooddie testimonie to the assailants: who continuing more fresh and fierce then before, had made another assault against the towne, not suffering the besieged at any time to breath and rest themselues, till the darke of the night so long and earnestly desired, did seperate and part them asunder, causing euerie man at the sound of the trumpet, to retire to his quarter sore wearied and wellneare tyred with their extreame labour. This daies iorney cost the grand Seignior the liues of seuen thousand souldiers at the least, an euident signe of his misfortune: and more returned hurt then whole from the assault. Of the defendants there wanted 70, besides ninetie two wounded verie dangerously, by meanes whereof their numbers daily diminishing, many of them grew to be troubled: fearing least at length, the towne being disfurnished of menne to defend it, should be brought to that issue and extremitie, as to yeeld to the will and pleasure of the enemy. This made them to apply all their studie, care and endeuors more intentiuely then euer, to the repairing of their walles, to the building and raising of their rampiers, platformes and Gabions: to the intent the souldior standing close and in couert, might the lesse aduenture his bodie to the blowes and shot of the enemie. One thing notwithstanding did greatly comfort and encourage them though they were shut vp and sorely trauelled: and that was: to see their Prince continue his good fortune and prosperitie: and that the armie of the infidelles was so harried, weakned and beaten with so many slaughters and rough discomfitures, that it was greatly diminished and empaired.

Number of Turkes slaine at the 2. assault of Sfetigrade.

I come now to *Scanderbeg* and his people, whom I left making their benefite all at pleasure of the victory which they had gotten, and gathering the spoiles of the dead bodies before that the *Ottoman* troupes descending from the mountaine, did giue ouer the assault. This done, he retyred himselfe with tryumph for his double victorie, to his campe, where he spent the rest of the night in singing of songs and other sports. The bootie carried away was so maruellous, that the souldiers seemed not to care for it: but especially they had such plentie of horses, that there was not any of the souldiers in a manner, but had some giuen them. Many of them were giuen to the Princes neere adioyning, with other rich and costly presents purchased from the enemie. Moreouer there were infinite marchants which came purposely both from *Italy* and other Nations, who buying of them for ready money, or for exchange and barter of other marchandize, did daily rid and carie them out of the countrie.

The returne of Scanderbeg to his campe.

The whole Prouince of *Epyre* began now to leaue all feare, and to be secure from the terrour of the Turkish armie, and the *Ottoman* grew to be litle redoubted, but rather contemned by all in generall, now that they saw his forces so beaten, broken and discomfited: and euen *Scanderbeg* also was of the opinion, that *Amurath* would of himselfe raise his siege from before *Sfetygrade*, and trussing vp his baggage, after so many calamities suffered and endured, would depart and not make any longer stay in the countrie. Neuertheless, he daily sent out spies and others to sound the counsels & secret deliberations of the *Sultan*: but yet for all that he could heare no newes from the campe of the enemie. Wherefore as one that mortally hated idlenesse, he made choise of 2000. horse, & taking the way of the mountaines, he went abroad to search and enquire in what estate all things stoode, and he was in great perplexitie, because he could not any way learne nor coniecture, what were the counsels & intent of the *Ottoman*, not what course he was determined to take. If he could intercept any of the foragers or vassals of the Turke so it was, otherwise he was like to remaine doubtfull

Scanderbeg goeth to discouer vpon the enemy.

full and in suspence as before: for either to inuade his trenches, or to come openly to fight with him was but meere folly: neither was there any surety to be hoped for by any such course; because he feared the number of the Turkish forces whole and vnited, and the engines which lay couertly prouided for the fortification of their campe: of the which he had had aduertisement by those that were come vnto him from the enemie. All this notwithstanding he coursed still vp and downe, sometimes heere, sometimes there to shew himselfe to his enemies, and vpon the appearance and shew of his small numbers, to draw him foorth to fight, in hope of some good and happy exploit. But all these deuises did litle or nothing anaile him; for that the Infidels (as if themselues had bene besieged) did not stirre a foote out of their trenches and rampiers: by reason that the *Sultan* had pronounced the rigorous and terrible sentence of death, to be executed vpon all those who should dare to aduenture without licence, either to issue forth to fight, or to make any mention of fighting with him. The Albanois seeing that matters did not fall out to his desire and expectation, returned to his campe full of care and discontentment, there to take further aduise what course was most conuenient, both to deliuer the towne that was so straightly besieged, and to expell the enemie out of the countrey: considering he was not able to vse open force against him, neither would he be brought to enterprize or aduenture any thing rashly and vnaduisedly. To solicite the potentates and townes of *Epire* his confederates to take armes, and with them to aduenture the fortune of the whole estate to the doubtfull chance of battell, seemed a course of litle or no safetie. For, put the case he were assured of the victorie, yet could not a matter of so great consequence and difficultie be effected but with much bloodshed of infinite of his people. Amongest many opinions propounded in councell, this was laied downe as the most safe and commendable, to continue the warre according to their accustomed manner, and that he should suffer the power of the enemie, to vanish and waste away, and to grow into contempt: till being consumed and spent by their owne secret discommodities and inconueniences, and his forces growing from day to day, to waxe more faint and to decay, he should voluntarily desist from his attempt, and by his owne losses and dammages, might be driuen to leaue the prouince which he had so vnfortunately inuaded: that he had not (God be praised) any occasion to find himselfe aggrieued neither with the faith and loyaltie of any person, nor yet with his owne good fortune: and that touching those of *Sfetigrade*, there did appeare so many & so notable signes and euidences of their good perseuerance, that euerie man might hold himselfe contented, and his mind well satisfied. Besides that, the towne was so well fortified and defended of all things needefull for the besieged, that they had not onely good store of necessaries for their ordinarie vsage, but more then enough though they should mispend and abuse them: and therefore, what course soeuer the Turke should take, either by abstaining a long time from assaulting of their walles, or by giuing the same new and often assaults, it should be to the ruine and confusion of his owne people: or that whilest they should be most busily employed and troubled about the assault, they might easily approach with an armie from the field, and so annoy or endaunger them within their campe, that both on the one side and the other, they should reape nothing but shame and infamy euen in the face and view of *Amurath*.

Scanderbeg holdeth counsell for his proceedings against the enemie.

These things did *Scanderbeg* alleadge openly and in publique, making a shewe in outward appearance, and carying a countenance of great cheerefulnes and assurance: but inwardly and in his hart, his mind was violently troubled and perplexed with diuerse cares and pensiue thoughts and imaginations: and he did diuine of the counsels and practises of *Amurath* no otherwise then the issue and euent of matters did after-

wards make manifeſt. He was no leſſe in doubt and feare of the ſad and ſilent behauior, and of the ſlothfull and idle quietnes of *Amurath*, then of his armes and all his forces: and he had reaſon: for he knew by long experience his naturall diſpoſition, and his ſubtile cariage and demeanour. He daily conſidered with himſelfe alſo, that gifts and large rewards, were able both to aſſaile and to preuaile againſt any towne or fortreſſe. He knew that couetouſnes and the hunger of gold, hauing taken hold in mens hartes, did make them ſacrilegious and irreligious, and worſe then brute beaſtes and monſters. The conceit hereof did eaſily perſwade him to doubt and feare euery thing, whoſe mind was full of ielouſie and ſuſpition: for he was not ignorant, that the wals of many townes, and the bodies of many men who had contemned all daunger of ſword and armor, who were vnconquerable by force, and againſt whom iron could not preuaile, yet had bene tempted and ouercome by gold and ſiluer. This was it that brought him into an exceeding feare, and an incredible miſtruſt: for his mind running and diſcourſing of diuerſe matters, he imagined it a matter verie eaſie and likely, that in ſo great a multitude there might be found ſome one wretch or other of a wicked and miſchieuous diſpoſition, who being blinded and inueigled with the inordinate deſire of gaine, might open his eare and be ſeduced to condeſcend to ſome infamous and vile conditions of trecherie and infidelitie. And this care did not torment him for *Sfetigrade* only, but for all the other townes likewiſe within his dominions: but principally for *Croie*: fearing leaſt ſome one of his ſubiects traiterouſly diſpoſed, ſhould haue ſecret and priuate intelligence with the *Ottoman*, and ſhould worke him ſome miſchiefe and miſfortune. For this cauſe taking with him in companie no more then *Tamuſee* and *Muſatbe*, and about thirty other beſide them, and being diſguiſed in the habit of a ſimple ſouldier, he emploied all his poſſible diligence and induſtrie to ſearch out and enquire if he could heare of any thing attempted or managed to that effect.

Scanderbeg in great perplexitie for doubt of treaſon in Sfetigrade.

Thus you may ſee how the Prince of *Albanie* on the one ſide, and the Soueraigne of the Turkes on the other ſide, eech ſuſpecting and redoubting other, and being tormented in their mindes, had both of them their imaginations occupied with diuerſe thoughtes and cogitations about the vncertaine iſſue of their affaires. The *Ottoman* keeping himſelfe cloſe within his trenches (as we haue ſaide) did ſpend all his time in diſcourſing and conſulting vpon diuerſe ſubtle plots and deuiſes: for knowing that neither violence, nor menaces, nor a long and tedious ſiege, nor the often and continuall aſſaults of his ſouldiers were ſufficient to carrie the towne, but that the defendants did perſeuer in their former conſtancie: he determined therefore to trie his fortune another way, albeit there were ſome who counſelled him to continue ſtill in preſſing them with his forces, and to holde on his attempts againſt the towne. Many alſo did aduiſe him not to proceede any further againſt ſo manie difficulties, but to bend all his forces to the deſtruction & ſpoile of the countrie, and ſo make the whole Prouince of *Albanie* to feele the extremitie of ſworde and fire, the two ſcourges of warre: and to purſue the enemie, who being growen inſolent and arrogant with ſo many victories, did ſeeme to contemne all dangers, and did courſe here & there walking vp and downe the countrie at his pleaſure, with a handfull (as it were) of raſcals and beggers: or elſe that leauing *Sfetigrade*, he ſhould leade his armie before *Croie*, where peraduenture they might encounter ſome better fortune: and (it might be) that *Scanderbeg* would ſhut vp himſelfe within that citie, by meanes whereof they ſhould haue but one enemie onely to make head againſt them. For they were eaſily perſwaded, that he would not commit the guard and care of this place, being of ſuch importance, to the faith and induſtrie of any perſon but himſelfe onely. None of theſe conſiderations

Amurath conſulteth vpon his proceedings againſt Sfetygrade.

Counſellers of Amurath are in diuerſe opinions for his proceedings againſt Sfetygrade.

sideratiõs could sinke into the minde of the *Sultan* to resolue vpon: but contrariwise he reiected and contemned them, replying (and that with good reason) that these fashions of pilling and robbing the countrey, were but mockeries and childish toyes: for that the fields did scarce aford wherewithall to satisfie the appetite of one onelie souldier, so carefully had *Scanderbeg* prouided against all inconueniences before their comming into that prouince. No lesse did he deride the fooliſh discourse of those, who counselled him to pursue the Epirot: telling them, that there was nothing more pernicious and daungerous, then of a fooliſh and vaine curiositie to entangle themselues in those large forrests and thicke woods of *Epyre*, being a fit couert for wilde and sauage beastes, where no man could come neare them: but not for men endued with reason and discretion: and that the enemie himselfe would desire no better aduantage against them. In like case, to remoue his campe before *Croy*, he said, that were to runne into new doubts and ambiguities, and to hazard themselues to fresh subtilties and alterations of fortune: and that it was certaine they should there find the Croians farre more stout & obstinate in their defence: that *Croy* had their peculiar and particular Gods aswell as *Sfetigrade*: and do you thinke (said he) that there is any appearance or likelihood of reason, for vs of a vaine desire and meere fancie onely, to proceede any further in making tryall of their vertue and fortune, in a matter of so great weight and importance, which we (full litle to our profit) haue found to be so fauorable vnto them in matters of lesse consequence? and in the verie beginning and (as it were) in the prime of their good fortune? shall we leaue *Sfetigrade* vnconquered at our backes being but in their borders? and shall we plunge at the first dash into the verie hart and bottome of *Albanie*, and into the bowels of their realme, and besiege *Croy* their capitall and strongest citie?

Answer of Amurath to the reasons and aduise of his Counsellors.

In this manner did *Amurath* discourse with his councellours, neglecting and reiecting those counselles which they propounded, yet not finding any other course which could seeme more plausible & expedient: so that all things remained still vncertaine and vnresolued. But this was it that most vexed him, on the one side feare of shame and reproch, and the vehement indignation of his mind disdaining beyond all measure to be repulsed, would not permit him to dislodge and breake vp his siege. On the other side his misfortune and extreame losses did diswade him from making any farther attempt against the towne. Thus did *Amurath* hang in suspense, still doubtfull and vnresolute, concealing his discontentmentes, and dissembling his extreame dolour. Yet because he would not lye idle and doe nothing at all, by litle and litle he made way to finde some oportunitie, and he sought a farer off, to espie the meanes how to haue some parley and conference with the Sfetigradians: which in the end hauing compassed, he endeuored to allure and entise them with smooth and gratious speeches, which are fit enticements for variable and vnconstant Epirotes: and (that which doth most solicite the curious and vnsatiable minds of men) he assaied by force of rich offers, great rewards, and large promises, to perswade them to open their gates vnto him, and to receiue in a garrison into the towne. The Citizens gaue him diuerse answers, which came all to one issue and conclusion: that they sawe no cause why they should consent to exchange their faith and fidelitie, & to become corrupt and disloiall: nor to leaue the loue and fauor of the Prince of *Epire* for the yoke and seruitude of a stranger: that there was none of them all yet that could be content to make marchandize of that faith: that they were all of them bound vnto their Prince with a most strict bond, and in a fraternitie together, which they would continue whileſt they had breath. All this notwithstanding the *Sultan* persisted still in hope: because hauing propounded such large offers, he had valued their disloialtie at so high a price

Amurath seeketh to corrupt the state of Sfetigrade with gifts.

Answer of the Citizens of Sfetigrade to the enticements of Amurath.

and ſo exceſſiue a rate, that it was able to haue corrupted the faith, and to haue peruerted the alleageance euen of the moſt conſtant and beſt minded. Neither was he at the laſt deceiued of his opinion, for the filthy and foule deſire of gaine preuailed with one of the garriſon, a moſt wretched and deſperate villaine of all men liuing to be abhorred: who being corrupted by the large and perilous offers of *Ottoman*, did not care a button for the ſafetie of his citizens, of his countrey, nor of his frendes or kinſfolkes, in reſpect of his owne particular profit and commoditie. This wretch becauſe he would not be perceiued by the watch and Sentinels of the towne, ſought a fit and conuenient time to deceiue them, and to conferre ſecretly with certaine ſpies of the grand Seignior, with whom he bargained and concluded vpon the price and reward that ſhould be giuen him for betraying the towne into their hands. But fortune did not immediately preſent him the meanes to compaſſe his deteſtable and wicked enterprize: but (the guilt of his crime, and his owne conſcience making him timerous) he was doubtfull to attempt any thing: leaſt his treaſon happening to be diſcouered, himſelfe might be the firſt that by his owne ruine and deſtruction ſhould incurre the danger of ſo execrable a conſpiracie. To breake downe the barriers or portcallys, to force or breake open the ports, and ſo receiue in the enemie was a matter of great difficultie, and litle certentie, becauſe the place was ſo carefully garded by the citizens. To practiſe with others, and to procure vnto himſelfe conſorts and companions, by whoſe helpe he might in the night time raiſe an allarme in the towne, cut the throats of the principall perſons, and oppreſſe the citizens being in feare and aſtoniſhment, & ſo to let in the Barbarians into the towne, & to poſſeſſe them of the place, was a matter of as great impoſſibilitie: becauſe he knew that there was not any creature within the towne, but had the verie conceipt of any ſuch fact in horror and deteſtation: and he ſaw euen by the countenance of eeh of them, that they were reſolutely determined, either by a glorious victorie to ſee their countrey preſerued, or if it ſhould be loſt and vanquiſhed, to end their liues honorably.

A Turke corrupteth one of the garriſon of Sfetigrade to betray the towne.

The citie by reaſon it was placed vpon the mountaines, and ſeated vpon the toppe of an exceeding high rocke, was vnprouided of the commoditie both of freſh ſprings and of the riuer that ranne neere it. They had within but one onely pit or well in the middle of the towne, which long before that time had beene digged and built by the diligence of their auncеſtors for the common vſe of the inhabitants, but principally for their neceſſitie in time of warres that might afterwards befall them. The whole garriſon (as we haue before touched) conſiſted of ſouldiers that were Dibrians, who though they were a people ſubiect to *Scanderbeg*; yet were they not naturall Albanians, neither in name nor in language. For this countrie of *Dybria* is deuided into two partes, ſeparated and ſeuered by diſtinction of names as well as by their nature, for the inhabitants call the one of them High *Dybria*, and the other Baſe *Dybria*. This latter is all plaine champion, and the whole leuell thereof is a rich and fertill ground, and yeelding plentie of all things: this *Dybria* is inhabited by the Albanois or Epyrots a hardie and warre-like Nation, by whoſe armes and valure *Scanderbeg* did both augment and maintaine his Empire, and atchieued all his enterpriſes of greateſt difficultie: in ſo much as he reputed and retained them as his laſt and chiefeſt ſuccours and refuge in all perilous aduentures of the warres againſt the puiſſance and power of *Ottoman*. During his whole life time he had from thence moſt valiant and excellent men as often as he thought good, who proued no leſſe ſeruiceable and profitable to the eſtate of *Albanie* in all charges and honourable degrees of ſufficient Captaines and commaunders, then of braue and valiant ſouldiers. The highet *Dybria* is mountanous, hilly, and full of woodes, yet verie fertill and commeth neere

The cauſe and ground of the treaſon, bringing the loſſe of Sfetygrade.

Deſcription of the Prouince of Dybria in Epyre.

Baſe Dybria inhabited by Epyrots.

to

to *Macedonie* both in neighbourhood and resemblance of manners. The Bulgarians or Tribullians do inhabit it, a nation fierce and addicted to the warres, and as deare were they vnto *Scanderbeg* as the other, both for the merites of their proweſſe, and of their ſingular faith and deuotion. Notwithſtanding, they do vſe the faſhions and conditions rather of ſtrangers, then of the Epirots: and in many of their cuſtomes they do in a manner abhor the vſage and manner of the Albanois, by reaſon that they doe retaine the ceremonies of the Greeks, and do imitat them in many of their ſuperſtitions.

Tribullians or Bulgarians, inhabitants of the vpper Dibria, bordering vpon Macedonia.

Tribullians of vpper Dibria are held of the Greeke church.

Hence did this abhominable traitor take the occaſion of his damnable and wicked purpoſe, for he knew and was perſwaded, that if the Dibrians ſhould once ſee the carkaſſe of any beaſt, drowned in the bottome of the well within the towne, they would ſubmit them ſelues to the extreameſt ruine and deſolation, and admit any conditions of peace were they neuer ſo vniuſt and diſhoneſt, rather then they would drink of that water. And accordingly as he imagined ſo it came to paſſe: for the ſame night, this wretch hauing polluted the water with the carrion of a dog which he threw into the well: the next morning the thing being perceiued, the rumour thereof was in a moment diſperſed abroad from one to another ouer all the towne: whereuppon there began a ſtrange murmuring throughout all the ſtreets of the city, to enquire who ſhould be the author of ſo deteſtable an act: but being not to be found, the matter grew well neare to a ſedition. The Dibrians being diſcomforted as much as was poſsible, did extreamely grieue to ſee themſelues brought to that eſtate, exclayming that they were betrayed, and that they ſhould ſhortly die as bruite beaſtes for pure thirſt and want of drinke. See the ſtrangenes of the caſe, there was not ſo much as any one of them who had not rather make choiſe to be made ſlaue to the Infidels, then to drinke of this water. Some of them cried out aloft, that they ought to ſet fire on the towne and to burne it to aſhes, and ſo by a furious ſally through the enemy to prouide for their ſafety, or elſe to die valiantly. Neuertheleſſe of all other miſchieues, they held it to be the leaſt to fall to compoſition with the enemy. By litle and litle therefore their griefe began to vaniſh, and the noiſe grew to be appeaſed on all parts. Thus for a matter of ſmall moment and a very trifle, was the fiercenes and courageous ſtomackes of the Dibrians abated, and their faith being now quite exiled, had left & forſaken their ſuperſtitious conſciences. Now had the Infidels more eaſy acceſſe and liberty to repaire vnto them, and their eares began more graciouſly to encline to conference with the enemy, and now the ſouldiours in a generall commotion, without all care and regard of their duty and deuoire, did prepare them ſelues of their owne accord to goe vnto *Amurath*, and to demand thoſe ſhamefull and ignominious conditions, which of late ſo glorioufly they had refuſed and reiected. The number of the citizens was much leſſer then the Dibrians, and therefore were farre inferiour vnto them in force and puiſſance: by meanes whereof they were not of ability either to put them to the ſword, or to expell the garriſon out of the towne. Beſides, if they had bene able to haue cleared the town of them, yet were their owne numbers ſo fewe and ſmall, that they did not ſuffice to keepe watch and ward vpon the walles: notwithſtanding (poore men) they murmured on all ſides, ſometimes exclayming againſt their infidelity, ſometimes accuſing them of fooliſh and blinde ſuperſtition, and charging euen *Scanderbeg* in his abſence with their complaints, for that he had committed the care and ſafety of their liues, and of their city, into the hands of ſuch vnfaithfull perſons. *Perlat* being aſtoniſhed at their ſcandall, and ſuſpecting that this corruption of the water prerended, was but a meere fiction, and onely inuented by ſome whoſe mindes were inclined to diſloyalty, he did firmely beleeue, that there were ſome who had intelligence with the enemy. For this cauſe firſt he prohibited them to haue any treaty or parley with the Turkes without

The manner of the treaſon cauſing the laſſe of Sſtigrade.

The notable ſuperſtition of the Dibrians.

The Dibrians are determined to ſurrender the towne to Amurath, becauſe their water was polluted.

his priuity and presence: and immediately repairing to the market place, and assembling the multitude together, in a generall conuocation thus he spake vnto them.

Oration of Perlat gouernour of Sfetigrade to the Dibrians, dissuading thē from yeelding themselues to Ottomā.

» What a Gods name! was your faith and fidelity (ô you Dibrians) so lightly grounded, that he (whatsoeuer he be that was guilty of this wicked act) a vile wretch hatefull both to God and man, should haue the power to corrupt your courages and your constancy, which haue bin knowen and tried in so many places and conflicts, as well as he hath polluted the water in your wel? Out alas! it maketh me euen beside my selfe, and I know not what to thinke, when I consider your pernicious consultations, and this sodaine change of all things, that so slight and ridiculous a matter should be the occasion of so great an indignity and discontentment. Doe you thinke it more honest to betray the countrey of your friendes and confederates, and to deliuer their wiues, their children, their dwellings, their temples with all holy and sacred mysteries, into the hands of the Infidels, and to yeeld your selues to so great trechery and infidelity, rather then to preserue the excellency of your courages, the purity of your hearts, and the glory of your faith, which hath bene euer admired? and rather then you will defile your mouthes with drinking of this water, be it (as your selues terme it) filthy and polluted? I see no cause (my good friends) why that should make you to thinke your selues vndone, vnlesse some deuill or fiend haue bewitched and peruerted your vnderstanding. We are now come to this passe, that being more superstitious then is conuenient, we care not to reiect all regard of honesty, faith and piety: and doe hold it better that the world should accompt and call vs traitours, then men voide of scruple and not superstitious. All men will laugh at vs, the posterity will wonder at vs, our enemies themselues will detest vs, when they shall vnderstand that so sottish and foolish a cause should make vs change our faith and loialty: that our minds should be so easily withdrawen to reuolt and decline vppon so vaine and absurd an occasion to such notable disloyalty and treason. Nay there is no man but will thinke (I my selfe shall be of that minde also vnlesse you draw me from that errour) that it is the gifts and promises of the Barbarians which haue gained and corrupted you, for the desire whereof you are now willing to pretend this excuse, and to forge this for a colour of your rebellion: by the very obiect whereof (whilest you endeuor to purge your selues to the world from the guilt of that crime) you shal confirme and make manifest, euen by your own confession in the iudgement of each man, that you are faulty, and to be condemned for this hatefull and vnhappy fact. For what good reason can you yeelde, or what argument can you make of sufficient efficacy to perswade them, why you should so sodainely forget all remembraunce of your honest deuoire and duety, and all the benefits which *Scanderbeg* hath bestowed vppon you? Are these the presentes which you giue him (ô you Dibrians?) Are these the testimonies of your constancy? Is this all that you owe to the Sfetigradians your allies, who haue vsed you so kindly? I am ashamed thus to speake to men that are reputed valiant. From henceforth let vs looke for no security and surety in mens affections, no integrity, no vpright and sound dealing. If mankind be growen so careless of loialty: if they be so delicate and curious: if the faith of men doe depend vppon so friuolous and vaine occasions: what enemy is there so vile and contemptible, or of so small prudence or wisedome, but he may daily finde out some inuention to endammage his aduersary, or that will leaue any secret traines, deuises or meanes vnsought and vntried, when he shall see that his fraude hath such likelyhood of good successe, and may so easily be compassed? In vaine did our auncestors inclose their townes with walles: in vaine did they build towres and castels vpon the tops of high rockes and mountaines: and in vaine were garrisons inuented for souldiers, if men be mutable and changeable with the times, if the faith of men be chaungeable according

cording to the inconſtancy of their occaſions, if (as trees doe with their leaues in winter and ſummer,) ſo men doe ſtill put off and put on new thoughtes and affections. What would you haue done (I pray) if the immoderate heate and diſtemperature of the ſeaſon had altered or corrupted this water? Is it not ſtil the ſame water that it was? O dangerous kinde of faith! O the deteſtable inconſtancy of mens mindes! we deuiſe and diſcourſe concerning the ſafety and liberty of this towne, as if the leaſt and baſeſt thing of the world were now in queſtion. Your duety were (ô you Dibrians) after the laſt droppe of your bloud had bene ſhed, to haue left your bodies to be trailed by the feete halfe dead, out of the poſſeſsion of this place: and not voluntarily, whole and ſound to reſigne and giue ouer the command of your glorious and good fortune. We our ſelues (if I may ſpeake it) doe inuite the enemy, we offer them our neckes, wee abrogate our owne liberty: and becauſe wee will not defile our ſcrupulous mouthes with a ſuperſtitious kinde of drinke, we will not ſticke to pollute all lawes, and all rights both diuine and humaine. Haue you not heard how *Darius* that proud and delicate king of the Perſians, did not refuſe to take a draught of muddy water at the handes of a ſlaue which had taken it vp (as they fledde) in the high way amongſt the dead carkaſſes, and vnder the horſes feete, at ſuch time as being ouercome by our countey-man the great *Alexander*, he fled before him ſhamefully after that memorable diſcomfiture? As braue and proude a Prince as he was he did not diſdaine it: but after he had taken and taſted it, he ſware, that he neuer drunke more ſauourly: and that before that time, he neuer knew what it was to be thirſty. Thus did a draught of filthy water both keepe him from being made captiue to his enemy, prolonged his fortune, and preſerued the life of a great and mighty King. What will you ſay to *Caius Marius* that famous Generall of the Romaines? how hath the antiquity recorded his ſufferaunce of hunger, and thirſt, at all times amiddeſt the extreame heate of fight, and amiddeſt his greateſt laboures and trauelles in any ſeruice at the ſiege of townes or otherwiſe? And to let paſſe the conſtancy of the Saguntines; what thinke you of the city of *Petilia* amongſt the Brutians in the time of *Hannibal*? did it not by an example of ſingular regard, and almoſt incredible, leaue a rare teſtimony of their conſtancy and fidelity vnto all poſterity? And to the intent they might obſerue their faith inuiolably, which they had giuen to the Romaines, and for the defence of their bare and ſore battered walles, they made no difficulty to liue vpon the fleſh not only of dogges (which you abhorre ſo greatly) but of all kindes of foure footed creatures, and with the skinnes of ſwine, with rootes, and with barkes of trees? The moſt noble and renowmed Athenian *Themiſtocles*, to the intent his vngratefull countrey might not ſuſtaine the blame of his death, dranke (as it is reported) a cup of deadly poiſon. But perhaps you will ſay that the Sſetigradians are ſtraungers to you, and that their city is none of your countrey: it was deliuered to you to be defended, and therefore it is yours (ô you Dibrians:) *Scanderbeg* made choiſe of your faith and honeſty before all others, to ſee to the ſafety of this place. The towne which your Prince hath committed to your charge, it behoueth you to ſee it ſafe redeliuered into his hands. Moderate therefore I beſeech you, and lay aſide theſe your deſperate opinions, and doe not you attribute that to force and neceſsity, which is indeede nothing elſe but a damnable and peruerſe counſell and reſolution. For tell me true, (I pray you) what will you doe in caſe the *Ottoman* will not accept of the compoſition to graunt you your liues? would you then refuſe this drinke that you imagine to be ſo deadly? I am perſwaded that all of you would drink it, ere you would do your ſelues anie outrage. But now becauſe you are aſſured of your own ſafety, & you are not in danger to loſe any thing but your faith, you are all of you touched & infected with one malady, and your thoughts

» doe runne a madding as men franticke and out of your wits. So little reckoning doe
» you make of your faith: & of all other crimes, you hold it the leaſt to be touched with
» the crime of periury and diſloialty. I cannot (ô you Dibrians) commaund nor mode-
» rate my affections, I cannot abſtain from tears when I cal to memory our good prince
» *Scanderbeg*. Me thinkes I ſee how graciouſly he ſpake vnto you, with what praiers &
» intreaties he recommended this towne vnto you at his departure, & how euen in this
» place he implored with too much credulity, your deuoire and loialty. I do remember
» thoſe clamors and loud cries, which all of you made with brauadoes and magnificall
» promiſes both openly and priuatly. Where are thoſe your clamors now (ô you Di-
» brians?) where is that fierceneſſe of your courages? where are thoſe hearts which you
» then vowed for your country? where is that audacity & careleſſe contempt of life and
» death? I ſee here ſtill the ſame men and the ſame armes: but the habit and diſpoſition of
» their mindes is cleane altered. And this towne being brought to a deſperat point, I ſee
» all things in a miſerable eſtate and condition. Imagine that your Prince ſtandeth here
» before you in great anguiſh and griefe for this your notable treaſon: what thoughtes
» think you, will he, & all others entertaine? what aſtoniſhment will there be through-
» out all the prouince? what will be the eſtate & condition of all *Epire*? ſeeing that from
» you doth proceed the root of all their misfortunes and calamities? ô that you would
» preſent before your eies, whileſt you are yet able, the indignity of this fact, & that you
» would preſerue your ſelues for your ſelues. Ceaſe not to keep your allies and confede-
» rats in the poſſeſsion of their countrey, do not leaue to defend their liberty, & to main-
» taine your own honor and reputation, which without any great paine or trouble you
» may yet eaſily preſerue. Regard the piteous & grieuous lamentations of theſe citizens,
» regard me, euen my ſelfe, who (if you can abide to ſee it) do lie proſtrat at your feete. Be-
» hold how all of them doe offer their throates vnto you, and I mine firſt of all. Behold
» here my naked breaſt (ô you Dibrians) runne it through, pierce it with your ſwordes,
» take away my life it ſhall not grieue me: let my bloud ſerue for drinke vnto you (if
» ſuch drink doe pleaſe you,) and if ſo be you cannot by any other meanes neither main-
» taine your faith, nor defend this city.

With many ſuch reaſons and perſwaſions did *Perlat* vrge them, recommending vnto them the life and liberty (if not of others) yet of themſelues, and that they ſhould regard their proper ſafety: and ſtill he was in hope to haue remoued them from their ſtrange and pernitious purpoſe. And in the end becauſe he would know whether his ſpeeches had any efficacy or working in their ſcrupulous thoughts: aſſoone as he had finiſhed his Oration, he went preſently towards the Well, hauing almoſt al the communalty at his heeles, and in the preſence of them all he dranke a good draught of that water: the like alſo did the moſt part of the inhabitants. Whereupon it was preſented likewiſe to certen of the captains, & chiefeſt perſons of the garriſons: but neither good words, nor good deeds could preuaile with thoſe ſuperſtitious and curious ſtomacks.

Perlat and the citizens of Sfetigrade, drunke of the polluted water, to draw the Dibrians to do the like, who refuſe it.

Scarcely can I without bluſhing, either beleeue it my ſelfe or deliuer it to others for a matter of truth, that ſo light and ridiculous a cauſe ſhould preuaile with thē in a caſe ſo waighty & important: and I make no doubt but that the poſterity will take a greater pleaſure rather to laugh at it, then to admire & wonder at this ſtrange accident: and if they do giue any credit to the ſtrangenes of the caſe, yet will they hardly be perſwaded, that ſo vaine and friuolous a humor could haue moued them thereunto. But they wil iudge rather that it was taken as a fit occaſiō by the ſouldiers, who being enclined to treachery and infidelity, had bene before corrupted by the enemy. For my part hauing ſearched and enquired of all things with all poſsible diligence, I could neuer find any likelihood to verifie this ſuperſtition: and therfore I need not make any difficulty

to

to thinke them blame-worthy, who haue conceiued of them so sinisterly. My reason is, for that (as I suppose) there is nothing in the actions of mortall men so secrete and hidde, which could for so long a time haue bin vnrevealed. And more then that, of all those who were so superstitiously addicted, there was not any one of thē euer known to haue yeelded him selfe to *Amurath*: nor at any time was the estate of any one of them so enriched, whereby it might be presumed or coniectured, that they had any fraudelent intelligence or secret practising with the Infidels. Neither is it any maruell that the Dibrians being once intoxicated with this foolish scrupulosity, and being fallen into so frantike a humor, did commit such an error: seeing that they were not onely giuen to be superstitious, but were alwaies and yet are reputed for Heretickes. For these two contagious maladies of superstition and heresie, are very neare of kinne the one to the other. For these people of *Dibria* doe vse the Sclauonian tong, the which language being very large and ample, (as most notable authors do testifie) is dispersed and dilated into many and diuers sects. And that this is true may be seene, in that some of the Sclauonians doe acknowledge the vnity of the Church of Rome: as the Dalmatians, the Croatians, the Carnians, and the better part of the Polonians: others doe adhere vnto the errors and fantasies of the Greeke Church, as the Triballians or Bulgarians, the Ruthenians, and a part of Lituania. Others in the malady of their spirits, haue forged vnto them selues a particular opinion, as the Bohemians, the Moraviens, and the Bosnians, who for the most part doe follow the heresie of the Manichees. But wherefore doe I make mention of these nations? seeing all *Europe* is at this day ouerwhelmed with a multiplicity of furious and curfed doctrines? For, out alas! within these few yeares, by the contagion and infection of neighbour nations, or rather by the ouermuch negligence and slothfulnesse of the Prelates of the Church, and by the pernicious carelesnesse of Princes and secular magistrats (if it be not the enormities of our sins, that haue set heauen against vs:) al quarters & kingdoms of *Europe* haue suffred them selues to be polluted with a multitude of these prodigious opinions of all sortes, which do now swarme and abound throghout al christendome. But I haue wandred too far from my matter, we will now returne to our doating and franticke Dibrians.

Heresie and superstition neare of kinne each to other.

The Sclauonish tong very large and ample.

The Gouernour was instant vpon them sometimes with praiers, sometimes with promises of great giftes and rich offers, at the last, seeing all of them to be obdurat and hardened against his fruitlesse perswasions, he framed and conformed his minde also to the exigence and necessity of the time. And hauing assembled together a certaine number, part of them Dibrians, and part of the chiefe and principall of the citizens to deliberat vpon the matter: they made a short conclusion (for the matter would not admit any long delay) and them selues did set downe the conditions & couenants of their surrender, such as they thought would neither be iniurious vnto them selues, nor disagreeable vnto the enemy. Namely, that the garrison should depart freely & in safety, with bag & baggage, that the citizens should haue free choise either to remain in their former estate within the towne, or to depart at their pleasures. Touching the garrison nothing was altered by the grand Seignior, but for the citizens he would not in any case condescend, that they should remaine within the towne. All the rest was accorded and a watch appointed in the suburbs. Immediatly were the keies brought vnto *Amurath*, and the place was rendered vp voide and empty of all the inhabitants. Some of the citizens (who were deeply affectionat to their countrey, and loth to depart from the place of their natiuity) did tary still without the walles. But many of them who could not endure to liue vnder the Infidels, leauing and abandonning all, went to seeke out *Scanderbeg*. The traitor who had corrupted the water staid within the towne, and remained with the enemy, where being knowen by them that practised with him to

Sfetigrade yeelded to Amurath.

betray the town vnto the Turke, they conueied him presently to the tents of the *Ottoman*, with wonderfull ioy and great gladnes. You need not doubt but he had good entertainment: for the *Sultan* honored him infinitly, both with good words and notable rich presents, far exceeding the promises that had bin made vnto him, in recompence of his disloialty and treason. For first he had 50000. aspres giuen him, and three roabs or sutes of apparell of excellent workemanshippe and very rich. Moreouer hee had so much land of inheritance and demeanes assigned him, as the yearely reuenues thereof did amount to 2000. crownes. But litle ioy had the traitor of those great benefites: for albeit he were thus magnificently rewarded with all these honors and riches in the open sight and knowledge of a multitude of people, and albeit hee did daily receiue a world of fauors amongst the Barbarians: yet within a while after he was sodainly gone and vanished, and was neuer more seene nor heard of. The report went, that he was secretly made away by *Amurath*, by some priuy and deserued kinde of punishment, because he durst not repose any trust or assurance in the nature and disposition of him, who by a filthy auarice had traiterously conspired against his countrey, against his confederates, and against his owne bloud and kinsfolks. Thus you may behold how this marchaunt was enriched by his marchandize: and a man may see by this so worthy an example, that Princes and great men haue treason in estimation, but they abhorre the traitours, and haue them in detestation.

The traitour who betraied Sfetigrade, rewarded by the Turke.

The end of treason.

Treason loued by Princes yet traitors hated of thē.

The garrison of *Sfetigrade* was suffred to depart free, and without hurt through the middest of the Turkishe squadrons, which stood orderly raunged on each side as they passed betweene them. Howbeit that *Mahomet* the yong Prince of the Turks a fierce and cruell youth, who (as the report goeth) did then follow the army of his father into *Epire*, vpon a desire to see the warre, and to purchase himselfe reputation, did instantly and vehemently vrge and intreate *Amurath*, not to suffer them so to depart freely without any punishment. And he alleadged, that it was but a vaine curiosity to stand vppon the obseruation of his faith, and that it would be to his eternall reproach and infamy; for that the Turkes haue not any doctrine more expresly deliuered in their law, nor any precept more auncient in the religion of *Mahomet*, then to shew themselues by all possible meanes mortall enemies to the Christians: and specially to them from whom he had receiued so many calamities and outrages by the slaughter of their legions, the killing of their Chiefetaines, and the pitifull wasting and destroying of their army: that the Sfetigradians ought to be chastised to terrifie others, & were to be made an example vnto those which should come after, to teach them not to persuere in such peruersnesse and obstinacy. For it is not (quoth hee) the office of an excellent Generall, to cary a minde mutable and chaungeable according to the estate and fortune of the enemy, and to commiserat their teares and petitions: that it were wel done to put them all to the sword, or to keepe them in irons or straight imprisonment, till such time as they had order for their raunsome.

Speeches of Mahomet the yong prince to his father, perswading him to violate his faith with them of Sfetigrade.

By these speeches did this arrogant and proud Prince sufficiently bewray his nature and disposition, declaring euen in his youth and priuat estate, what manner of man he would proue one day when he came to riper yeares, and to the possession of the Empire. And the insolency & fiercenes of his tender yeares, did already discouer the filthines of his auarice and cruelty. But the wicked and blouddy counsell of the sonne could not preuaile nor finde any place in the prudent thoughtes of the aged father: but sharpely reprooving him, it is sayed, that he thus replied vnto him; That nothing was more necessary and requisite amongst men, then the integrity of their faith, the which being once violated, it was not possible that either kingdomes, Empires, and estates or any society could stand or continue. That euery Prince of a generous and

Answer of Amurath to the speeches of his sonne Mahomet.

noble

noble minde, and of high renowme (if his hope and courage doe aime at honour and superiority, & to the compassing of great matters) this faith ought to be the one or the other, either in truth and effect, firme, sound, and inuiolate, or at leastwise in outward appearaunce. For that is the onely way and ready meane to procure and purchase the loue and good will of all persons: whereas periurie and crueltie doe subuert both scepters and crownes, both Townes and nations: and last of all they are not more pernitious to others then to the parties that vse them: that men are conquered and won by the beneficence and liberalitie of those who desire to finde them faithfull and loyall, but that crueltie, hatred, and inhumanity do little profit a Prince towardes his subiectes. For when they see themselues gouerned and commaunded by a proude and immoderat kind of puissance, they will not long endure the yoke of such dominion: that by clemencie the harts & affections of many are soone gained, and being once drawen to like, seldome or neuer will they abhorre to endure that subiection which is so gratious gentle & tollerable. And to say the truth: wherein haue the Sfetygradians offended? or what fault haue they cõmitted against the maiestie of our Empire? They haue defended their countrey, their wiues, and their children: and if they haue of themselues both prescribed such conditions, & haue as faithfully obserued them as the cõquerour hath reason to rest contented with thẽ: what can we further obiect or demãd of them?

The Dibrians being remoued out of *Sfetygrade* withall the other companies of the Christians: and a new garrison of twelue thousand Ianissaries being there established: *Amurath* bent all his care and endeuour to the repairing of the walles on that side, where the cannon had endammaged them. In the meane time *Scanderbeg* being lately returned from surueying and visiting of all the countrey, was newly aduertised of the misfortune of *Sfetygrade*, and of the infidelitie of the Dibrians. This caused him to keepe close within his tent in great silence, and full of despight and anger. Within a while came *Perlat* with that his infamous & dishonored troupe of soul-diours. Sad and pensiue was their gouernour, but much more sorowfull were the citizens, & the teares trickled in aboundance downe alongest their cheekes, for griefe and sorow of their country now left desolat. The Dibrians likewise through the remorse of their fault (which was so notably shamefull) casting their eies down to the ground, did imitate the sadnesse of their companions. But when they came in presence of their Prince, and had seene by the austerity and felnesse of his countenance, the vehemency of the indignation, which he seemed to haue conceiued in his heart; euery one of them casting his armes to the ground, and taking their girdells from their wastes, and putting them about their neckes, they fell prostrate at his feete, and with bitter teares besought him, to pardon their grieuous and shamefull act. What shoulde this Prince doe that was so mercifull and gracious? To punishe so many men, it was no easie matter, he saw no other occasion of their crime, but only the superstitious credulity of that nation: they did freely confesse their fault openly in his presence with contrition and humility almost incredible. This could not but moue and appease *Scanderbeg*, for his anger being pacified, he turned himselfe towards them, telling them, that he gaue them their liues in acknowledgement of their good deuoir, and because they had behaued themselues valiantly in defence only of the wals of *Sfetigrade*. To the citizens according to the former estate of each of them, were landes, and possesions appointed, and to many of them hee gaue charges and honorable offices in the warres: neither did he deny any request in a maner to the Dibrians. Neuertheless, the shame of their late ignominy hauing so greatly disgraced them, did not permit them to abide long at the campe, all of them shunning the face of their companions.

Amurath fortifieth Sfetigrade.

Perlat and the citizens of Sfetygrade their comming to Scanderbeg.

Dibrians craue pardon of Scanderbeg for yelding Sfetygrade to the Turke.

Speech of Scanderbeg to the Dibrians, whō he pardoneth.

The vertue and constancie of *Perlat* during his gouernement of *Sfetygrade*, did

Perlat his good desertes and praysse for the defence of Sfetygrade.

deserue sufficient praise and commendation, both by the honorable testimony which *Castriot* gaue him for his deserts, as also by the confirmation of the souldiers who serued vnder him; yet it may be, that perhappes he merited more blame then commendation, and I might impute the fault and losse of the Towne not to the infidelitie of other, but rather to his small care or ouer licentious indulgence towardes his souldiours: because in a season so daungerous he ought to haue taken great heede, and to haue bene very carefull not to suffer his souldiours to haue conference and familiaritie, nor to haue permitted those of the Towne so ordinarily to frequent the company of the infidelles: by meanes of which their dayly communications (the corruption of man is such and the desire of gold and siluer so insatiable,) the souldiour might easely be wrought to practise with the enemy. Neuertheless *Scanderbeg* did publiquely ratifie and allowe both his fidelitie and all his actions, not onely in plentifull speeches and often discourses, by word of mouth, but to his wordes, he added also deedes of no lesse value and estimation. For he recompenced him with a great summe of money, and certaine fayre horses, and with many other ornaments and rewards which he gaue vnto him, albeit *Perlat* was very loath to accept them. Thus was *Perlat* sent home to his owne house with great encrease of honour & reputation. This personage being borne in *Emathia* was preferred to a spirituall dignitie, (which they call *Proto-sengeli*:) & we commonly name them Abbots: he lead a marueilous strict & austere life, in singular continency and wonderfull integrity: he was also very learned and passing eloquent: besides, the grauity of his yeares which accompanied his other vertues, did as much or more adorne and beautifie all the rest of his perfections.

Perlat commended and rewarded by Scanderbeg.

Perlat made an Abbot. Proto-sengeli Abbots in Egypte.

Perlat his integritie of life, his eloquence and learning.

These things thus concluded and finished, *Scanderbeg* perceiuing that the *Sultan* was busily employed in fortifying of *Sfetygrade*, and did wholly apply his minde to that worke: he tooke with him fiue thousand horse, and hasted with all possible speed towardes those partes with a purpose to interrupt and disturbe him in his endeuours. But hauing stayed there, the space of two dayes coursing vp and downe, here and there through the woods, and ouer the high mountaines, without finding any matter worthy the speaking of: he attended there, still watching some opportunitie, in hope at the least to surprise some of their forragers, or some of the enemies scouts, or by som other meanes to endammage the enemy: nor did the souldiours returne altogether without bootie. For (as it is vsuall in any great army,) there were taken many men and horses as they raunged carelesly abroad in the countrey.

Amurath determineth to leaue Epyre & to returne to Andrynople.

Now after that *Amurath* had sufficiently repaired the walles of *Sfetygrade* according to the shortnesse of the time: and that the place was furnished and stored with corne and other prouisions for one whole yeare (as though his minde did foretell him that it was like to be besieged:) he resolutely determined and concluded with him selfe to retire his forces out of *Epire*, and to returne into his owne countrey. Touching the cause of his so speedy departure, many are the fables & lyes which haue bene commonly bruted abroad, yet without any certainetie, whilest that each one would seeme by coniectures to search out and to set downe the counsels and determinations of *Ottoman*. Some impute his sudden discamping to the tumultes of *Hungarie*: others to the troubles of *Greece*, and some to those of *Persia*. Many doe hold that the losses and dammages receaued in *Albanie*, and the diuers trauels and difficulties of this warre did chase him so soone out of that prouince: with an intent neuertheless to returne thither againe with more puissant and fresh forces, & to plant his campe before *Croy*, because that citie did seeme to require greater meanes, and more redoubtable forces to terrifie them. For my part I am content to approue both the one & the other of these opinions, as hauing all of them some shew and apparaunce of truth. Not-

The cause of Amurath his sudden departure out of Epyre.

withstan-

withstanding the last seemeth most likely and probable being ratified and confirmed by the issue and euent, which is a witnesse infallible and without reproofe: or perhaps it were not amisse to say, that the houre and time limitted and appointed to this aged *Ottoman* by the destinies was not yet come, and as the Poets fayne licentiously:

The sisters had not spunne, nor fully ended
The fatall threed whereon his life depended.

But whatsoeuer was the cause of his returne, the last of Iuly he commaunded to trusse vppe bagge and baggage, and that the carriages and parte of his horsemen should goe on before. The next day at the sunne rising (hauing first in the night time fired their lodgings, and some other furniture of their Campe) him selfe marched after the others, with the residue of the armie who with excessiue ioye did make an exceeding noyse, both by their loude cryes and clamours, and by the sounde of their ordinaunce and cannons, which they made to roare with often shooting off at their departure. The Turkish monarch did euer vse in times past, and so did he then take his place in the middest of all his batallions, where being mounted vppon a white horse, and enuironned rounde about with his armed Ianissaries, he needed not to be affrayed of any tumult or perill. For in the vaungarde the Beglerbey of *Asia*, and in the rereward the Bassa of *Romania* (both being in good order of battell) did assure and garde the middle battell in which him selfe marched. They that write of this expedition doe in a manner all of them agree, that *Amurath* returned out of *Epire* with fewer men then he brought with him at his comming by thirtie thousand, hauing lost fully so many in that action. Besides that, a great parte of his prouisions for the assault, and also many of his ensignes were spoyled and taken by the Christians, which he neuer caried away againe with him. But all these losses and hinderaunces did *Scanderbeg* enlarge with the ignominie of a new slaughter: and he renued the misfortune of their estate with a fresh calamity. For vppon this returne of the *Sultan*, the Albanois hauing intelligence giuen him where he lay encamped, that the enemy did dislodge, he put him selfe on the way to pursue them with all his army, which was 8000. horse, and 3000. foote, and liuely pressing them in the rereward, without any intermission, he held on still killing and destroying them: and he gaue his souldiours good occasion to flesh themselues, and to shew the fury and eagernesse of their stomackes vpon all those, who either were found to slacke their pace, or by any mischaunce and inconuenience were left behinde their companies: for there was none of them but were gleaned vp, and they did dearely buy it with the losse of their liues. The Barbarians did often make head against him with their whole army, to sustaine and repulse the violence of their pursuite. But the Albanois euer dissembling as though he fled, did still delude them, when they were ready to receiue him: sometimes withdrawing him selfe into the next vallies and hilles adioyning, and then sodainely againe appearing in sight: sometimes would he charge them in front, sometimes in flanke, and sometimes in the rereward: and thus still skirmishing with them as they went on, he plagued them with a thousand discommodities. In this maner mocking and abusing *Amurath* and his army, he continued so long in pursuing them, that for sixe miles together, he neuer left following them close at the heeles, pressing and annoying them with innumerable iniuries.

Amurath with his armie departeth out of Epire.

The manner of march obserued by Amurath with his campe.

Number of Turkes lost in the iourney of Amurath into Epire.

Scanderbeg pursueth the armie of the Turkes.

The Emperour of the Turks being extreamly vexed with the shame & ignominie of this abuse, and at the slaughter of his people, commaunded the *Bassa* of *Romania* to stay behinde with 30000. horse, for the surety and free retraite of the residue, charging him that if the enemy did continue to importune him, he should either charge

Amurath leaueth the Bassa of Romania to repulse the inuasion of Scanderbeg.

vpon him or constrain him to the fight, or else enforce him to betake himselfto fight. *Scanderbeg* perceiuing the enemy to change his course,fayre & easily retired his companies, and for feare of being enclosed betweene the two armies, he thought it best to leaue them being so great a multitude. Wherefore he seized vpon certaine valleys and passages of the mountaines, where he knew he should be safe, and that he could easily warrant both himselfe and his army against the puissance of so many enemies. There for a while did he make a stand with his forces ready raunged in order of battell, as if he had bene vpon the point to go to charge vpon the enemy, and to hazard the fortune of the field with the Mahometan: and peraduenture so would he haue done(such was the hardinesse and confidence of this personage,) if the wearinesse of his souldiours, who were almost tyred with their long and hote pursuite of the enemy, and the inequalitie of their numbers being farre inferiour to the Turkish forces, had not constrained this braue warriour to lay apart that counsell which was so temerous and dangerous. Vpon this occasion therfore addressing himselfe to his souldiours,and seeming as if he would excuse himselfe,he spake vnto them this prouerbe(which he vsed often:) I had rather (quoth he) that this place should be noted to be famous for the flight of *Scanderbeg* then for his crosse. For the custome of that countrey was to raise a crosse in that place,where any Christian, especially any man of marke had bin slaine or miscaried, and he alledged this reason to iustifie his saying: because any man may abolish the infamie of his flight, by some new act worthy of prayse and commendation; but the life of a man being once gone and past,besides that it is irrevocable & out of hope,so is it seldome without some infamie,reproch,& obloquie of the vulgare and ignorant multitude, who do measure all things not by reason and iudgement but onely by the issue and the euent.

A proverbe vsed by Scanderbeg vpon his retiring frō the enemie.

When the Bassa of *Romania* saw that *Scanderbeg* would not moue,but did abide still within his campe he likewise by little & little begā to remoue with his companies,& to march away, being as willing to let alone the enemy and not to meddle with him, but to go onwardes & to ioyne him selfe with the maine army that went before him. The like also did *Scanderbeg* vpon the perswasion of his souldiours,who humbly besought him not to be obstinate in pursuing and following of those miscreants, nor to detaine or hold backe any longer within the hart and bowels of *Epire*, that pestilent plague which was so happely rid away,and departing out of the countrey.Thus neare about the same time, did *Scanderbeg* returne to *Croy*, and *Amurath* taking his iourney through *Macedony*,& ouer the mountaines of the Tribullians,came to the citie of *Andrinople*.Both the one & the other of them departed home sad & pensiue, and as full of melancholie as was possible,because their affaires had succeeded with such varietie of fortune.But much more discontented & full of despight was the Turkish Emperour, both because he could not subdue his enemy the Albanois, for whose destruction and confusion principally he came forth of his owne country: and besides,because the honour, of so small a fortresse, and so meane a place as he had gotten, did not seeme vnto him to be a sufficient recompence for so many misfortunes,mischieues and calamities. Notwithstanding the care and griefe of the Christians was wonderfully comforted, in regard they were fully perswaded, and made no doubt, that the infidels being once gone and departed, *Sfetygrade* might be soone regained, and without any great difficultie recouered out of their hands.

The Bassa of Romania marcheth away after Amurath.

The end of the fifth booke.

THE SIXTH BOOKE OF THE FAMOVS ACTES OF GEORGE CASTRIOT, SVRNAMED SCANDERBEG.

The Argvment.

Scanderbeg is perswaded by his nobles to marrie. The frontier warre betweene the Turkes of Sfetygrade, and the garrison of the Albanois. Scanderbeg besiegeth and assaulteth Sfetygrade, but is constrained to breake vp his siege. He prouideth for the furnishing and defence of Croy and the rest of his dominions against the inuasion of Amurath, who commeth with a huge armie into Epire. Croy is besieged, battered and oftentimes assaulted. Amurath being not able by assaultes, mines, nor otherwise to force Croye, practiseth to winne it by corrupting of Vranocontes the Gouernour, who reiecteth him. Scanderbeg, by sundry inuasions, and camizadoes vppon the Turkishe Campe, and by the great slaughters of the infidelles before Croy, so vexeth and wearieth Amurath, that he sendeth Ambassadours to Scanderbeg to desire peace, which is refused. Amurath vpon griefe and melancholie of his misfortune sickneth and dyeth before Croy. Mahomets sonne of Amurath succeeding his father in the Turkishe Empire, raiseth the siege of Croy, and departeth with his army out of Epire.

THe publique peace and tranquillity of the whole prouince of *Epire* being now reestablished by the departure of the *Ottoman* forces, and euery man being freed of their feare and care, the traffique being laied open in all the townes and fortresses, the garrisons being dismissed, and each man returned to his wonted trade and vocation, the king of *Albany* did at length also giue liberty vnto his legions to rest them selues for a season, from the toiles and trauels of the warres. Nowithstãding he gaue them in charge, that at the end of two moneths, they should all of them repaire againe vnto him, to march with him towards *Sfetigrade*, to the intent they might recouer that towne of their confederates, out of the handes and possession of their aduersaries. He retained with him in the meane time but two thousand horse, and one thousand foote, whom he sent as he was accustomed, to keepe vpon the frontiers of *Macedon*, and to guard the goods and possessions of the inhabitants in those quarters from the roades and inuasions of the Turkes.

Whilest *Scanderbeg* did thus refresh him selfe from his late trauels and labors, and did within *Croy* employ that small time of leisure which he had gotten, vnto a newe kinde of exercise wherewith he was vnacquainted: namely to the administration of iustice, and to matters of state: the nobles of *Epire* and the Princes his allies and neare neighbors misliking, that a personage of such rare excellency should passe his age (for

Scanderbeg perswaded to mariage by the nobles and Princes of Epire.

he was then about fortie or perhaps more) without leauing any issue of his body lawfully begotten to inherite his estate and kingdome: all of them with one accord assembled themselues together, and came to the presence of *Scanderbeg* as they had oftentimes before done the like: and they laboured by all meanes possible to perswade him to take a wife and to continue his name and memory by the procreation of happy children which might lawfully succeede him in his kingdome: alledging, that in vayne had he amplified the boundes of his realme, and in vayne had he encreased the estate of *Epire*: if he did not against the time to come likewise see them prouided of a Lord and Prince, to whom he had purchased so great honour and glory by the immortall memory of so many famous & worthy actes: that if he should be careless of this matter, they might well say and thinke: that his intent and meaning was to haue the publique weale of *Albanie* to decay and perish ioyntly with himselfe, and that with the body of one alone, he would bury the memory and whole body of so florishing an estate: that he should hearken vnto the secret prayers, and regard the carefull complaintes of his subiectes. For if the succession should descend to any other: the prouince of *Epire* knew not how to suffer the dominion of any straunger: but did disdayne to haue any other for their Lord and maister but him onely, which should leaue them some issue of his owne bloud, as the inheritour and image of his rare vertue: that so long, and no longer both their good fortune and the diuine fauour of God would continue and dwell amongest them, whilest the scepter and crowne of *Albanie* did remaine in that race, and did abide in the possession of his posteritie.

Speeches of the Princes & nobles of Epire perswading him to mariage.

Scanderbeg was of a humour cleane estraunged and alienated from any such thought, and the haughtinesse of his conceiptes did ayme at greater matters: and as one that was either vnmindfull or careless of all other things, he fixed not his hope nor his thoughts vpon any thing, which did not seeme to exceede the common reach of all humane capacitie. Wherefore as the report goeth, at the first he did with many reasons full of grauitie and sententious, vehemently impugne this aduise and counsell of his friends, exalting and commending with no friuolous proofes the simple & vnmaried life especially in Princes and great personages. And he told them: that nothing was so burthensome and insupportable to a free minde, as the dominion of a wife: that the troubles of mariage hauing once made an entry into a mans house, his body & his spirite had no longer libertie to vse those rights which do belong vnto them: that fortune her self (as though by mariage she were become lame) would diminish & abridge the amplification & encrease of a mans greatnes, & would depriue him of a good part of the meanes, which should raise him to the supreme degree of prosperitie. Notwithstanding at the last because he would not seeme as one that was giuen to ouer much austeritie, nor to neglect the good zeale and sincere affection of his friends, he condescended and granted, being loath to refuse their aduise in any thing which they should iudge to be for the publique good, & for the aduantage & dignitie of the estate of *Albanie*. And he was content to submit him selfe to that yoake, since they thought it so expedient, & seeing it was so agreeable vnto their minds. Neuertheless he demanded a time of respit for the accomplishment of the matter, and desired that the same might be deferred till such time as *Sfetygrade* were recouered, saying: that for the present it could not but be greatly to his reproch, if he should now bend his minde to the solemnities of mariage, to feasting and such like actions of reuelling and banquetting: and in the meane while to suffer his allyes and friends to remaine vnder the tyranny of the enemies of Christianitie. The Princes and nobles of *Albanie* thought them selues sufficiently satisfied in that they had obtained thus much at his hands: and

Answeres and speeches of Scanderbeg concerning the maried life.

Mariage both troublesome, and the hinderance of a mans good fortune.

Scanderbeg condescendeth to take a wife.

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therefore they would not importune him any further, but yeelding him a thousande thankes, as if he had done them some speciall grace and fauour, or bestowed some singular gift vpon them: they quickly published & made it known through al the country, & the whole Prouince was replenished with exceeding ioy at the report therof.

These things thus depending, there came messengers daily from the frontiers, bringing tidings, sometimes that the lands and possessions of the Barbarians were wasted and spoiled: and sometimes that their scouts were beaten and put to flight. About the same time also, the garrison of Turks within *Sfetigrade* were enforced to keepe close within their fortresse, by the daily and continuall skirmishes of our horsemen, who vsing to ambush thēselues in the woods neere vnto the towne, did suffer none to escape whom they found at any time, wandering abroad either carelesly, or as they went on forraging, or vpon any other occasion. For hauing many times issued foorth of the towne, they were enforced still, most commonly, to returne againe faster then with a good pace. True it is, that our Christians doubting the disaduantage of the place, durst not go too neere the walles to encounter with them, but by feigned shewes of flight, they did still endeuour to draw them out into the open fields. One day amongst the rest they grew so audatious, that 300. of them came forth and passed about a bow shot beyond the foot of the mountaine, drawen thereunto with a vehement desire to be reuenged vpon our men, with whom comming to the encounter with more fury then wisedome, three and fortie of them there left their liues, and 14. were taken prisoners, the residue saued themselues by their timely departure, flying away with a speedy gallop: and there had not any one of them escaped to carry the newes into the towne, if their companions, who staied within for the guard of the place, had not made hast to come & succour them. It was an easie matter for the Scanderbegians in this tumult & confusion of all things to haue surprised the towne, if they had either chased thē with more feruencie, or if they had had a greater company. The Turks being from thenceforth shut vp within their ports, were seized with such feare and terror, that they durst not any more set foot out of the citie, but held themselues close as if they had bene besieged by a handfull of Christians. All this was done onely by a part of that garrison which (as we haue said) was left vppon the frontiers. Notwithstanding they did it without the aduise or knowledge of *Scanderbeg*, neither did he giue them any commission so to do: but sent thither those forces only for the suertie of his subiects, and to represse the courses and violence of the Painims. Neuertheless being aduertised how all things had passed, though his souldiers in so doing might seeme in some sort, both to haue contemned his authoritie, & to neglect all order & care of martiall disciplines yet was not this sage & prudent Prince any thing discōtented with them, but he so liked both their coūsell & their actions, that it both gaue him an occasion to hasten his busines, & did incite him the more cheerefully to the assayling of the place, in regard that the feare & remēbrance of so small a losse did make them to mew themselues vp within their wals, as men quite discouraged and out of heart. For this cause without making any delay, before that he had proclaimed any generall muster for the assembling of his old bands, or for any leauie of new souldiers: he dispatched away to *Sfetigrade* 300. horse, and 500. footmen, which he had then ready at hand to comfort & aide their companions: to whom also he sent many gifts and presents, to shew that he approued those exploits which they had already done, & willing them to go on & to perseuer in the like and whatsoeuer they could with safety enterprise against the enemy they should not neglect it, nor suffer them to take any rest, till such time as himselfe comming with greater troups, & with all other prouisions fit & necessary for a siege, might bring the town to be at his discretiō. This done he bent all his thoughts to the

Frontier wars betweene the Turkes in Sfetigrade and the garison of the Albanois.

A skirmish betweene the Turkes of Sfetigrade and the garison of the Albanois.

gathering of new forces, so that within few daies he had assembled an armie of 18000 men, of which 8000. were horsemen, and the residue did serue on foote.

Sfetigrade besieged by Scanderbeg.

His preparations being all ready, & his cariages sent away before, himself marched after with all his hoast: so that the xx. day of September, he planted his ensignes before the wals of *Sfetigrade*. His owne person & his horsmen were lodged no farther from the wals, then so as an harguebusse shot could not reach them, (for the garrison of the Turkes was in a manner all harguebussiers the best that *Amurath* could choose.) The footmen were quartered somewhat neerer: and to the intent the enemy should not be able to offend them with their shot, they raised vp (in manner of a Palysslado) a great quantity of rafters & plankes, wherof he had made great prouision, behind the which the footmen might stand & remaine in suertie. The Albanois were almost all of them archers: the residue being Italians and Almaines did serue with harguebusses & crosbowes. There were also some Sclauonians, who being more skilfull in the vse of the sword then of the bow: vpon the newes of this leauie of souldiers (being allured with the desire of prey & purchase) did come to serue with the Albanois voluntarily and without any pay at all. There were in those daies that came daily into *Epire* out of all Nations to serue, & to take pay vnder *Scanderbeg*: for that of all the Captains of Christendome, he only was still busied and employed, and was neuer out of armes: but in continuall seruice, as the mortall and deadly enemy of the Turkes and Miscreants. For this cause many of them that were retained, being entised both with the sweetnesse of daily booties and pillage, and by the pleasantnesse of the countrie, did set vp their rest to remaine and dwell there for euer. But the truth is that the most part being enriched with the spoiles of the Barbarians, & growen wonderfull wealthy, did afterwards returne home to their owne countries. There were also some Frenchmen to the number of 50. or more, who serued in that armie: they were appointed to haue the managing & disposing of certaine small field pieces (for they were entertained specially for Cannoniers) with the which they might annoy the defendants, rather then the rampiers of the towne. For I do not find that there were brought thither any other greater peeces, either for batterie or to make any breach, because it seemed, that to force the citie by the scalado was most to the purpose. These things thus ordained, the chiefest matter & of most importance rested yet behind: and that was, to prouide for the tranquilitie of the whole campe, & for the more assured continuance of the siege: namely, to shut vp all the passages from the enemie: for by this meanes both the besieged should be out of all hope of comfort, and the Turkes should be debarred from comming to succour or relieue them. In this seruice was the old garrison employed, and there was ioyned vnto them a supply of 800. foot, & 1000. horse of the new leauied troupes. All which forces being deuided into two parts, the one moity of thē he sent with *Streese*, the other moitie with *Tanusee* into diuerse quarters, for the better gard of the residue of his bands, and to detaine all succors from the besieged. This was no sooner concluded on, but it was as soone put in execution. And thereupon *Scanderbeg* thought it high time to set his souldiers on worke, & by giuing a braue assault vnto the towne, to let them know the fiercenesse of his fury. For you must vnderstand, that the seuen first dayes after the Christians had presented thēselues before *Sfetigrade*, they were vncessantly occupied in enclosing & entrenching of their campe, & in building & ordering of their lodgings (because they thought they should haue wintered before the towne.) And during all that time they had not in any sort molested the besieged, neither in word nor in deede: which made the souldiers now of all hands assemble about their Prince, demanding euery houre that they might be suffered to assaile the enemie. But *Castriot* being vnwilling to attempt any thing by armes, til he had first assaied al other

Souldiers of seuerall Nations serue vnder Scanderbeg.

meanes,

meanes, he did for a time restraine the forwardnesse and heat of his men, till such time as he had sounded the minds of the defendants. He sent therefore two souldiers to carie vnto them the same capitulations, which the citizens of *Sfetigrade* did lately accept of *Ottoman*. But the Turkes made no more reckoning of his offers, then as of a thing of nought: but with notable resolution, they sent him this aunswere, That the place which cost them so much bloud, was not to be sold for wordes: that he should offer hardily the bodies of his people, yea his own head, for the price of the redemption of that towne: and that then he should well knowe, whether that their faith were dependant vpon the water of a well, as was that lately of the Dibrians.

The Answere of the Turkes within Sfetigrade to the summons of Scanderbeg.

This aunswere was no newes to *Scanderbeg*, neither did it come contrarie to his expectation, for he foresawe and coniectured how the Turkes were affected. Wherfore he thought good to haue recourse to the sword, & he determined to set the Christians a worke as they had before desired: and he tooke vnto him courage not as one that would vse many words, but as an enemy that would make them feele the weight of his blowes. The next morning therefore about breake of day, hauing caused his troups to approch close vnder the wals, he first gaue the onset vpon the suburbes, lately assigned by the Turkes to the poore citizens, which he caused to be ouerthrowen & burnt. Many of those, who inhabited in the same, at the first sight of the Christians ensignes, had their refuge to their ancient friends and allies: the others dispersed here and there, and being retyred vnder the walles, did safegard themselues by the fauour of the same, & of the souldiers which stood aboue for their defence. In like maner the buildings next the towne were without hurt, except such as the fire (being caried frō one to the other) did consume with the like confusion. The fury of the assaylants did not in this place proceed any further, because there were but few Turks there abiding, but only Sfetigradians & Epirots, who although it might wel be supposed (as was apparantly to be seene) that they were but badly affectioned to our men, yet Christian charitie made them to be more remisse and pitifull: and they measured the persons by the habite and affections of their hearts in times past, and not by the estate present.

Suburbes of Sfetigrade assaulted and burnt by Scanderbeg.

Moses was not idle in the meane time, for perceiuing them of the towne to be busied on that side in defence of the suburbes, and in quenching of the fire: he lead against the great gate three thousande souldiers all stout men and hardie, whom being couered and shrowded with pauises against the iniurie and force of the assaylantes, he did animate on with all his might to force and breake downe the portes. The Turkes (whose number was more then sufficient both to defend so small a place, and to yeeld readie supplies in all parts) came running thither speedily from all quarters, and some of them from aloft with great store of shot: others with great stones & long peeces of timber, did prop vp & defend the port on the inside, making them stronger then they were before: by meanes whereof they caused our men to quit the worke which they had vndertakē. And thus was the issue of that attempt without any great losse of mē: for the Christians hauing not then (as it chaunced) brought any scaling ladders with them, they did not long striue in assaulting of the walles, but they discharged their choller that day both on the one side & the other, with bowshot and harquebusse shot only. *Scanderbeg* hauing caused to sound a retreat (albeit *Moses* being chafed & set in a heate by litle and litle with the furie of that fight) did call and cry vnto his souldiers to bring their ladders and other engines for the assault: neuertheless all of them vpon the cōming of their Generall did presently retire, and in a maner against their wils, returned ech man to his quarter. Thus were the courages of either partie at that time the more incensed and sharpened by the proofe of that small & light conflict, for that the fight was broken off without any hope or doubt either on the one side or the other.

Assault by Moses to the ports of Sfetigrade.

Scanderbeg causeth to sound a retreat, and to giue ouer the assault.

Consultation of Scanderbeg for his proceedings against Sfetigrade.

The residue of that day did *Scanderbeg* spend in diuerse consultations, deuising vpon the short & surest way to force *Sfetigrad*. For the strong situation therof which made it almost impregnable, and the great & puissant garrison wherwith it was stuffed, did euidently make shew, that the perill would not be small, if they should attempt it inconsiderately or vnaduisedly: and the late example of *Amurath* by his overhardy and too peremptorie experience, did coole the courages of the Christians from being too forward in committing of themselues to the hazard of the like inconuenience. It was concluded therefore for the more suretie, that during the daies following, the enemie should be drawen forth by small & light inuasions, and with as great subtiltie & wylines as might possibly be inuented, he should be entised to issue out, and to make some sallies vpon them: hoping by that meanes in time, either to diminish the forces of the garrison, without any great losse of their owne people, or else making shew by little and little of a dissembled and fained flight, to toll the Infidels out from the guarde of their portes, and then suddenly at the same instant setting vpon them with great furie, they might happen to surprise the citie, during the tumult of that alarme and astonishment, if so be the Christians did presse hard vpon the Turkes in their flight, and did striue to enter with them pell mell, into the towne.

Moses.

Zacharie Groppe.

The execution of this counsell was no longer delaied then till the next night, the darkenes and secrecie whereof did giue them the opportunitie to attempt it in such manner as shall presently be deliuered. *Moses* was appointed to haue the leading of 300. chosen horse, to prouoke foorth the enemie. *Zacharie Groppe* on the one part with 500. horse, and *Scanderbeg* himselfe on the other part, with the like number of horsemen placed themselues very close and secretly in an ambuscado. For these companies, taking the benefit of the darkenesse of the night, and creeping with as great silence and secrecie as they might, by the pendant of the mountaine, hid themselues in a place verie fit and conuenient for an ambushment, and where the enemy would not haue any doubt thereof, euen amongst the hollow & winding turnings of the vallies, and amidst the woods next adioyning full of bushes & bryers, where the scours of the enemie could not haue any knowledge of their being. For hauing partly put out, and partly couering and keeping close their fiers, they went forth on the backside of their campe. The time it selfe also did in some sort aide them to the concealing of their enterprise: for all the long night, the ayre being full of moist & foggie vapours, and the earth being couered with darkenesse, and with obscure and thicke cloudes: the continuall thunder and lightning did so hinder the sight and hearing of euery man, that it was an easie matter to deceiue the Turkish Sentinels. The *Dybrian* in the meane time without staying till the day breake, watched and pryed round about on euerie side with his men, in manner of a freebooter or robber: and approching by degrees neerer and neerer to the walles, he wandered vp and downe here & there in the sight of the townsemen, and did keepe still within their daunger. They within *Sfetygrade* were not all of one minde and aduise, nor of like courage. Many would not be with held, but did exclaime and crie out: That it was necessarie to issue out and to set vpon them, and that it was a shame for them to endure and suffer, that so faire an occasion should be lost: some others helde stiffely on the contrarie, That they ought to bouge nor attempt any thing without good aduise and deliberation. Whereupon there grew a great alteration and dissention amongst them, as it is commonly seene in those men, who being naturally of a fierce & hasty disposition are pricked on & caried away by a kind of light incredulitie only regarding the outward shew & superficial apparance of things, & neuer looking nor searching into the marow, depth, and substance of matters. To such men al good and wholsome counsels do seeme vile

An ambuscado laid for the Turkes of Sfetigrade.

Speeches of the Turkes within Sfetigrade, being deuided in their opinions, concerning a sally to be made vpon the Albanois.

and naught: and they do thinke that all good fortune is then only cleane fled & escaped away out of their hands, if the ordering and disposing of any affaires be neuer so litle deferred, or (as it were) seasoned and attempred with a litle moderation of some short and small delay. Notwithstanding in the end the better opinion (as the euent testified) did beare it away, euen those whose aduise was to be still and not to stirre at all: for they without could not heare any newes nor perceiue any likelihood of any salley: but the gates were kept close shut, and none suffered to come forth, onely they were saluted with harquebush shot aloofe from the wals. The Albanois sometimes in troups, and sometimes scattered and dispersed, with their bowes bent against them that stood vpon the wall, did course and gallop here and there, to the intent that they being prouoked the sooner by these brauadoes, might be entised to issue foorth vnto them. But when *Moses* saw that he got nothing but blowes, and that there was more likelihood of further danger, then of hope to doe any good vpon the enemie (for by this time two of his men were slaine, & sixe or seuen of them sore hurt, that he could hardly carrie them away) he beganne to retire faire and easily from the wals: and hauing conceiued no lesse indignation then shame, he withdrew himselfe from the view of the enemie. *Scanderbeg* likewise with his troupe in as pitifull a case as the other was not long behind him, but he came forth also from his denne extremely grieued and discontented: in such sort, that both he and his company, being thoroughly wet and (as it were) all dropping with the raine which had fallen on them all the night: and the *Dibrian* on the other side, returning with his souldiers full of anger & despite, they gaue good occasion to the enemy to laugh, and make themselues merry at them.

Sentence.

Sforzgrade assaulted by the Albanois.

Moses.

Zachary Groppe.

But the Epirot did not long endure this mockery, for he was minded to requit them with plaine and open force & by a generall assault. The next day therefore, hauing set his cõpanies in order of battell, & euery mã appointed to his charge, about two houres before noone, he lead at the very first 10000. men against the wals. Of the residue of his army part was left to keepe the trenches, and part was reserued in a readinesse for a fresh & new supply, to the intent the assault should not be interrupted. *Moses* first of all with a good squadron of stout & valiant young men went to the scalado, hauing conceiued a good hope to carry the towne. For *Scanderbeg* frõ beneath with a great band of archers & crosbowes Italians made the defendants by force of their shot to forsake their standings, & by that meanes the others had the more liberty to mount vp to the wals, in so much that many of thẽ hauing gotten to the tops of their ladders, did now get footing vpon the rampiers, & there with equall courage & fury did maintaine the fight with the Turkes for the possession of the wals. The artillery, which as we haue said, was plãted on the farther side of the town to beat the rampiers, did not suffer the garrison to rest on that side. For albeit the shot of these peeces did not make any great breach, yet did the wals daily decrease in the fight of them that fought: & the defendants by litle & litle did diminish & waxe lesse by reason that the continuance of the shot which rased the wals, did also make away many of their mẽ that stood in defence of that place. If these here did performe the part of tall souldiers, I can assure you that the others did behaue themselues with much more fury on that side, where *Zacharie Groppe* went to the assault, with whõ were the chiefest forces & strength of the armie, and especially the Almaines who were resolute euen to the death, and knew not what it was to recuile frõ the enemy. These with pickaxes & bars of iron did seeke to ouerthrow the wals where they had bin newly reedified & repaired. Some couered with the targets of their companions and with baskets close ioyned together, did digge & vndermine the foundations: others voiding and ridding away the stones that were digged vp, did make the place like vnto an arch or hollow caue. The Infidels that

were aloft on the wall could not, although they would, hinder them from the purſuit of this worke. For albeit many of our men did droppe downe here and there, & were ſlaine with harquebuſſe ſhot from the towers and flankers of the wall, yet did others continually ſucceede in their places without any reſpect of daunger, or without anie feare of death. And the others in the meane time with their croſſebowes and harquebuſſe ſhot did play vpon the enemie: and they had ſo diligent an eye vnto them whersoeuer they ſawe them to ſtirre or to preſent themſelues in the defence of the walles, that they kept them in ſuch awe and ſubiection, as without euident perill, they durſt not abide vpon the rampiers: yet the beſieged laughing at the great paines and labour that the Chriſtians tooke, did purpoſely delay and protract the fight. For in very deed the foundation of the wall was laid ſo thicke and ſo large by the *Sultan*, and beſides, it was rampiered within, with ſuch ſtore of ſtones and bankes of earth, that the place was ſure enough of it ſelfe, without the aide or ſuccours of any armed forces. Neuertheleſſe for a while did *Zachary* hold on ſtiffely in his enterpriſe, to ſee if he could preuaile or find any entrie for his men. In the ende when he ſawe that he loſt his labour, and that it was almoſt an endleſſe worke, he chaunged his courſe: and to as litle purpoſe he determined to ſcale the walles, crying vnto his ſouldiers, To the ſcalado, to the ſcalado. The Turkes perceiuing from aboue the new attempt of the Chriſtians, did purpoſely ſuffer ſome of them to mount euen to the toppe of their ladders, & then ſaluting them with a great volley of harquebuſſe ſhot, and with great ſtones which they rumbled downe vpon them as thicke as hayle, they did eaſily turne both them and their ladders vpſide downe from the height of the wall to the bottome of the valley. For on that part the ground about the wall for a very litle way only was ſomwhat plaine and euen: but on a ſudden, it was inuironed with a mightie great downfall of a huge depth, exceeding hollow and ſteepe withall. Litle better entertainement had the aſſaylants on the other ſide, where *Moſes* with his company hauing reared their ladders, had diuerſe times raiſed vp the colours of the Albanois vpon the rampiers of the enemie: but the Pagans waxing raging mad to ſee this their brauerie and valure, cauſed a ſtrong ſupply of their companions to come thither, who held themſelues cõtinually in a readineſſe to helpe and relieue their fellowes where moſt neede ſhould be. And then all of them cloſe ioyned together, beſtirring thẽſelues without all feare of death or daunger, did ouerthrow both men and ladders topſie turuy to the ground, killing and murthering many of them, ſo that in a ſmall ſpace they got the aduantage of the fight. And wheras they were but euen now as men confounded & vanquiſhed, they wreſted the victorie out of the hands of the Chriſtians, with ſuch furie and violence, that the fortune of the fight being ſuddenly chaunged, and in an inſtant: it ſeemed that God did fauour their part. *Caſtriot* being wounded with extreame griefe to ſee his men ſo ill handled, and aboue all for the hurt of *Moſes*, whom with much adoe he had withdrawen from the ſhot of the enemie, and ſent vnto his tent to haue his wounds dreſſed: he was a litle retyred and gotten farther from the wall, where being couered with the targets of two ſouldiers on ech ſide one, he inuited ſome to ſtand by him & with their ſhot to play vpon the enemy. Others being freſh & ſound, he commaunded and encouraged to take againe the ladders and fiercely to terrifie the beſieged by renuing of the aſſault. *Scanderbeg* himſelf ſerued there that day with bow & ſhafts, which many of them within the towne did find to their coſts. For it is reported, that it was a wonderfull thing to ſee how many Turks he alone did kill that day: and that he neuer drew any one ſhaft in vaine. It was no hard matter to bring the ladders, and to raiſe them againſt the walles, but the ſouldiers beganne now to preſent themſelues in ſlender troupes, and they durſt not hazarde themſelues in mounting

Moſes wounded.

vp

vp vpon the walles. One of them ſtood looking vpon another: and albeit the great promiſes of the Prince inuited many of them to be forward: yet did the recompence ſeeme to be deadly and mortall, as it made none of them deſirous to aduenture for it. Thus either partie growing into cold blood by litle and litle, they left fighting at the laſt, and the darkneſſe of the night which was equally deſired both of the beſt and worſt ſouldiers, did end and determine that daies ſeruice. The Albanois held themſelues quiet and verie ſtill within their campe all that night, as thoſe whom both the ignominie of the day before and their preſent miſſortune did ſeeme to inuite to take their reſt with ſilence: for they had loſt two hundreth of their beſt ſouldiers, and of thoſe that were wounded there were aboue ſix hundreth, of whom there died of their wounds ſhortly after more then thirtie. Of the defendants, though there were a greater number ſlaine, and that the cries and plaints of an infinite number, which were wounded were heard on all parts: yet the repulſe of their enemies, and the preſeruation of the place, made them to demeane themſelues in great mirth till the next morning: paſſing away the night with great fiers, and they neuer ceaſed running vp and downe the walles and rampiers, ſinging of ſongs, and making great triumph and exceeding ioy.

The Albanois repulſed from the aſſault.

By this time had *Ottoman* intelligence of the ſiege of *Sfetigrade*, and it grieued him at the hart, often times complaining that when he was ſcarce gotten to one end of his trauels, and had but newly licenſed his armie to depart, he ſhould now againe be conſtrained to a worſe warre then euer, eſpecially in the beginning of winter: a ſeaſon not ſo ſtrange as vnfit and inconuenient to make wartes in. Neuertheleſſe ſeing himſelfe vanquiſhed both with ſhame and with a certaine kind of neceſſitie and predeſtinate fortune, which would not permit him without ignominie and diſhonor to leaue his townes to the oppreſſion and furie of his enemie, he concluded againe to reniue his former preparations, and to proclaime a new muſter: and to this effect he diſpatched on all parts his Saniacks, Baſſaes and Chieftaines, employing all meanes which he could poſſibly deuiſe to haſten his purpoſed iorney. And the firſt thing that he did, was, to publiſh abroad his returne into *Epire*, perhaps doing it of purpoſe to giue the more countenance and authoritie to the matter: or for that the Chriſtians being aſtoniſhed vpon the report of this newes, might be diſcouraged from proceeding with their ſiege. For to ſpeake the truth what I thinke thereof: hardly can I be perſwaded, that there is any likelihood or probabilitie, that the *Sultan* in the laſt point and period (as it were) of his age, and the daies being at ſhorteſt, in ſo intemperate a ſeaſon and time of the yeare, would be ſo fooliſh and vnaduiſed as to take the fielde at that time in proper perſon; conſidering eſpecially, that the matter was not of ſuch importance, that (if any accident ſhould haue happened) it could haue bene any great preiudice vnto his crowne or kingdome: but that ſome other rather then himſelfe might haue bene ſent, and employed in that action, and haue diſcharged it well and ſufficiently for his honor and reputation.

Amurath proclaimeth a new leuie of forces to return into Epire.

The Prince of *Epyre* being nothing at all abaſhed for the late ſlaughter of his people, or through the diſſauor of fortune for that daies ſeruice, did apply all his wittes, and emploied his beſt diligence, from time to time to moleſt and annoy them of the garriſon: ſomtimes in the day, and otherwhiles in the night, he would lead his troups cloſe vnder the walles, and caſting balles and pots of wild fire vp into the aire, which fell downe amongeſt the enemies: he ſought by theſe and all other meanes to aſtoniſh them: and ſometime he would ſend forth ſome ſmall number of ſouldiers, to gather together the dead bodies, and to drag them away, thinking by that policie to haue drawen them foorth to iſſue out vpon them. All theſe attemptes and cunning deuiſes

being practiſed in vaine by the Albanois, he concluded to make an end of this ſiege, after he had once more by one other aſſault tried the laſt and vttermoſt of his fortune, howſoeuer the ſame ſucceeded and fell out: and he was induced to this reſolution, partly by reaſon of the hurt of *Moſes*, and partly alſo becauſe the ill ſucceſſe of the laſt aſſault might ſeeme in ſome ſort to be excuſed and imputed to the ſudden comming of the night vpon them, which might alſo promiſe the hope of better fortune to ſuch as had their mindes charged with care, and did interpret things according to their owne particular affections. Wherfore the day following after the ſun riſing, he cauſed it to be proclaimed throughout his campe by ſound of trumpet: that beſides the great rewards promiſed in recompence of their vertue who ſhould enter firſt, he did permit them to haue the pillage of the towne, and he amplified the matter with many good words, making it ſeeme a great thing in ſhew and beyond all credit. Beſides, he ſeemed to deplore and bewaile the ſhame & ignominie of the name of the Albanois: that ſo many excellent Captaines and braue ſouldiers, after innumerable proofes of their ſufficiencie and valure, ſhould to their ſingular reproch be enforced by a handfull of baſe and vile ſlaues to make ſo long abode, and ſo ſhamefully to ſpend their time vnder theſe walles which were ſo ſhamefully loſt vnto the enemie. And he demaunded of them, how long they would ſuffer and endure this infamie: that within their owne prouince, and in the middeſt of ſo many townes and fortreſſes, and nations of their obeiſance, one vile garriſon of the Barbarians who had nothing but bare walles to defend them, and were deſtitute of all other hope and comfort, ſhould keepe and holde out ſo long in this place, euen vnder their noſes, and ſhould in a manner triumph at their puſillanimitie and want of courage? That they ſhould hardly do any exployt of worth in a ſtrange countrie and a farre off in forraigne regions, if they had not the power to diſlodge and driue away theſe robbers who were gotten (as it were) within their doores, and did dwell euen within their very bowels.

Scanderbeg encourageth his ſouldiers to a new aſſault.

With theſe and ſuch like diſcourſes and examinations hauing ſet a newe edge on the courage of the Albanians, and made them more eger againſt the Infidels, he deuided his companies, and hauing left about 600. for the guard & cuſtody of the campe, with the reſt he preſſed the towne on all ſides where it was approchable. At the firſt they began the fight with their ſhot only both on the one ſide and the other, ech man doing his beſt to draw bloud from his enemie. After they had ſufficiently skirmiſhed together in that manner, and that they beganne now to growe in choller: the moſt hardie and ſuch as were well chafed betooke themſelues to their ladders, being minded to talke with the enemy ſomewhat neerer. Once or twice were they couragiouſly repulſed by the defendants, and they gaue them not ſo much leaſure, as to raiſe their ladders to the walles: but at the laſt the Barbarians being ſurmounted by the hardineſſe and obſtinacie of the Chriſtians, who no otherwiſe then as Lions almoſt famiſhed, doe ruſh vpon the flocke without any remembrance either of ſnares or other trappes that men doe vſe to lay for them: ſo they, furiouſly perſiſting in the aſſault without all feare of death or daunger, by little and little, did yeelde and giue place to ſo extreame furie: and wanting both ſtrength and weapons to keepe off the enemie, they retyred themſelues behinde the rampiers in ſuch ſort, that they gaue the Chriſtians good meanes and opportunitie to haue made themſelues maſters of the place. But ſee what feare of Ambuſhments may doe: our men who till then were ſo fierce and couragious, and who in a cruell and bloudie aſſault, ſhewed themſelues ſo prodigall of their liues, and ſo careleſſe of death it ſelfe which they had continually euen before their eyes: aſſoone as they perceiued the enemie to waxe faint, and that one after another did abandon the wall, they beganne preſently to miſtruſt ſome policie, and ha-

Second aſſault to Sfetigrade.

The Albanois winning the walles of Sfetigrade vpon a forme of feare of ſecret ambuſhments forſake and loſe the towne.

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uing a conceipt and imagination, that ſome great troups of the enemie did lye cloſe behind the rampiers in ſome ambuſcado, and did attend there to bid them to ſome ill banquet: they grew more cold and negligent in their actions, and caſting their eyes about them on ech ſide, and carefully regarding all places neare them, they did expect nothing elſe, but euen in a moment to be all of them deſtroied: ſuch was their vaine and fooliſh opinion. Herewithall had the Barbarians good leiſure to bethinke themſelues, and to prouide for that which ſhould be needfull and neceſſary: and their companions flocking thither from diuerſe quarters vpon the rumour of that fraie, and bringing with them great ſtore and quantitie of weapons, did reuiue both their courage, and their good fortune. In this concourſe many a man loſt his life, both on the one ſide and the other: but many more on the part of the aſſailants then of the defendants: and more had bene ſlaine if the readineſſe and good deuoire of *Zachary* had not hindred them: for he at another part of the wall hauing raiſed vp many ladders, did interrupt this their victorie, diuerting the enemie by a new onſet: ſo that they were conſtrained to ſeparate themſelues, and to ſunder their forces. All this while you might haue ſeene *Caſtriot* with his ſquadrons, ſometimes approching neare the wall, to terrifie them within: and ſometimes doing the dutie of a ſimple ſouldier, leading them the way againſt their enemies; one while by prayers, another while by reproches he would ſolicite and animate them on. The archers and other ſhotte being placed round about the walles, did keepe their ſtand where they were firſt appointed, and ſtill as the furie of the fight encreaſed and continued, they did neuer ceaſe to play vpon the Infidels as they marched vp and downe vpon the curtins. When the defendants did perceiue that their numbers did decreaſe, and that the Chriſtians did encreaſe in courage and obſtinacie farre beyond humaine reaſon: they doubted what would become of it, and they feared the iſſue of that daies iorney: wherefore to ſtop the courſe of their furie, and to gaine time to themſelues, they deuiſed this policie. They ſnatched vp the Turkiſh enſignes from the rampiers, and calling to the Chriſtians with a loud voice, they deſired a truce and ſuſpenſion of armes for a litle ſpace, and that they might haue libertie to parley with *Scanderbeg*. This was granted vnto them by the Albanians with the conſent of their Generall: and both parts being commanded to ſurceaſe from hoſtilitie, the Infidels were permitted to ſpeake their minds. Thereupon one of them, an auncient and graue olde man (after he had firſt yeelded thanks to the Generall and his companies, for ſo courteous and liberall a graunt made to their enemie) he told them that his deſire was by the conſent of this companie, that they might haue truce granted them for that day onely, to the intent during this ſmall time of delay, they might conſult amongſt themſelues vpon the forme of their capitulation, whereunto their whole companie was inclined with one mind and general conſent: and that the next day they would ſend certen deputies vnto him with conditions, whereunto they would ſubmit and yeeld themſelues: which if they were agreeable to him and to his liking, they ſhould take it as a ſingular and high fauour: whereof notwithſtanding conſidering his clemencie they neuer made any doubt nor diſtruſt, that if he did miſlike of their offers, and would not allow of them, that they would wholly referre themſelues to his owne diſcretion and ordinance; and that they would not in any ſort refuſe nor depart from his arbiterment, and iudgment: and they were in good hope to conclude all things with him to the good and profit of both parties. At the firſt *Scanderbeg* ſhewed himſelfe highly diſcontented and nothing tractable to thoſe demaunds of the Mahomatiſtes, iudging verie wiſely, that they ſought for nothing elſe, but fraudulently by theſe ſhifts to deferre the aſſault for that day: and either to depriue him of that aduantage whereat he had them: or elſe in

A policy of the Turkes within Sfetigrade.

Speach of a Turke of Sfetigrade deſiring a parley and truce for a day.

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Answer of Scanderbeg to the speach of the Turke demaunding truce.

» hope of succours from their soueraigne as the experience did afterwards make it manifest. And therefore he enioyned them to declare presently what their intent and » meaning was: otherwise they should looke for the vttermost extreamitie of a fresh assault liuely renued and recontinued: that all time of delay was impertinent, consi- » dering that the estate of their affaires was brought to such necessitie, and to an extreame exigent. Neuertheless at the length being vanquished with their importunate flatteries, and the entreatie of his owne souldiers, he was content to giue ouer the assault. True it is that he saw, that if there were any good hope to force the place, that this small time of delay could not depriue him of that aduantage: wherefore retyring his ensignes, and engines of assault, and his troups being withdrawen into the campe. The rest of that day, and the night following was spent in great rest and quietnes.

Scanderbeg faultie in ouermuch courtesie and facilitie, retireth frō the assault, and accordeth truce to the Turkes.

The next morning, foure Turkes, men notably subtile and wily, being deputed to treat vpon this matter, came to speake with the Prince of *Albanie*; and brought him diuerse exquisite gifts and presents. The conditions whereupon they offered to capitulate were of that nature and substance, that not onely any victor, but euen men vanquished would haue bene loth to accept of them: and they did it purposely to prolong the time, that whilest these should be reiected, in stead of them they might preferre others, and after that againe others: by meanes whereof, the treatie might be drawen at length. And this was the summe of their demaund, That the ancient citizens being restored within the towne with their old priuiledges and immunities, both the houses and the fieldes should be equally deuided amongst them all: and that in this manner they resigning and yet retaining still the towne, would become his subiects, and » yeeld vnto him perpetuall fidelitie and obeisance, vtterly disclaiming the name and » gouernment of *Ottoman*. And they required also, tenne thousand aspres in readie money to be giuen to their Gouernor. The Christians gaue them no answer, but onely laughing at these demaunds, through pure despite which they conceiued of the same, they cryed presently on all parts, To armes. And thus with iniuries and scoffes were these deceipfull messengers dismissed together with their guilfull and fallacious presents. The Paynims left not for all that, but suddenly sent againe the same persons to attend and know the last resolution of the Christian Generall, and in case they could not otherwise dispatch, to referre the whole to his discretion. This strange alteration in the mindes of the enemie, and their suspected liberalitie, though it did keepe *Scanderbeg* from beleeuing them ouer rashly; yet neuertheless he thought it not good to reiect these meanes altogether: wherefore he tolde them plainely, that he would not change nor alter any things of his first offers made vnto them, when he summoned them at such time as their estate was not empayred, nor his camp then endammaged: that they ought not now to thinke those offers grieuous or iniurious, which themselues at another time had iudged to be equall and indifferent to the Sfetigradians: that they should not expect any other composition at his handes: that if they would accept this, he was content without any further losse to take the towne into his hands, but if their drift and purpose were, by these subtilties and disguisements of faire and cunning speeches to gaine time and to persist in their obstinate wilfulnes, that they should not for their parts, euer after looke but for all hostilitie and extreame rigour: that they should al of them hold this for certaine and determined, that nothing should end this siege without the death and destruction of them all.

Conditions propounded by the Turkes of Sfetigrade.

Answere of Scanderbeg to the conditions propoūded by the Turkes of Sfetigrade.

Whilest the Barbarians did in this manner come and goe to and fro, and that they did thus faine and dissemble, three whole daies were spent and consumed in these emparlances, and at length the ende made manifest, what was their intent and purpose. On the one side therfore the subtiltie and inuention of the defendants was discouered:

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on the other side newes being now come of the stirring and speedie comming of the great Turke, it did greatly grieue and perplexe the minde of the Prince of *Albanie*. To quit the place beseiged, the late iniurie and abuse proffered by the Turkes would not permit him: and to continue there, he sawe that both the doubt of the enemie, (who was reported to be neare at hand behind his backe) and the importance of all his affaires, which were of greatest consequence did disswade him from it: Notwithstanding he remained there a while longer, till such time as there came more certaine aduertisements of the preparation made by *Amurath*. But it seemed, the very destinies did oppose themselues against his desires. For the heauens powred foorth such marueilous abundance of moistures and showers in all that time, that the souldiers could not set their feete without their trenches, much lesse could they attempt any thing against the walles. The raine being ceased, *Scanderbeg* proclaimed one assault more against the towne to be giuen the day following: and he gaue good order and direction, that all things requisite should be made and prouided in a readinesse. Himselfe abstained from sleepe all the whole night: sometimes being busied and emploied in diuerse matters, which were most needfull and materiall: & somtimes did he walk vp and downe his campe here and there, encouraging and exhorting his people: often times telling them, that they must either driue the enemie cleane out of *Epire*, or not returne any more to the campe, till they had made themselues masters of the towne: that the realme of *Epire* did seeme disguised & deformed: that nothing could be said or esteemed in safetie and securitie, if the Pagans should be suffered any longer to abide and continue within the countrey. And admit that there were no perill or daunger to be feared, nor any dishonor did ensue by suffering them, yet what reason had they to endure those outrages of their enemies? and how long would they swallow vp those derisions, and disgratious scoffes and abuses which had bene offered them?

Scanderbeg encourageth his souldiers to a new assault.

Thus the night being quickely spent in these consultations and prouisions for the intended seruice, the day began now to approch, before the breake whereof *Scanderbeg* drawing foorth his troups, did lodge them all against the walles: but the souldiers found it more painefull to creepe vp against the hill, then was ordinarie or accustomed: and the way was more soft and slipperie vnder their feete, by reason of the great store of water wherewith the earth was washed: that it made them to drawe their ladders and other engines with great paine, and (as a man may say) to dragge them with their teeth. Neuertheless the Christians, being lately incensed with choller, and inflamed with anger, did not feele either the difficultie or the painefulnesse of their attempt. The beseiged who doubted of no such matter, at the first did resort to the defence of the walles in small numbers, and were somewhat negligent in their deuoire: but hauing quickely made prouision of all things, they hastened thither with greater forces, and reenforcing their defence, they were of sufficient power to repulse the assailants. From thenceforth the audacitie and forwardnesse of the Epirotes was not so fierce and violent as before: and the swords and countenance of the enemie being now neare them and at hand, did inuite and perswade them to carie themselues aduisedly, and with discretion: and not with furie and rashnesse, and too much hardinesse of coutage. Wherefore casting a carefull eye to the blowes of the enemie on the one side, which fought with them aloft from the walles, they tooke a conceit immediately, that there was another enemie at their backes: and that the rumor (which had bene reported of the returne of *Amurath*) was not in vaine, not a tale falsely giuen out. The bruite of this concepit did so encrease from mouth to mouth, and it tooke such force in their credulous hearts, by a certaine apprehension of vaine feare: that they seemed to see before their eyes those preparations of the enemie, which were yet

Third assault to Sfetigrade.

scarcely begun: and they imagined the *Sultan* to be alreadie come into *Epire*, who was yet quiet and at rest at home in *Andrinople*. *Scanderbeg* though he were of an inuincible courage, yet perceiuing this feare and terror of his souldiers, was constrained to yeeld to the present necessity: and by reason that all things were in a kind of horror, confusion and disorder: he caused to sound a retrait, and to surcease from the assault.

Siege of Sfetigrade raised by Scanderbeg

It was scant the ninth houre of the day, but that *Scanderbeg* (after his men had taken a repast) commaunded them to trusse vp their baggage: hauing first throwen downe their trenches, and set fire on the other fortifications of their campe. The trees and other frutes in the country had not bene exempted from the wrath and fury of the common souldiour, but they had made spoile and hauocke of all, if the Prince of *Albanie* had not represt their rage: telling them, that it was to be hoped one day when it should please God to be more fauorable vnto them, to recouer the towne, and to reestablish the same in her former estate. And therefore without any signes or markes of an enemie left behind him, he dislodged as secretly as he could, and tooke the direct way towards *Croie*. It is reported that *Scanderbeg* lost at this siege of *Sfetigrade* fiue hundreth men and more: which opinion in my iudgement hath more likelihood of truth, then others who affirme, that at the time when he dislodged thence with his armie, he had not lost aboue sixtie. A thing most absurd and far from all reason, considering the great number of the Turkes which were slaine at the former expedition, when they besieged the same place: as all men do confesse iointlie and with one accord: vnlesse perhappes we will seeme to say as the fabulous Poets haue imagined of some men: that the bodies of the Christians were lesse penetrable then those of the infidels.

Number of Christians slaine at the siege of Sfetigrade.

Scanderbeg prouideth for the defence of Croy and other places.

It was on the three and twentieth day of October that (the siege of *Sfetigrade* being raised) *Scanderbeg* with his armie returned to *Croie*, where he had scant a minute of leasure to recreate and to refresh himselfe, but that he gaue present and speedie order for the enrolling of men, and made choise of Captaines and leaders, to whom he appointed their seuerall charges according as the consequence of his affaires, and the newes lately brought vnto him did require. The towne was voided of all sortes of people, who for their age and sexe were vnfit to beare armes: and it was stuffed with a garrison of 2000. men, of whom some were Albanois, some Italians, some Almains, Sclauonians & Frenchmen. All which neuertheless did agree in such vnitie & good accorde, as better could not be imagined: the which was in the ende made manifest and apparant by the happy successe and honour which they purchased by the worthy defence of the towne against *Amurath*. *Vranoutes* as in times past, so now with the generall liking, and with a wonderfull consent and allowance of all men, had the absolute, charge, authoritie, and gouernement of the place. Very hardly was there anie other to be found in the whole army more fit and worthy of this degree, or who was more in fauour, or better accepted of the souldiers. He was a personage of singular resolution and conceipt in the middest of all perils and greatest hazards: he was euer readie in the performance of his charge, were it in commaunding or obeying: he alwaies vsed and that with an excellent good grace, to attribute the praise and desert of any seruice well affected, to the souldiers in generall, rather then by robbing others of their merits to appropriate it vnto himselfe. And besides all this, he had behaued himselfe well and valiantly during his whole life. Both the goodly representation of his person, and the grauitie of his yeares did make him to be reuerenced of all men: and the auncient Nobilitie of his race, did greatly beautifie and (as it were) season all these good parts in him. Wherefore to confirme and continue this good opinion conceiued of him by the Albanois with so generall a consent and liking, he promised to

Number of souldiers in garrison within Croy against the siege of Amurath.

Vranoutes the Gouernour of Croy, his commendation

make

make no ſpare of his paines nor vigilancy, though it were with the loſſe of his life in all occaſions where it was needfull to be emploied. To *Stellusa* likewiſe and *Petralba*, and other places of ſtrength, were ſent both gouernors and ſufficient forces to defend thē. Neither was it forgotten to appoint a great multitude of perſons in all the towns, who ſhould make prouiſion of victuals & munitions from all parts. But notwithſtanding all the care, paines, and induſtry taken in that behalfe, yet hardly could they make prouiſion of the ſame for 3. whole moneths, by reaſon both of the continuall ſpoile and waſt made by the wars, and for their daily attendance and emploiment in armes, which had cauſed the Epirots that yeare before to neglect their husbandry, & not to attend to tillage. Notwithſtanding the report is, that certaine marchaunts of *Venice*, and others of the inhabitants there in the Venetian territories, did furniſh them of victuals ſecretly and vnder hand: becauſe at that time (ſuch was the ill hap of the Chriſtians) the lords of that Signiory were in league and amity with the Turkiſh Monarke. Certaine it is, that *Scanderbeg* did neuer faile of great ſupplies of money from that eſtate, and during his whole life, whileſt he was in wars, he did atchieue & go through them vnder the ſupport and fauor of the Venetians: referring vnto them the glory of his moſt memorable exploits and triumphs. I doubt not but many wil marueil, no leſſe then I my ſelf, whence it ſhould proceed, that the Venetian ſhould make this peace with the Infidel, not cōpriſing *Scanderbeg* in the ſame: conſidering that they were before ſo ſtrictly aſſociated together, by ſo many bonds of friendſhip and amity. For my part I will not wrong that Senat, which hath euer bene reputed both ſage & religious, to ſuſpect that they did it in any other reſpect and conſideration, but only for the good and preſeruation of *Greece*, which ſeemed then to be banded and deuided euen within and againſt it ſelfe. And therefore I leaue this matter for others to giue their iudgements vpon it.

Scanderbeg aided in all his wars with ſupplies of money by the Venetians.

Venetians in peace & amity with the Turk.

Prouiſion being made of graine and other victuals within *Croy*, the common garners and magazins were filled in ſuch rate and proportion, as it was ſufficient to ſuſtaine the ſoldiers for one whole yeare. Then was there preparation alſo made for ſupplies of all kinds of ſhot, both long bows and artillery: the charge & managing whereof was continued to the French-men, & they had allowance at all times both in peace and war, for each mans pay 5. crownes a moneth. And moſt part of the garriſon within *Croy* were harquebuſiers & croſſe bowes. The affairs of *Croy* being well ſetled and aſſured, that which remained of the victuals, did *Scanderbeg* cauſe to be tranſported and deuided to other townes and places of the Prouince. For his owne part, before he would leauy any new forces to be retained to himſelfe for the moleſting and inuading of the enemy, as he was accuſtomed, he thought it good firſt to go and viſit thoſe troupes, which he had lately ordained for the defence and guard of the frontiers. And therefore he called vnto him *Moſes* and ſome few horſemen beſides, with whom hee went both to take order, and giue directions for all things, and to ſend forth eſpials to ſound out the enterpriſes of *Amurath*, that he might be fully enformed of all things in particular. There was no occaſion neither of froſtes nor cold, nor the earth all couered with ſnow, that could hinder or ſtay the induſtry and diligence of this laborious and watchfull Chiefetaine: neither the greatneſſe or difficulty of his affairs or determinations, nor the hard trauell of his painfull iourneis could terrifie him, but that euery day more reſolutely then other, he did vndertake all the labors that belonged to his charge, viſiting and reuiſiting ſometimes one place, ſometimes another. And at other times would he diſguiſe himſelfe, and in the habit of a ſheepherd, would go euen vnder the walles of *Sfetigrade*, to eſpy if he could by any policy or ſtratageme (as he had in times paſt) or by force, or by fauor of ſecret trains and ambuſhmens cloſely laied, ſeize vpon that towne, and get it out of the hands of the *Ottoman*. By meanes whereof, they

Scanderbeg his induſtry and great carefulneſſe.

Scanderbeg diſguiſeth him ſelfe to eſpie aduantages vpon his enemies

within had no liberty to reſt themſelues: but (as if they had bin ſtill beſieged) they ſtirred not from their gates, neither durſt they at any time be negligent in keeping good watch and ward, and in looking to all things, with all care as they were accuſtomed.

Amurath vpon the newes of the ſiege raiſed at Sfetygrade referreth his iourney into Epire.

During that time that *Scanderbeg* was thus carefully buſied about his affairs, the eſpials being returned brought him tidings, that there was no more talke of aſſembling any forces by the *Sultan*, but that the fury of his armes was deferred, and that *Amurath* had put off the war of *Epire* til the next ſpring: for he hauing heard of the departure of the chriſtians from the ſiege of *Sfetygrade*, needed not to be entreated (conſidering the ſeaſon of the yeare) to make ſtay of his preparations, which he had begun with ſo great heate and vehemency, but changing his former order & decree, he had cauſed a new edict to be publiſhed: That al his ſoldiers and captains who were appointed & enrolled for that action of *Epire*, ſhould make their repair and *rende vous* at *Andrinople* the 15. day of March following. He had a great deſire to haue that voyage & the ſiege of *Croy* to be concealed and kept cloſe: but he could not diſguiſe nor conuay his matters ſo cunningly, but that euery man might aſſure himſelfe that *Scanderbeg* was the enemie againſt whom thoſe forces ſhould be emploied. Vpon this determination of the Turkiſhe Monarch, the Chriſtians likewiſe had leiſure for a while to breath themſelues. Wherefore the garriſon vpon the frontiers being diminiſhed by the one moity, there were not left aboue 2000. at the moſt, who building for thēſelues lodgings & cabins (as the faſhion is of ſouldiers) did prouide againſt the iniury of the weather, & winter ſeaſon, and the reſidue of them were diſmiſſed & had leaue to depart home. The king of *Epire* with *Moſes* & the others, being returned to *Croy*, did for a while cōtinue there, during which time, he cauſed certaine baſtils and platformes to be added to the other fortifications of the towne, and to repaire the wals on that ſide which lay towards *Tiranna*, where antiquity and continuance of time had made thē weake & ruinous. This done, as he was euer ſtirring & impatient of reſt, ſodainly he ſet foot in ſtirrop, poſting to this and to that place: and being meanly apparelled, and with 10. men only in his cōpany, he went to the Potentates his next neighbors and allies, and to the gouernors of the *Venetian* towns, labouring to embarke them in this war, and to put them in mind of the imminent danger and ruine, that did threaten them euen at hand, and did hang ouer their heades: both admoniſhing and encouraging them to the remembrance of their deuoire and duty. Neuertheles the moſt part of that winter, he paſſed couertly in the confines of *Macedony*, in company of the garriſon which was there appointed. All which time, a man ſhould ſcarce haue ſeene them of *Sfetygrade*, to iſſue forth out of their gates, for that the neareneſſe of our campe being but 15. miles off, made them to ſtand carefully vpon their guard, and did keepe them in great feare and awe.

Croy repaired and fortified.

1450. The cold winter being thus ſpent and paſſed ouer, with the new ſpring came new labours and calamities, and all things grew more troubleſome both in publicke and in particular. There paſſed almoſt no day nor night, without ſome letters or intelligence brought to *Scanderbeg*. Amongſt the Infidelles, one while came ſome to yeeld themſelues to his ſeruice: at an other time, others remembring their auncient familiarity, would enforme him truly of the deſſeignes and enterpriſes of *Amurath*: which cauſed many to plucke vp their ſpirites more and more; and to others, it gaue occaſion either of feare or hardines, according to the habite & diſpoſition of ech mans heart & corage.

Scanderbeg leuieth an army to make reſiſtance againſt the inuaſion intended by Amurath.

But for that he had of late ſufficiently prouided for all his townes, and nothing had bin reuoked nor diminiſhed of thoſe prouiſiōs: there was no great matter now remaining to take order for, but only to aſſemble ſome forces in forme of an army, with which he might annoy the enemy ſometimes in the open field, and ſomtimes in the ſtraights of the mountaines according as the oportunity of time and place ſhould giue him leaue.

That

That so when they should afterwardes beleaguer *Croy*, he might be the better able to weary and annoy them, as he had oftentimes at the siege of *Sfetigrade*, atempted and done the like with happy successe and good fortune. Of all his Chiefetains, *Scanderbeg* had not then the company or assistance of any, but only of *Tanuse*, of *Streese*, and of the *Dibrian*. For the others hauing bene sent and emploied in the like occurrences and occasions, were deuided into sundry townes and seuerall fortresses. He sent therefore those three with all speed to leauy men throughout all the Province: but by reason that it was drawen dry of good and able men (the flower and youth of the realme being distributed into diuers places & castels) they spent many daies in the mustering and leauying of those forces. And this was the cause that *Scanderbeg* (as the report goeth) in this warre, did wage many of the subiects of the *Venetians*, and some also out of the next *Dalmatia*, or that part of *Sclauony*, that confineth vpon the sea.

Dalmatia or Sclauony vpon the sea.

The Prince of the Turkes in this meane while, had at the time prefixed, assembled the most part of his forces, & yet he wanted many thousands to furnish vp so huge and massy an army as that which he had the yeare last past. By reason, that either the far distance of places, or the difficulty of the waies did hinder some of them, either more or lesse. And therfore attending till such time as he saw his numbers and preparations in all points performed, because he would loose no time, he emploied that space in the prouision of other things necessary for an action of that weight and importance, and especially for the gathering of victuals. Albeit order had bin taken, that euery souldier should furnish him self in particular with victuals for many daies prouision: for he was fully resolued, that the Christians had not left any corn vpon the ground, and that they would wast and destroy all the pasture and herbage vppon the first tidings of his approach. It were almost a thing impossible to number vp all the instrumentes and engines of assault which were prepared. Amongst the rest, there were many tooles and instruments of iron vsed by husbandmen, besides an infinit number of bars and mattocks, & pickaxes made of iron crooked of purpose to dig in mines, as was afterwards seene by experience: for the *Sultan* had bin perswaded to vse this deuise as a most commodious and fit meane to carry the city of *Croy*, which otherwise was inexpugnable. In like maner, great prouision was made of litle peeces of artillery, such as might conueniently be caried vpon camels, and other beastes of cariage. And as for great ordinance to serue for battery, he prouided great store of brasse, and other rude and massy mettall, which being caried in grosse, should afterwardes be founded and cast for that purpose. These things thus prepared, and his troupes being fully furnished and complete to their perfect numbers, it is generally agreed by all the Historiographers, that his army consisted of 160000. fighting men: besides artificers, as carpenters, masons, and all other sorts of handy crafts-men and laborers, which are reported to haue followed this camp, part of thē vpon the purse and pay of the *Ottoman*, and part at their owne charges for the hope and desire of prey and purchase. All of them being perswaded, that the siege of *Croy* and their abode in *Epire*, would endure a very long time and space, and would proue very tedious: for by reason that there went many straunge rumors & reports of the strong situation of this city, and of the rare fortifications therof, as of a place impregnable, *Amurath* was determined not to returne againe to *Andrinople*, till such time as he had gotten it into his hands and possession.

Amurath leaueth his army and maketh preparations for his iourney into Epire.

Number of Turkes in the army of Amurath at the siege of Croy 160000. men.

About the fift of Aprill, assoone as all things were in a readinesse, and that the hoast was ready to march: the vauntcurrours or *Alchanzes* vnder the leading of *Sebalias Zeureneese* (a man of great practise and iudgement in actions military) were sent into *Macedony*, at the same instant that the king of *Epire* (hauing all at leisure raised his forces, and disposed good watches, wards, and skouts throughout all the mountains and

Alcanzes or the Turkish vauntcurrours. Sebalias Zeureneese.

woods) did ride vp & down here & there coursing ouerall the Prouince, & taking order for the estate of his affairs. By this time he had retired also his garrison frō the frontiers, and had with great diligence gathered all his troups together. All this notwithstanding I doe not find, that during this siege of *Croy*, he had with him selfe and in his owne company, more then 8000. fighting men, whereof 2000. were footmen, and the residue horsemen: neither do any of those who haue historised his actes affirme any otherwise. I do suppose that the cause of this small number proceeded either of the scarcity of souldiers (as was lately touched) because he was of necessity to depart, and to seuer them into so many places, or it might be, that he thought it more expedient to dally with the enemy, and to trauell him by litle & litle, holding him continually in alarme, & so to reserue the chiefe strength of his forces to other necessities & diuers accidents of fortune. Considering that the warre was to be made in the very center & bowels (as it were) of the Prouince, and that now the consequence of his whole estate and kingdome was in question, and he was to set vp his rest vpon the successe of that warre.

Number of Scanderbeg his army against Amurath at the siege of Croy 8000. men only horse and foote.

Three daies before the arriuall of the *Mahometan* troupes into *Epire*, *Scanderbeg* with his horsemen beating ouer all the champion countrey, had trampled vnder foot, wasted, and spoiled, or by sword and fire had consumed and destroied all the corne, and whatsoeuer else was found fruitfull vpon the ground. And afterwards being aduertised by message vppon message of the approach of the enemy, leauing the plaine countrey, he retired himselfe vppon a mountaine called *Tumenista*, about foure miles from *Croy*, there to take further aduise and counsell for his proceedings, according as the time, and the course of his affaires should perswade and induce him.

Scanderbeg spoileth his own country before the comming of the Turkes army into Epire.

Tumenista a mountaine 4. miles frō Croy.

The *Canallary* of the Turke holding on their march towards *Epire*, encountred not with any in the way that made head against them, but passing quietly through the Prouince, they did at length make their entry without any impechment into the territory of *Croy*. And after they had made diligent search round about the city, what places were most safe and secure to encampe in, and in what quarter they might most cōmodiously come to assault the towne, they tooke their lodging at the last in *Tirana*, and there pitched their tents and pauilions. The countrey thereabouts is a faire and goodly plaine of sufficient space and largenesse, pleasant to the eie, and very fertile and fruitefull: yet is it more apt for tillage and to beare corne, then for any other fruite or commmodity. It extendeth it selfe from *Croy*, to the towne of the *Parthinois*. But before I proceed any further, many reasons do induce me here briefly to touch the originall of this towne, and of the ancient estate thereof: and especially that which the auncients haue celebrated touching the same, & which is not vnknowen nor hidde frō the posterity. It may easily be gathered, that this towne was of good reckonning with the rest of the towns of that Prouince before the ciuill wars of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*. The ruines thereof, with many shewes and particular markes and monumentes which are yet left, may yeeld no obscure representation of the ancient nobility of the place, and of the reputation which it once had. For the report is, that it was ouerthrowen and ruinated by *Iulius Cæsar*, when he besieged *Pompey* and the *Romaine* Senate within the towne of *Duras*. After which time it remained still in the same case & desolation, and there is not yet to this day any tract or appearaunce that it was euer restored or repared, saue only that the inhabitants haue in some sort endeuored in continuance of time to renue it, so far forth as it might serue them for their common vse and necessity. As concerning the name thereof, I find not that it had euer any other either at the first by imposition, or since by vsurpation, neither do the ancients make mention of any particular man to be the founder thereof. And therefore we may referre the originall and foundation of it, to the first inhabitors of it: which the very name also doth demonstrate

Scholias beginneth the siege of Croy.

Tyranne, The nature of the soile & the circuit of the territory of Croy.

Parthinia in Epire her originall.

Partlinia ruinated by Iulius Cæsar.

Duraz or Durachin or Epidamnum.

strat and antiquity testifieth no lesse. And we see that the nation of the *Parthinii*, was, & is euer accounted amongst the most renowmed peoples of *Epire*. Now at this time by another word themselues do call it *Prase*: and they do not onely comprehend all those within the number of her inhabitants, who dwell within the enclosures of her ruinous wals, but euen them also who inhabit the suburbs, and all other places adioyning with that territory: and the place is in all parts very delectable, & wel stored with all kindes of commodities. The people are a very warlike kind of nation and they are at this day numbred amongst the other peoples of *Albanie*. But at this time the report of the comming of the *Barbarians*, had made them all to forsake their dwellings, and with their families and housholdes to seeke refuge within the fortresses, leauing the land naked and in a manner desert. *Parthinii*, or Parthini, or Prase.

Sebalias hauing encamped his souldiers to the most aduantage, and hauing fitted all things so conueniently, that he might very well contemne & set at naught all the force which the enemy should attempt against him: he now tooke not any regard to any, but to them only which were within the towne. He had barred and stopped vp all the passages and waies leading to the city, to the intent no succours nor victuals should be brought vnto them. The Turkes had not brought with them any other weapons, wherewith to annoy the besieged, but only their lances & cimitaries. Besides, *Sebalias* had no desire, either to course ouer the country, or to pil and spoile it, being made wise by the old and late misfortune and mishaps of his companions. And the *Sultan* also at his departure had expressly commãded him, & straightly forbidden him, except it were vpon an extremity, not to make any attempt vpon the enemy. The same consideration also withheld our men from seeking to fight with the Infidels, and did vrge them to remit the good successe and encounter of this war to the comming of the Turkish Emperour. For *Scanderbeg* being gone with part of his people to take a view of the campe of the Infidels, and hauing learned some thing touching his purpose and counsels, to the intent he might enterprise vpon him as he should see cause and oportunity: hee found their puissance to be so great (for they were 40000. men strong, as they were the yeare before) and their Generall did cary himselfe with such wonderfull prouidence and dexterity both in the seating of his campe, and in ordering of all other his affaires, that he retired himselfe vnto his Fort as secretly as he might, without attempting any thing against them. Besides, he doubted least the *Sultan* should come sodainly vppon him, and should charge him when he least suspected, and so enclose and shut him vp behinde at his backe. He remained therefore quiet within his trenches, watching and attending the comming of *Amurath*, that when he should once haue displaied all his forces, and was planted with his whole campe before the walles, then he might haue the more aduantage and cõmodity to inuade their tents dispersed here and there, the multitude being in confusion and disorder, and then hee might weary them with continuall onsets and inuasions, especially when they had begun to assault the towne, and that the best forces of the *Ottoman* being busied in diuerse actions, their trenches might more fitly and conueniently be endammaged. The manner of Sebalias encamping before Croy. Scanderbeg taketh a survey of the Turkes campe before Croy. Number of Turkes, remaining vnder Sebalias at the siege of Croy.

During these counsells and deliberations so aduisedly plotted by the Christians, the royall ensignes of the *Ottoman* did dayly arriue more and more, and the whole countrey was filled with armed souldiours. In the end of Aprill, *Amurath* the great Turke, accompanied with *Mahomet* his sonne, with the greatest of his nobility, and the chiefest strength of his whole army, ioyning him selfe to those forces which had already encamped before the city, came and pitched his tents also before *Croy*, where his Tombe was prouided and made ready for him. There was litle lesse then twenty daies betweene the comming of the vantcourriers and the arriuall of *Amurath*, neither *Amurath* arriueth in Epire and encampeth before Croy.

ought it to seeme strange vnto any man. For by reason of the great burthen of the carriages of the army, and the infinite baggage of the souldiers, & partly for the ease and pleasure of their soueraigne, being now very aged and deep stricken in years, they did not march aboue 5. miles a day. Thus you haue *Amurath* now before *Croy*, you may imagine that you see his companies lying dispersed all ouer the fieldes, and the towne enuironed and girt in on all sides, so that there was no space, no not a foote of ground round about the walles but it was couered with lodgings and pauilions; insomuch that many of them were quartered more then 6. miles off: neither was it possible that so excessiue a multitude should otherwise be lodged in any sort to their ease and commodity. The wonderfull sight of this spectacle was sufficient to haue abashed the corages of the most braue & hardy, not only of the souldiers, but euen of the captains and leaders, and to haue abated the stomacke of euery man not without some reason and cause of feare and terror, by the contemplation of their owne proper perilles, which might haue made them forgetful & vnrespectiue of their religion, of their country, of their faith and fidelity, and of all bonds of duty and common honesty. Neuertheless, such was the corage of the besieged far aboue the ordinary vse of men, that they were nothing altered from their first purpose and resolution, neither could the obiect of so pompous and fearefull a shew in any sort terrifie them, but rather taking thereby an occasion of greater hardines and constancy, for the maintenaunce of their liberty and reputation, which they had before apprehended in their generous and noble hearts they did measure the greatnes of their glory, and did imagine that the quality of their future triumph and honor should be recompenced according to the hugenes & extremity of the perill then imminent. Wherfore, you might haue seene the souldiers standing vpon the wals, as gallant and resolute as was possible, euery man with a certaine kind of iealosie enquiring & entermedling with the charge and duty of others, to prepare & make all things ready against the time that the assault should be presented: and in the night time by their fires which they kindled, by their clamors and shouts intermingled with songs and such like signes of mirth and gladnes: they gaue forth euident notice & testimony what litle account and reckoning they made of the enemy. Likewise the other townes and castels of *Epire*, had now forgotten their wonted feare and astonishment, and they imagined that neither the power nor the name of *Ottoman* was of so great force and puissance, nor so much to be redoubted as in times past when he came against them. For they were now so hardened and acquainted with the experience of so many euils that the continuaunce and custome of perilles, had brought them to contemne and set at naught all dangers whatsoeuer.

Croyans their notable and assured courage and resolution.

The Infidels spent 4. whole daies in translating and fitting of their lodgings, which being once ordered according to their liking, they came flocking in great troupes to the tents of their Emperor, demanding & requesting that they might be emploid. But for that day their desire was refused, & they commanded with a most seuere charge to keepe themselues still within their campe: the cause hereof was the extraordinary rest of *Scanderbeg*, which did beyond all measure augment the suspition of the old *Sultan*, doubting least he which was a maister crafts-man in fine polices & stratagems, should set him on worke with some vnhappy taske or other. The next day therfore he sent 2. heralds to *Vranocontes* to summon him, and to make him these offers: that if he would deliuer and yeelde vp the towne into his handes, it should be lawfull both for him and the garrison to depart safe with bag and baggage: and that the Gouernour him selfe should haue ouer and aboue, 200000. aspres, besides honorable entertainement (if he could like thereof) amongst his greatest friends and fauorits. And concerning the citizens of *Croy*, in case his religion did not like them, he was content to graunt them free

Croy summoned by Amurath.

Conditions and offers made by Amurath to Vranocontes.

liberty

liberty of conference, and to enioy all their ancient liberties and franchises, & whatsoeuer fauor wherein he could otherwise pleasure them. With these conditions the Heralds being arriued neare vnto the Port, (for there was but one only by reason that on all the other parts of the city, the mountaine runneth whole continually on without any breach, and is not to be approached) the Gouernor who had word sent him of their comming by them of the court of guard, came riding thither very well accompanied: of whom the Heraulds requested that they might be admitted to speak with him, and to deliuer that which they had in charge, but he wold not permit them to enter within the town, but only to approach so neare as their voice might be well & conueniently heard and discerned: and therupon made a signe vnto them that they should speake their minds. It is a strange thing and very wonderful to see the fidelity & resolution of the *Croians*. Scarce had the Turks any time or space to make an end of their speach, but that the souldiers interrupting the answere of the Gouernour, who was beginning liberally and stoutly to speak his mind, did generally exclaime & cry out: that the enemy was to be answered with harquebusse shot and not with words: adding thereunto (as the guise of souldiers is) many scoffes and iniurious tearmes against the messengers.

Messengers of the Turke are reiected by the garrison of Croy.

This being rehearsed & made knowen to the *Sultan*, his wrath & indignation was more & more incensed: & the venim of his malitious hart increased mightely. Wherfore being destitute of this hope, he set himselfe to make preparations for the assaulting of the towne: and first of all causing his massie heapes of copper, brasse, & such rude metall to be vnpacked, he cõmanded that artillery should be cast & founded. This worke was long a doing & endured aboue 15. dayes. Of ten peeces which were made & fully finished, there was some difference in their greatnesse: yet foure of them were of like equall bignesse: & each of them did carry a shot of 600. weight, and the other which were lesser bare a shot of 200. weight. Foure of the lesser peeces, & two of the greatest were planted against the wall on that side that lyeth to *Tyranna* toward the East: the others were placed right against the Port. For on those parts onely had they hope to enter the towne by meanes of some breach made in the wals, becatse the accesse was more easie in those places, in respect that the wals & fortifications there were raised & builded by handy work of men. And albeit they seemed to be most strong & substantiall, yet did they not doubt but the fury of the canon would at length leuel them with the ground. As for all the other bulwarkes and fortifications, they were euery where assured with such excellent strength, & the naturall site of the mountain did so serue in stead of a rampier, that there needed not any workmanship of man to defend them: for if the most hardy and aduenturous men liuing durst enterprise against thẽ, they should but lose their labor for any hurt they could do vnto them in somuch that it is thought that the wall wherewith the towne is enuironned vpon the top of the mountaine, was raised there of old by the founders of the city, not for any defence or strength that it could adde vnto the place, but only to giue a better grace, and to beautifie the towne.

Amurath prepareth for the assaulting of Croy.

Ordinance cast for the batterie of Croy.

The batterie planted against Croy.

The ordinance being now mounted vpon the cariage, & ready planted, to the intẽt they might more easily and speedily be remoued as occasion should require, they spent 4. whole daies in battering the wals on those 2. sides, before that the souldiers were led to the assault, & to fight with the besieged. The towne was greatly endammaged both on the one part & the other: the rampiers were beaten downe, & almost halfe the wall was ouerthrowen & razed, and the rest so shaken & torne that it seemed ready to fall with the least violence that should be vsed against it. The Turks seeing so faire & wide a breach, were in a singular good hope to carry the towne: and therefore they shewed themselues very forward to prouide scaling ladders and other engins ready for the assault. It was a wonder to see how the souldiers bestirred themselues, labouring & striuing to get together from all parts great and mighty beames of timber, & running vp

Croy battered.

Turkes make preparations for the assault of Croy.

& downe the fields to make prouision of all other sorts of engins and deuises. There was not almost any tent but with a kind of emulation did bring forth some particular stuffe or matter to set forward the assault: and according as euery one of them had a desire to out go eech other, & to beare away the reward that was propounded for him, that could first free the wall against the enemy. The Bassaes themselues and other the chiefe officers of the grand Seignior did not make any spare of their paines nor did they stād idle, so desirous they were to preuent the good grace & fauour of *Amurath*. *Mahomet* was noted aboue the rest to vse an vnceasable kind of diligence, and with a singular viuacitie of spirit, as if he had bene one of the meanest souldiers, was alwayes about his father, and setting aside all regard of his estate & degree, he spared no trauell & paines but did busie & employ him selfe in all matters with great readinesse & resolution: and running sometimes here, somtimes there, he did enflame and encourage the souldiers, as much by the example of his owne doings as by words and chearefull exhortations. And more then that, it is reported, that besides the reward publiquely propounded by the *Sultan*, he promised a 100000. aspres to him that should first get within the town, and should fasten the Turkish colours vpon the wall.

Mahomet his industrie at the siege of Croy.

Croyans their resolution.

Touching the Croyans as their mindes were altogether different & of another disposition, so were there effects also diuers. The Paynims were growen to that pride & fiercenesse of their harts, only of a greedy desire, & an inordinate appetite of gaine and glory, which caused them rashly to vndertake & hunt after that thing wherof they neuer had any possession. Contrariwise the Christians had their minds fixed vpon this: that all maner of most ample & honorable rewards were assuredly to be expected frō *Scanderbeg*, & they did consider moreouer that the cōseruation of the realme, the safetie of their countrey, the securitie of their confederats, & in briefe the welfare of all the estate of *Albany* did consist & depend vpon their valour & vertue. For this cause they were animated & hartned not onely with a kind of obstinate & setled resolution and with a purpose of incredible perseuerance: but they were transported with so violent a passion of wrath and furie, that they seemed as men almost enraged. Whereupon though the wall being throwen downe and ruinated on that side, did giue them cause both of griefe and terrour by the deformitie of that obiect: yet did the greatnesse of their courages neuertheless so preuaile in their resolute and stout harts, that it did easily put away and expell out of their mindes all conceipt of faintnesse, feare or sorow: & they did mutually recomfort & encourage eech other. Aboue all, *Francontes* had a notable good grace in exhorting and animating of the garrison, for as he went vp and downe amongest them: he would oftentimes touch and take them by the handes, he would handle their curats and lay his hands vpon their stomackes, saying.

Speach of Francontes, encouraging the Croyans vpō the ruine of their wals battered by the Turkes.

» These, these, are the bulwarkes of cities & townes: these are the firme & substantiall
» rampiers of wals: these be the stones that are not batterable: this is the strongest & surest kind of lyme & morter. What honour, what prayse, what triumph can we expect
» or hope for in this place, if being couered & shrowded vnder these wals, our surety shal
» consist onely in their strength and safety? And if they shalbe the onely meanes to garde
» & defend vs, & not rather our persons to be the defence of them: the very cowards can
» do so much & the fearefull sheepe will contemne the houling of the rauenous wolfe, if
» they be safely enclosed in a sure cote. Such honour is proper & due to the wals and not
» to the generous souldier. Our Prince hath not commanded vs hither to be protected
» & defended by this towne, but the towne is commended vnto vs, & committed to our
» custody, & to be defended by vs: True vertue is alwayes exercised in the greatest dan-
» gers, & she is nourished in things that are high & difficult: who is not a good pilot vpō
» the sea in time of calme weather? Things that are firme, can continue stable of them

selues

selues, and need not the succor and assistance of men: neither do they require the helpe of any humaine audacity. And braue and couragious men do not esteeme, but rather shunne those aduentures, by the defence whereof, they shall not purchase any more honor, then if they had not defended them at all. When a thing beginneth to decay, and to fall to ruine, that is it which requireth to be supported, and in such cases it is, that vertue striueth to shew it selfe. I may say it againe and againe (my good companions) that there only doth shine the brightnesse of valiant hearts, there do the excellent and couragious spirits discouer themselues. Wherefore these flankers and this curtin thus laied open by the battery, and this breach made by the cannon of the enemy, let it be filled and defended with your persons, and with your armes, let your stout and valiant bodies as of braue & gallãt souldiers be opposed against the infidels in steed of strong walles and fortifications: in so doing you shall giue me the more certaine and assured proofe of your valour and worthy behauiour. Let vs therefore so cary our selues, let vs so labour and endeuor in this our conflict to weaken and diminish the forces of the *Barbarians*, that the tyraunt may be abashed at the valour of the *Croians*, and that his courage may be abated and represſed: then will he abandon the towne and raise his siege, when he shall see the first fruites of this warre intertained with the bloud of so many of his subiectes.

These and many other speeches to that effect did the gouernour vse sometimes in the Albanian language, sometimes in Italian, and sometimes also by interpretours: disposing and preparing the mindes of his souldiours to the assault which they expected the day following, and inuiting euery man both by word and by deede, to do his duty and best deuoire. Wherefore whilest the souldiers in their seuerall charges here and there did diligently apply them selues, and were the more incensed by his presence, to labour chearfully in their seuerall emploiments: the night at length came vpon them, during the which neuertheless the vigilancy of *Vranesontes* did not cease in the continuaunce of all necessary preparations, till it was two houres within night, and that which remained was spent in sleepe, and in taking of their rest.

The infidels who had in the day time set all things in a readinesse, did passe all that night in great quietnesse till the breake of day, for the euening before, it was concluded, that the town should be assaulted, and proclamation was made by sound of trumper, commanding all men that before seuen of the clocke in the morning (certaine captains & companies hauing first broken their fast) they should repaire with their armes to the lodging of the *Sultan*. For this cause the souldiours with great promptnesse and diligence, did not fayle to be there at the time appointed, being well prouided of all things accordingly. Then the most worthy and notable persons of chiefest marke & qualitie being called together, the old Prince began to vse some speeches vnto them in most vehement and ardent manner, more then the vigour and strength of his aged and weakened spirite would well permit and conueniently suffer. Young *Mahomet* likewise, being very prompt and forward both in action and in speech, did not long keepe silence, but the oration of his father being scant ended, as one furious and full of venemous rage, he arose from his seate, and did so bitterly inueigh against the Christians in generall (besides the extremitie of his priuate hatred which he bare to the *Epirots* in particular,) that he there bewrayed him self (as an other *Hãnibal* against the Romans) to be their mortall and sworne enemy, and after him all the other Chieftaines and leaders did encourage each man his own souldiours. By that time that all things were ready and in good order, & that the Turke had dined at his ease, it was neare noone, at which time the squadrons being drawn forth of the trenches, did display thẽselues vpõ the plaine. It might be iudged an vnfit season to begin such an assault, considering the

Encouragements of Amurath and Mahomet to the Turkes hauing to assault Croy.

Mahomet his mortall hatred to the Christians.

extreme heat of the ſummer: neuertheleſſe the *Ottoman* thought it to be the beſt time, becauſe he miſtruſted, that if he ſhould haue drawen them out of the campe either in the night, or late towardes the euening, perhaps it would haue giuen *Scanderbeg* the more oportunity to ruſh vpon them and to inuade and moleſt his trenches, and yet did not this his ſuſpition gaine him any thing, neither was it altogether in vaine.

Scanderbeg inuadeth the campe of Amurath before Croy.

The allarme being giuen, and the troupes (as we haue ſayd) being iſſued forth, and marching on with a wonderfull noiſe and ſound of trumpets drummes, and clamours of the ſouldiers, they were now come to the wals: and the foremoſt of them had ſcant or but newly begun the fight, when the Turkiſh campe was ſodainely in an vproare, and was filled with a great tumult and horrible feare ſprong vp amongeſt them. The cauſe thereof was *Scanderbeg*, who hauing of a long time watched and layd eſpiall to ſee what the *Sultan* would determine to doe: now with a ſtrong troupe of horſemen (the moſt able and beſt mounted of all his army) was come to the tents of the enemy, & ruſhed in vpon them where they lay next and nigheſt vnto him. The Turks which were placed there in that quarter, did receiue him at the firſt onſet very reſolutely: but perceiuing by the loſſe & ſlaughter of many of their fellowes, that they could not hold out nor ſtand againſt him: they being ſcattered & diſperſed here & there in that feare, had ſoone forſaken both their court of garde and all things elſe whatſoeuer, if the others who were next them had not made haſt: and running thither from all partes at the noyſe of the allarme, & making head againſt the enemy, had not ſtayed them from flying farther. The Albanians keeping their ranckes cloſe, and taking the aduantage of this good fortune, did charge thoſe that came laſt to encounter them more liuely then they had done the former, and hauing layd more then 600 Turkes dead at their feete, and made the Barbarians on that ſide to betake them ſelues to flight, they ſacked two of their tents carrying away diuerſe enſignes, and whatſoeuer elſe was found within the ſame. This rumour being brought from hand to hand (as the maner is) to the eares of *Amurath*, who was then buſied in ordering his forces to the aſſault, although the old man had made prouiſion before of many things, & did greatly affie himſelfe in the ſufficiency of thoſe whom he had left within the campe: neuertheleſſe dreaming and forethinking himſelf of the worſt that might happen (for he was wont euer to ſay, that nothing was ſufficient to make reſiſtance againſt the fierceneſſe and fury of this beaſt,) he ſent *Seremet* one of his captaines with 4000. horſe for the repulſe of the Chriſtiãs. *Mahomet* who did alwayes burne in extreame hatred againſt this Prince (though his father would haue diſwaded him from it) went thither alſo being accompanied with the ordinary garde of his perſon, but before that theſe forces were ready on foot, *Scanderbeg* perceiuing that he ſhould not be able to make his partie good againſt ſo many (as were comming vppon him) had turned bridle and prouided for the ſuretie of him ſelfe and his people, yet not without the extreame daunger of his life. For (as the report goeth) the heat of fight had made him ſo farre to forget him ſelfe, that he brake in amongeſt his enemies where they were thickeſt, and he engaged him ſelfe ſo farre, that he was almoſt oppreſſed by them, and he was not able (but with extreame payne) to make him ſelfe way through the multitude that preſſed vppon him and ſought to ſtoppe his paſſage, for both his owne ſtrength, and the forces of his horſe began to fayle, in ſomuch that very hardly and difficultlie did he eſcape and free him ſelfe from amongeſt them. And after he was with much a do gotten from them, yet did they not ceaſe on all parts to purſue him as long as they had any hope to ouertake him, or to ſtaye him. In this manner did the Chriſtian troupes on the one ſide, and the Generall on the other ſide by a happie retrait ſhift them ſelues out of the fight of the *Mahometiſtes*. This tumult being pacified and appeaſed, the Turkes returned

Number of Turkes ſlaine by Scanderbeg at his firſt inuaſion of their campe before Croy.

Saying of Amurath touching Scanderbeg.

Seremet ſent againſt Scanderbeg.

Scanderbeg in great hazard of his life.

ned vnto their camp, and the *Sultan* his ſon repaired to his father, extreamly grieuing that after ſuch a brauado & the ſlaughter of ſo many of their people, his enemy ſhould be eſcaped from him. And he there tooke a ſolemne oth before them all, that he would neuer leaue watching whole moneths, daies, and nights (if need were) but at one time or other by his ambuſhments and traines, he would get this ſauage and wilde beaſt to fal into his ſnares which he meant to lay for him: that he wanted neither a good mind nor good meanes to effect it: and he did ſo far aſſure himſelfe of a good ſucceſſe, that if the other did hold on ſtil, and continue in this brauery & temerity, thus to aſſaile them and to approach to their trenches, he did not doubt but to make him to repent it.

Mahomet vaunteth and ſweareth the deſtruction of Scanderbeg.

The Prince of *Epire* hauing freed him ſelfe from the purſuite of his enemies, tooke an other way, and went after his owne company: who being in a maruellous care and perplexity for the abſence of their maſter, went here and there wandring vp & down, and ſending forth ſouldiours in queſt on all parts to ſearch if they could diſcouer him, or could heare any newes of him in any place. Many of them alſo could not forbeare teares lamenting and deploring the eſtate of *Albany*, which ſhould remaine as a tender orphan, and the common weale of *Epire* which ſhould continue deſolate (as it were) in widowhood by the death of ſo diuine a perſonage ſo barbarouſly murthered by the Circumcized miſcreäts. But his ſafe returne (whereof they deſpaired) did reuiue their harts, & made them toyfull both in priuate and publike: in ſo much, that beſides diuers ſongs vttered by the common ſort in token of their gladneſſe: many of them with great deuotion performed their vowes which they had made for his ſafety: being in a firme beliefe, that by the ſame they had obtained of God, both his life and the recouery of his cõpany. His ſhield was ſo battered & cut with the ſwords of his enemies, that the ſhape therof was ſcant to be diſcerned: & yet was not his body in any ſort hurt or wounded.

Scanderbeg his abſence cauſe of great perplexitie to his ſouldiours.

The rareneſſe of this accident is ſo maruellous, that the truth thereof may ſeeme incredible: notwithſtanding for my part I can eaſily be drawen to beleeue it. For admit that there were not in this Prince any corporall force, or dexterity in armes extraordiry, more then in the common ſort of men: yet without all doubt, fortune (or to ſpeake more properly,) the diuine power and puiſſance can do greater things then this, and farre more ſtraunge without all compariſon. But it may be that an other matter may make this more doubtfull, and that is, that *Scanderbeg* in all his actes, and exploits atchieued in times paſt, was neuer knowen to haue committed ſuch an ouerſight & incongruity, where he had any time or leiſure to take any counſell or aduiſe vppon his actions. But perhaps it is requiſit, that we ſhould grant and attribute vnto ſome men of a hardy and magnanimious ſpirit, as the Poets do: that ſometimes in the wars they are tranſported, with a certaine fury and martiall impetuoſity, ſo as being once chafed and enflamed, they cannot for a while after, neither moderat nor refraine thẽſelues at their owne pleaſure. For before a man draw his ſword and take weapon in hand, he knoweth well what he doth, and he is guided by reaſon which doth direct him. But when the ſword is once drawen, then only doth fury and choller guid him, & he doth as the vehemency of his paſſion doth lead him. Such was that notable and renowned hardines of *Horatius Cocles* amongſt the Romaines, by which he ſuſtained the force of the whole army of *Perſena* king of the *Thuſcans*, whileſt his company in the meane time did cut down the bridge ouer *Tiber* at his backe. And amongſt the *Greeks*, that of *Leonidas* the *Lacedemonian*, who with 300. men, had the hardines to defend the ſtraights of *Thermopila*, and to keepe out the innumerable multitudes of the forces of *Xerxes*.

Horatius Cocles his ſtraunge prowes againſt Perſena.

Leonidas his valour againſt the armie of Xerxes.

But to our purpoſe, the dammage that our men receaued in this conflict was not great: for there were ſlaine not aboue ten, and as many wounded, (for the Prince of *Albanie* hauing left behinde him all his infantery, and thoſe horſemen who were

worst mounted) had inuaded the infidels with 5000. horse, all of them chosen men, stout, & valiant: who being prompt & ready either to fly or to fight, might easily shun the force & violence of the enemy. Wherefore hauing wounded their generall, they proceeded ioyfully on their way and so returned to their campe. But neither this fayre victory gotten vpon the enemy, nor any other occasion whatsoeuer of mirth or gladnesse could suffice to cheare the hart of *Scanderbeg* or to make him mery: his thoughts were mightely troubled and surcharged, with the wonderfull & deep conceipts of infinite mischiefs, & he could not be quiet till he had some newes of the successe of *Croy*. For notwithstanding that the fidelitie & approued valure both of the gouernour and of the garrison, and the inexpugnable situation, and the good estate of the place did much comfort and ease his minde of care: yet neuertheless on the one side, the consequence of the perill, and on the other side the incomprehensible loue of his countrey, did enforce him euen in despight of his hart, to be affrayed: and a carefull kinde of mistrust did present vnto his imagination, many idle and vayne discourses.

Scanderbeg pensiue for feare of Croy.

Concerning *Amurath*, albeit the former allarme had not made him altogether to discontinue the assault: yet the chiefest preparations, & the best endeuours of the souldiour were for a while hindered and restrained, till such time as he had perfect notice what was the issue & end of that seruice, which being made knowen vnto him to that effect as we haue deliuered, he caused forthwith euen those that were most backward and negligent, & all his engins & instruments for the assault to be bent & employed against the besieged. First of all he caused the archers & other shot to stād round about, so as they might annoy them which came vpon the wals to defend them. The lesser peeces also were planted so neare, as they might well play vpon the defendants, whilest in the meane time the rascall sort of the most vile & commō sort of people (who were ordained of purpose to sustain & beare out the first fury of the enemy) should draw & cary the ladders & other engins close vp to the wals. And after thē were to follow certaine braue and lusty troups of the *Ianissaries* & *Asappes*: who vpon the raising of the ladders were appointed to the scalado, and so to get to the top of the breach: that comming to fight hand to hand with the defendants, they might the sooner terrifie them and gayne the towne more easily. This was the maner of the assault on that part where the wals were weakest, & where the canō had made the battery: as for the other parts there was little or no care to be taken of them: for though the whole circuit of the wall had bene ouerthrowen & razed: yet was it almost impossible, that the souldier could attempt any way on that side to endammage them by reason of the huge height & ragged steepnesse of the mountaine. Yet were there certaine peeces placed there also, and they played with great ordinance vpon that part of the towne, both to giue the more terrour to the Croians and to beat downe certaine priuate houses, which seemed to be subiect to the force of their shot. Whilest the Turkes were making their approches to the town, the defendants discharged certaine volleys of shot vpon them, & did so trouble their rancks with the slaughter of many of their people, that it might haue terrified them from approching any neater if the leaders of euery squadron (following them close at their backes, & soliciting them sometimes with good wordes & persuasions, & sometimes with menaces & threats entermingled with the bastinado) had not prest them to go forward with their violent and rough vsage: and more then that, this their obstinacie seemed to be the greater, because the Mahometans with those peeces which they had placed there of purpose, did without intermissiō annoy them that appeared vpon the rampiers, & sought to beat them from their defence: whilest the Alchanzes (a number of slaues charged with ladders & such like preparations) did gayne the foote of the wall, the which their labour tooke such good successe that at length

Assault to Croy.

Ianissaries. Asappes.

Alchanzes.

their

their ladders were lodged against the wall, notwithstanding all the resistance that the Christians could make against them: and yet was it not effected without great slaughter and bloudshed of the Infidels. Then beganne the defendantes euery man in his place and charge, to settle them selues more roundly to their labour and to vrge the enemie more hotely: they made no spare of their shot both harquebusse and other, and now beganne their hatred more apparantly to be discouered. The clamours of the souldiours, the noyse and clattering of their armour, did resound on all sides, the sound of the drummes and trumpets continually redoubling in the ayre, and rebounding by the eccho and report of the vallyes neere adioyning, did the more animate and encourage the souldiers, taking away all power and possibilitie of hearing from them that were in fight. But as the cause and occasion of their armes was different, so was there as great difference in the conflict: there was little likelihood for them to carrie the place from the beginning, if some other casualtie or mischaunce of warre did not befall the assaylantes. The ladders were often raised against the walles, and the place was forced with manhoode sufficient, but they were assoone cast to the ground, broken and torne in peeces: the men also tumbling headlong that were mounted vppon them. The remainders of that huge multitude of the baser and common sort, were so broken and dismayed, that they could not be made to continue there anie longer, by reason that both their spirites were surprised with an extreame feare, and their limmes (as it were) benummed with a kinde of astonishment. Scarcely should you haue seene any one of them that was forward or willing to haue gone againe to the assault, though it did little availe them to holde backewarde: for *Mahomet* standing at their backes, both as the ouerseer of their demeanour, and as a seuere encourager (which perhappes was partly a cause that got him the name and report to be accounted a most cruell Prince by all posteritie) did entreate them very roughly, and would not suffer them neither to recuile backewarde, nor so much as once for to breath them selues. Thus poore wretches, whilest they thought to shunne and auoide the rage and fury of their aduersarie, they were more cruelly plagued by the excessiue rigour of their owne Commaunders.

Christians subiectes of the great Turke their miserable estate and pitiefull condition

These miserable and poore people thus handeled by the Infidels, are (for the most part) Christians vnder the subiection of the great Turkes of whome it is an ordinarie vse and custome with him to drawe foorth a wonderfull great trayne and multitude in all his expeditions almost wholly naked and disarmed, because he hath no trust nor affiance in them. With these doth he furnish and supply all the seruices of his campe, both for the prouision of the water and wood, and for the making and casting vppe of their trenches, rampiers, and other fortifications: and when they come to fight (if it be in the fielde or in the maine battell, then are they first exposed and set out to the butcherie, to beare the force and violence of the enemie, that they may diminish and spende their strength and forces vpon these poore and silly wretches. If anie fortresse or place of strength be to be assaulted, these are made as carriage beastes to drawe the artillerie, to carrie the engines and other instruments to the walles: and their bodies are made to serue them but as fitte matter to fill vppe the ditches, and their carkasses are vsed but as bridges for others to passe and trauell on when they goe to the assault. And when so euer they doe happen to march on slowly or vnwillingly, they doe finde more crueltie and inhumanitie at the handes of the Turkes their Lordes and Maisters, then they doe of their proper and professed enemies. Certainely it is the deadly hatred and naturall enmitie which they beare against the name and profession of Christianitie,

A stratagem vsuall with the Turke to weary and consume the strength of the Christians in fight.

Siege of Scutarie or Scodra by the Turkes.

that doth cause them to vse this most beastly and sauage crueltie, and not anie want of other meanes that should constraine them thereunto. At the last vnfortunate siege of *Scutarie*, many of these and such like cruelties were then practised by the Turkish Infidels. The lamentable plaints and cryes of these vnhappie creatures were made and heard to them that stoode in defence of the walles: many times would they crie vnto the defendants, and vse humble and pitifull prayers and entreaties that they would deale more gently with them: they excused and protested, that they shewed themselues to be their enemies not of their owne motions or ill affections, but by constraint and force, and by the cruell commaund of the tyrant. That though their bodies were compelled to march and to carrie armes against them, yet their hearts and good willes were most deuote and affectionate vnto them, as those that did acknowledge one and the same God, the same faith, the same religion: notwithstanding that they were not vnder the same Princes, that this was to be imputed to the publique fault and negligence of the Christians, and to their owne priuate misfortune and vnhappie destinie. Vpon these their complaintes and petitions, the citizens of *Scutarie* to the vttermost of their power did spare and fauour them, though in very truth, their estate then standing as it did, they could not verie easily take that compassion of them which they gladly would haue done. O most lamentable and extreame griefe, my heart is surcharged with sorrowe, and my soule doth euen faint within me to thinke vpon the miserable and distressed estate of these poore Christians. Giue me leaue a little, I beseech you, in this place to exclaime against the indignitie of their miseries, and pardon me though I wander a while from my discourse.

Speeches of the Christians liuing vnder the subiection of the Turkes, to the Christians their enemies at the siege of Scutarie.

An exclamation of the author vpon the miserable estate of the Christians vnder the Turkes.

Good God, is it possible that the great Princes and Monarches of Christendome can so long endure both to heare and to see this extreame miserie? And can not this grieuous and intolleratble seruitude of their Christian brethren, their chaines and bondes so hideous and shamefull, their complaintes so dolorous (wherewith for these many ages they haue filled the mountaines, the vallies, and the seas of all Christian countries,) can they not (I say) moue any one to pitie or compassion? And are Christian Princes so hard and stonie hearted, that none of them will commiserat those extremities? The bloud of Christians doth nowe flowe (as it were) in streames throughout all partes of the worlde: and our strength fadeth and decayeth by little and little, and no man the whilest doth or will perceiue it. We are now fallen into those times (such is the diuine pleasure, or rather, such is our ingratitude and infidelitie) that the bloud sanctified by Christian baptisme, is now more vile and base then the bloud of brute beastes: and it will ere long come to passe (if this mischiefe be suffered to encrease, and to gather greater strength) that the circumcised, setting vs to sale, shall scarce be able to make a pennie of thirtie Christians, but they will be bought and solde at a more base and vile price, then were the Iewes of olde time, who (as auncient * Historiographers make mention) at the destruction of *Ierusalem*, were solde at that rate by the *Romaines*. But alas! what can happen to vs more fearefull, or what greater extremities and calamities can befall vs, then are alreadie inflicted vppon the faithfull liuing vnder the power and tyrannie of the Turkes? Their miseries are come to the full period of all shame and villanie: neither is it possible, that either they should be able to endure anie greater calamities, neither can the mortall hatred of the Infidels our enemies imagine or deuise anie inuention more horrible and grieuous, then they haue already done, for the plaguing of these miserable and wretched caytifes. But forgetting this matter, let vs remember to proceede with the assault of *Croy*.

Iosephus. Egesippus.

The

The moſt hardy and audatious of the Mahometiſts being either repulſed or killed, they of the towne cauſed threeſcore of their garriſon (men of good courage and reſolution) ſuddenly to ſallie foorth by a little poſterne (which was on another ſide of the towne) whoſe vnexpected comming brought ſo wonderfull a feare to the campe of the Infidels, as was beyond all imagination. They were Launceknights and Epyrots mingled together, who ſeruing with the harquebuſſe, had with great difficultie, gotten leaue of the Gouernour to iſſue forth of the towne, but they went not farre from the wall, where hauing made a reaſonable ſlaughter of the enemie according to the proportion of their ſmall number, they retyred themſelues immediatly with a greater deſire to returne againe. But for any entreatie or importunitie they could vſe, *Vranoscontes* would not condiſcende vnto their requeſt: neuertheleſſe he did highly commend them for the hardineſſe of the fact, and did recompence them with large rewardes. At the firſt the Paynims did a litle recuile and giue backe, being abaſhed at their audatious enterpriſe: but anon ſuddenly trouping together, partly of ſhame, and partly of a couragious reſolution, they did attend to ſee, if the enemie purſuing their good fortune, would come againe to viſite them. But farre greater was the ſlaughter on that quarter which was towardes *Tyranna*, where the breach being more plaine and ſpatious, did giue more free acceſſe to the aſſaylantes. All places there were ſtrawed and filled with dead bodies: and the earth did ſeeme to mourne with the pitifull noyſe of the panting ſighes, gaſpes, and groanes of thoſe, who yeelded vp their wretched ghoaſtes. And notwithſtanding, they neuer wanted encouragementes to enforce them on in their obſtinacie: but the miſerable wretches were preſſed and vrged in a moſt deſperate manner, by the careleſſe contempt of their owne liues, to make a ſhewe vnto the Chriſtians of more courage then indeede was in them. The rampiers and walles of the towne were ſo full ſtrewed both with ſhotte, and alſo with other ſtore of weapons, that it argued they made no ſpare of them: and the arrowes did flie ſo thicke in the ayre, as if it had beene a cloude darkening the brightneſſe and cleareneſſe of the ſunne. Thus you ſee what was the endeuours of thoſe Turkiſh ſquadrons, which went firſt to the aſſault.

A ſally by the Croyans vpon the Turkes.

The day was now well ſpent, and it was aboue two houres after noone, at which time the *Sultan* ſeeing his troupes partly lying dead vppon the ground, and partly wearied with their great and long trauell: and on the contrarie ſide, the Croyans preſenting themſelues more brauely vppon the walles, he was at the firſt in ſome doubt and ſuſpence, whether it were better for him to renew the aſſault with a ſupply of freſh forces, or to intermit and put it ouer to another day, conſidering that both the great labour of his people taken all that day, and the exceſſiue heate, had ſo weakened the bodies of his ſouldiers, that they were ſcant able to endure to ſtande for faintneſſe and wearineſſe. In the ende therefore hee was perſwaded to continue and goe forwarde with the aſſault by the importunities of his Counſellours and Chieftaines, who ſhewed him, that if hee ſhould nowe giue ouer the fight, and ſhould ſuffer the Chriſtians with ſo ſmall loſſe and bloudſhed to haue the aduantage of that dayes victorie, it would be an eternall reproach and infamie vnto him. And albeit they ſhould haue little or no hope to carrie the Towne, yet he ought not in reſpect of his owne honour to ſuffer ſo many braue and valiant men their fellowes and companions to die vnreuenged, nor yet to reſtraine the forwardneſſe and willing minds of the others. That all ſecondarie aſſaies were more faint and contemptible, and that they were nowe better acquainted with the enemie, and were more hardened to all kinde of daungers and trauels. B ſides that, if he ſhould

Speeches of the Counſellors of Amurath perſwading him to renewe and renue the aſſault of Croy.

» now giue them libertie to take breath, they would haue leasure also to resolue them-
» selues with the more confidence, & to fortifie their town with stronger defences: that
» it was much better therefore with fresh and new forces to attempt against the place, &
» to force them to the vttermost whilest they were yet wearied and sore trauelled with
» their late labour: that when the defendants should see them thus obstinately bent and
» courageously resolued, either they would of themselues abandon their defences, or
» they must needes faint and perish vnder the burden of so vnsupportable a charge. *Amurath* vpon these perswasions followed their aduise, and caused as great forces as before to be lead and conducted against the walles: in so much that the tumult began to be renued in a moment, and it might be that fortune her selfe forsaking the victours, would haue fauoured the new attempt of the Mahometistes, if the defendants had not with as great diligence and foresight prouided in like case to receiue them in as good sort and readinesse, which was the occasion that fresh men being opposed against fresh men, they did without any great paine hold good both in the possession of the place, and in the maintenance of their honour and reputation. The Barbarians went still onwards at brute and senseless beasts, especially on that side that leadeth towards the port, and although the way by which they should passe was so streight and narrow, that two horsemen could hardly march in front together: yet notwithstanding they went on all on horse backe euen close to the walles, and with their launces in the rest did runne against the gate, giuing thereby greater occasion rather to laugh at their foolish and sottish carelesnesse and contempt of their liues, then to admire or to commend any hardinesse or courage that appeared in them. Wherefore there lay so many of them slaine on all parts, & there were such heapes of dead carkases, as it might well be said of *Vranocontes*, that he foreprophesied what would be the end and issue of that assault. The Turkish Monarch being not able to endure this hideous spectacle, caused to sound a retreat, which freed both the walles and the defendantes from further trouble of the enemie: and there was not any one but had forgotten the former passion of his malice and hatred, and had lost that feruencie and desire of fight wherewith he was lately possessed. So greatly did they of all hands desire to leaue fighting, & this stay of the assault was welcome to them all. For their continuall labour and the heat of the day, accompanied with extreame hunger and thirst, had in a manner wholly spent them, by reason that the suddennesse of the assault had preuented many from taking any repast. The residue therefore of the day and the night following, they consumed in refreshing themselues both with sleepe and victuals.

The assault renued.

The same night tidings being brought to *Scanderbeg* of the victory of the Croians, it gaue him good cause of ioy and gladnesse: and he presently imparted these good newes vnto the Princes and peoples his next neighbours. But on the other side, the enemie was in great sorrow and discontentment, and was seene for many dayes to be very sad and pensiue, for the notable losse of that daies worke was very hard to be digested, hauing lost in that seruice more then 8000. good souldiers: but the Croians had verie little losse, and without any great slaughter to speake of. It is reported, that *Amurath* kept himselfe close shut vp within his tent for two whole dayes together in debating vpon diuerse counsels and opinions with his Captaines, and the Visirs his Counsellers. But aboue all others, young *Mahomet* shewed himselfe to be notably vexed and discontented: his spirit boiling with fury and choller, and his youthfull yeares being yet vnacquainted with crosse fortunes and aduersities, had turned all his passions of griefe and anguish into meere rage and madnesse. From thenceforth he tooke vpon him to deale in all the affaires of the campe, & with a carefull eye viewing and reuiewing all the seuerall companies, he shewed himselfe so greedie of reuenge, that

Number of Turkes slaine at the first assault of Croy.

that he spared not to labour himselfe extreamely both night and day, and was verie watchfull at all times to take the aduantage of any fit occasion: but principally he had an eie to that side where the Albanois had lately endammaged their campe. For there he placed a strong and puissant court of garde, and dressed many ambushments, and oftentimes would he watch there him selfe whole nightes in proper person, to the intent if fortune did present him any good opportunitie to oppresse *Scanderbeg*, he might not escape againe out of his handes. But all these his deuises turned to nothing, and vanished away as the smoake by the prouident and circumspect cariage of that expert Chieftaine the Prince of *Albany*, who being from day to day enformed of all thinges, either by such as came to render themselues vnto him, or by espials sent abroad of purpose, he helde himselfe still and quiet in his campe for a season, ordering and prouiding for the safetie of his affaires, and drawing on his enemies with delayes.

Notwithstanding he could not endure to remaine long idle, but being very desirous that his enterprises shold surpasse all others in glory & reputatiō, he aduised himself of a fine stratageme, by which he purposed to surprise thē who were too intentiue to intrap him. One night therefore trussing vp his baggage, very secretly, he remoued his army to a place called *Monticlea*, from whence he might most cōmodiously trauel & disturbe the enemy. He left *Moses* & *Tanusee* at *Tumenista*, accompanied with 500. horse only: and hauing set downe a certaine and prefixed time & course, and cōmunicated his enterprise with them, he willed them to set vppon the trenches of the enemy a litle after midnight, next ensuing on the same side where he had last inuaded thē: and that assoone as they had but giuen them a false allarme, and made a shew of forcing the barriers of their campe, they should suddenly and speedily make away without giuing the enemie any meanes to come to handiblowes with them: and that himselfe in the meane time (hauing set all things in good order, and leauing 200. men for the guarde of his campe) would on the other side breake in vpon the tentes of the enemie with the residue of his armie. According to this conclusion there was little distance of time betweene the allarme made by *Moses* and the comming of *Scanderbeg*. For assoone as he perceiued the sudden rumour and terrour of the allarme raised by the Dibrian on the other side, he bare in with a full and strong carreer, and charged them on that part where they litle doubted or suspected. In this manner was the campe of the Infidels full of doubt, feare, and confusion: some ranne here, some there, making great haste on all sides, to oppose themselues against the violence of the Christians. One of them wakened another, crying that they were enuironned and rounde beset with the enemie. But as for *Moses* he did indeede put them in a feare, and that was all he did, by reason that those souldiers which had beene lately placed in that quarter by *Mahomet*, did easilie repulse them, especially such as were most forward. But the night hindered them frō pursuing after him, for that they suspected some ambushment, which they had good cause to be in doubt of, and especially at that time. But the dammage that *Scanderbeg* wrought them cannot be recounted. For their campe was on all parts beaten downe, and foully deformed and disordered both by sword & fire, and yet did not this inuasion continue any long time, by reason of the sudden comming and readie arriuall of the Turkes, whose presence in so great multitudes did soone determine and ende the conflict. For the Christians making a retreate, durst not hazarde and oppose themselues against so huge forces as were there vnited, especially in a place that was so plaine and euen: for it was in *Tyrana* where they gaue this charge vppon the enemie. Neuertheless when the Christians beganne to retire, the Infidels had no great desire to follow after: and if they had, it might be they should

Monticlea.

A policie of Scanderbeg in giuing a camisado to the Turkish campe.

A camisado by Scanderbeg to the campe of the Turkes.

haue paid well for it: for this warie and circumspect warrior had placed all his infanterie and 8000. horse neere at hand, to the intent they should be as a gard vnto him behind at his backe, and should serue against all such casualties as might befall him. Of these companies was he receiued in his retreate with great ioy and high cries and clamors: and so passing forward, they spent the rest of the night in trauelling to their campe. It is reported that *Scanderbeg* did neuer doe anie exploite vppon his enemie with lesse losse and bloudshed: for he brought backe all his troupes safe and sounde without the losse of any one man, not leauing vnto the Barbarians anie thing saue woundes, teares, and lamentations, as the testimonies of his being with them: in such sort, that this slaughter and foule discomfiture, did make them in a manner quite to forget the calamitie of their late losse which they had had before *Croy*. No man durst from thencefoorth open his mouth vnto the *Sultan*, or to aduise him to any enterprise: for this accident hauing succeeded to their so notable infamie, did seeme to reproue all their counsels and deliberations both in times past, and at that present. Wherefore they had recourse in this their generall astonishment, to that wonted policie which they had proued to be very profitable the yeare before at the siege of *Sfetygrade*: and that was to fortifie and assure their trenches on all sides with artillerie. They drew downe therefore many small peeces which they had planted against the walles, and they bestowed them in conuenient places round about their campe according as they thought best: but the greatest part they placed in that quarter where they had of late found the greatest danger. For what for the vehemencie of the heate, and what for the encombrance of their infinite baggage, their lodgings were deuided & dispersed here and there in so great distance one from an other, and so farre off, that it was not possible to furnish and to fortifie all of them. All these their endeuors were not long concealed from the Christians, for they wanted not both fugitiues & good espials to giue them aduertisements, but they were certified continually of the doings of the enemie, and especially of this their preparation, which they beleeued to be likely by the example of the like, which they vsed the yeare last past. Wherefore *Scanderbeg* also was resolued to lie still for a time, and to hold himselfe contented with that aduantage which he had alreadie gained, and to enioy the pleasure thereof, till such time as he might find some new opportunitie for some other happie action. Besides, there was an other matter which withdrew his thoughts, and whereof he was to haue a care, and that was the scarcitie and dearth of victuals, which now beganne to fall very short: because there was not left in the countrey any liuing creature of whom they could looke for any reliefe. Wherefore to the intent he would not be in any wants, and for that he would refresh his armie in the extreame heate of the summer: he determined to remoue his campe, and to leade his forces to a certaine place of singular recreation vpon a riuer which the inhabitants call *Isme*, which lying close on the sea, would furnish them of all things plentifully and in abundance. And they of *Durac*, likewise (which towne was not farre off) did friendly accord to serue him with as much corne as he would demaund. True it is that the Gouernours and Magistrates of the Venetian territories did succour him also, but it was so couertly and vnder hand, that the Mahometan Prince might not perceiue it for the reasons formerly alleaged.

Amurath fortifieth his camp with ordinance against the inuasions of Scanderbeg

Scanderbeg remoueth his campe to prouide for victuals.

Riuer of Isme.

Durit, or Diracchium.

The Infidels in the meane time did nothing for many daies together but batter the towne, and seeke to breake downe the walles, in those places especially which the inhabitants had newly repaired, and which rested yet vnbattered. For as yet had not *Amurath* forgotten all his malice, but he had a desire once againe to aduenture his souldiers to the butchery, and to make a tryall of their last fortune. Besides, to

Battery renued against Croy.

seeke

seeke to force the towne by mines vnder ground, or by any such deuises he helde it a matter of great labour and long delay, by reason of the steepnes, depth, and roughnes of the place, and the high bearing toppes of the lofty rockes and mountaines. O how wretched and miserable are you which are subiected to a yoke so cruell and vnmercifull, and whom fortune hath submitted vnder the dominion of such proud and arrogant Princes? when they can finde no other meane to fulfill their inordinate desires: then are you (poore soules) constrained to satisfie with your blood, and with the dismembring of your bodies, the cruell rage, the immoderate and licencious humours of such tirants. Assoone as the wall was beaten downe on that part where the cannon could be brought to play or make any batterie, and that the breach was made faire and large: the same daye did *Ottoman* commaund and take order, that euery man should make himselfe readie to the assault against the next morning, and to aduenture a new conflict with the enemie: but there was scarce any of them, that either openly or priuately did shew himselfe willing thereunto as they had bene in times past. All of them did set a good face on the matter, but verie sorily and with an ill grace: for either to refuse it, or to draw backwards was not the best way or course for them. *Amurath* perceiuing this backewardnesse in his people, and that they were drawen to this aduenture, as it were maugre their teeth: (as the report goeth) he assembled the chiefe and principall persons of all his troupes, who being come to his presence, with a long discourse, he did thus reproch and obiect vnto them, their faintnes and cowardice.

Exclamation of the author vpon the wretched estate of the subiects to the Turke.

Turkes vnwilling to be drawen to a fresh assault of Croy.

Is it possible (quoth he) that so small a matter, and the dalliance of fortune but a litle failing you, can so pull downe your mindes and abate your courages, as it should make you for euer to despaire and to abandon all hope of victorie? what if your valure and prowes be not able at the first assault to carrie this place, will you therefore be vtterly discouraged? Answer me I pray you. Is there any towne so weake? is there any fortresse so simple, or so base, as that one onely blow and the first attempt should be able to subdue it? He that will dislodge such fierce beasts as these out of their dens, must of necessitie vse perseuerance, he must stand firme, he must be of an vndaunted heart and a courage vnconquerable. Haue so many puissant armies? haue so many excellent Captaines, euen for some friuolous cause of offence, and for some small priuate quarrell, haue they I say spent their time, and (as it were) waxed olde in the siege of cities and fortresses? and you that haue receiued so many outrages, so many indignities, and so many contumelies of disgrace by the disloialty of the Albanians, will you now to your notable reproch, leaue them vnpunished, and vnreuenged? Who is he euen to this day, that did euer obtaine a memorable victorie, and not in some sorte blouddie? Remember the battell of *Varna*, the honor and glorie of which victorie doth scarce admit any comparison. It is vnpossible to tame an enemie that is fierce and haughtie without some expence and losse of blood: and all difficult things doe come to a happie issue onely with extreame labours and hard trauell. Vpon *Croy* onely doth depend the consequence of this whole warre, which being once at your discretion, we shalbe for euer freed of our enemie in this countrie. For this place being gained which is the principall fortresse of all *Epire*, *Scanderbeg* will not aduenture to continue here so much as one day: wherfore plucke vp your hearts (my good frends) and away with this feare and faintnes of courage: you must make a triall of fortune: and if you will haue her to follow you, it is needful that you do often importune her. There is no one thing in the world, wherein is more varietie and vncertaintie, then in wars and deeds of armes. Hold on your course then: cease not to presse the enemy, and do you euen wearie him with continuall assaults. If at ech time you kill but halfe a score of the enemie, it will be sufficient, and the towne will be soone vndefended.

The Oration of Amurath to his Chiefetaines and Captaines before Croy reproching them with faintnes and cowardice.

And it may be (as it happened of late at *Sfetigrade*) that if our forces shall not auaile, yet our good fortune may second this our enterprise, and may lay vs downe some inuention and good meane to atchieue it.

This speech did reuiue their spirits and wrought in all of them new stomackes and fresh courages: it caused them to banish and cast away all feare: it made their former hatred to returne before their eyes, and it stirred in them a singular desire to purchase glorie, and in all actions to shewe themselues very forwarde. But aboue all, this did greatly abate the doubt which they had before receiued, for that they saw their tents exempted, and their backes freed from the sudden surprises of *Scanderbeg*: and by reason they were assured, that during the fight the day following, they should not be annoyed with any enemie, but only those before them. For besides those orders which were alreadie taken for all things, and not yet mentioned: this was one which (as I will shew you) was laide downe for the diuerting of *Scanderbeg*, to the intent hee should not of all that day molest nor trouble their trenches nor interrupt them from the assaulting of the towne. *Sebalius* (of whom mention hath bene made before) was sent towards another part of the Prouince, that vnder colour of wasting and spoiling the countrie, he might delude the Albanois, hoping by that meanes to draw him away with all his forces. In the euening therefore this Chieftaine Turke being dislodged with a strong companie of 16000. horse, and hauing streight instructions from *Amurath* so to demeane himselfe, that the enemy might haue no occasion nor opportunitie to fight with him: he rode on his way with good aduise and deliberation. By that time that he had marched about some 20. miles, the newes of his dislodge came to the eares of the Christians, which raised a fore murmuring amongst the souldiers according to the varietie of their fantasies which they conceiued and imagined vpon the departure of the Barbarian. Notwithstanding they were all of this opinion, and one mind, that it was best forthwith to mount on horsebacke, and to trauell all the night in great silence and secrecie, that they might gaine all the passages of the mountains and woods where they supposed he should passe. But the sage prouidence of the Christian Generall, who was an enemie to all preposterous temeritie, & durst not affie himselfe vpon the doubtfulnes of the dark: did referre the whole to the next morning: and then at the dawning of the day, he departed with ensignes displaied, and held the way of the mountaines, the couerts and secret places: alwaies hauing before him his vauntcurrers to discouer and to beate the waies and passages, that he might not fall into the ambushments of the *Paynim*.

Stratagems of Amurath to diuert Scanderbeg from troubling his army during the assault of Croy.

Sebalius sent with an armie to draw Scanderbeg from Croy.

About the same houre that *Scanderbeg* departed, the *Sultan* beganne the assault against *Croy*: for hauing ordained all things (as hath bene said) he thought good to beginne it betimes in the morning and before that the day should be any thing spent: for feare least the assault being deferred any longer, should fall out in the extremitie and heate of the daye. Now the absence of *Castriot* being reported throughout the hoast, did greatly reuiue the courages of the Infidels: and vpon this occasion being growen more forward and furious, they did hasten with their scaling ladders and other instrumentes in great store against the walles. In like manner some there were who forgetting their late losse and slaughter, did aduenture to approach euen to the port, striuing to breake it open, or to force it off the hinges, and to make way for themselues through the same by meanes of their mattocks and barres of iron. Towardes *Tyranna* they cast great store of wilde fire into the towne: and the artillerie ceased not during all the time of the assault, notwithstanding that it was not able much to endammage the defendants, without the great hurt and losse of the assailants. Neuertheless, the *Sultan* without all respect, did cause it still to shoot off amongst both par-

Assault to Croy the second.

ties, and did thereby destroy some both on the one side and on the other: for he did not thinke the head of a Christian dearely bought, which cost him twentie of his owne company. The defendants though they were not altogether free from dammage, yet were they in good suertie, neither was there any hazard of the losse of the towne: for (besides their other helpes) such was the naturall strength and situation of the place, that it made all the attemptes of the miscreantes to be in vaine and to no purpose. And yet notwithstanding, if at any time the defence of the place did depend vpon the valure of the defendants & the deuoire of their good diligence, they did euer shew themselues on al hands to be stout and valiant, and they gaue maruellous proofs of their faith and prowesse: and still did they encrease in courage, in strength, and in good successe. Of the Turkes that aduentured themselues to the port, there was scarce any one that returned: on the other parts, those that were most hardie and aduenturous, did remaine dead vpon the place, and an infinite number were sore hurt & maimed: and there was not almost in any one place but verie few or none of their ladders presented against the walls. Neuertheless *Amurath* still pressed on his people with great furie on all sides: and with a resolution of obstinacie more and more encreasing, did continually send supplies of fresh men, still renuing the assault without any intermission: insomuch as this sight and spectacle did at one and the selfe time, both feed his humor, and yet torment him to the hart: till in the end being euen glutted with the pitifull butcherie and murther of his people, he caused to sound a retrait and to cease the assault, rather at the prayers and perswasions of his Bassaes, then vpon any other cause. For they entreated & humbly besought him, that he would not so willfully and desperately destroy and consume his armie, considering that there was no apparance or probabilitie to get the towne in this fashion: and that it were better to reserue his forces to worke by mines into the towne, as the best and onely way to bring it into his possession. But want of victuals, and the extreame famine which did now sore pinch the armie of the Barbarians, did cause this worke to proceede but slowly for a time: wherefore to recouer corne and other prouisions, there were sent Commissaries with certaine men to *Lyssa* and other places of the venetian territories. For by reason of the peace sworne betwene them, the *Sultan* did perswade himselfe that he would denie him nothing.

The Turkes repulsed from the assault.

Scanderbeg marcheth after Sebalias.

Whilest these things were a doing, *Scanderbeg* had intelligence by his skoutes, what course *Sebalias* tooke in his iourney: who hauing dispersed certaine troupes of horsemen all ouer the fieldes, did destroy the vines and other things bearing frute throughout the countrey. He dismarched therefore with as great secrecie as was possible: and being arriued within a three myles off the Barbarian: he chose out foure thousand good and strong horse to charge vpon him in the open and plaine fields. All his foote forces, and the residue of his horsemen, he left with *Moses*, and placed them on a high hill neare to the high waye, where he was in hope that the enemie should passe: and he willed him that if he saw the Infidels to flie that way out of order & dispersed, he should suddenly fall in vpon them, and charge them most fiercely: but if he did perceiue them to hold good and to stand firme, maintaining the fight with equall fortune and valure and without mouing: that then he should speedily come forward with his companies, and ioyne himselfe to his forces: and he doubted not, in case the enemie durst abide him, either to make him pay for it and to buy his resistance verie deare, or else to driue him to a most shamefull & dishonorable flight. For their flight he was nothing at all deceiued: but for the rest, it fell out otherwise then he expected: for *Sebalias* being aduertised of the comming of the Christians by the sentinels which he had set to watch of purpose: vpon a signe giuen had made all his forces to gather,

together and to keepe neare vnto him: excepting some few scattered a farre off, who became an easie prey to the Albanois. And before that he had any sight of the enemie, he poasted thence by another way, and not by that where he knew *Scanderbeg* was marching. Thus was there nothing done at that time worthy the speaking: and the rather for that *Castriot* kept his forces from following after them: in regard that his footemen were not able without excessiue toyle & trauell, to endure so long a iorney in pursuing them. Besides that, the perpetuall care of *Croie* did greatly restraine his forwardnes and fierecnes: and he held it more wisedome to reserue his armie in good plight for the continuall wants and necessities of the towne. On the one side therfore the Turkish Chieftaine returned to *Amurath* with great ioy and contentment, for that he had so abused *Scanderbeg*, and kept him all that day from troubling of their trenches: on the other side the Epirot returned his campe extremely grieued, because he had lost that oportunitie, and through that perplexity of his mind which he tooke for *Croy*, from whence he was not accustomed so farre to absent himselfe.

The report goeth, that he met with many vpon the way, who gaue him notice of the Turkish Commissaries being abroad for victuals: and of the conuoy which they had prouided for the safe conduct of the same. Whereupon, disguising himselfe out of hand in simple attire (an ordinarie policie which he vsed in the warres) and being attended with a hundreth souldiers in the same habit, he followed those victuallers by the tract where they had passed: and hauing learned by what way they were to returne, he put himselfe with his companie in an ambuscado. Then sent he two of his souldiers, men of good iudgement and experience, to go to *Lyssa*: willing them to get notice, and to beare good espiall vpon the troupes of the enemie, and carefully to obserue, whether in their returne they did take any other way, then that by which they had passed thitherwards: and if they did, they should poast away with all speede to giue him intelligence of it. But these victuallers returning the same way they went, fell into the hands of *Scanderbeg*, who hauing slaine some of them, tooke the others prisoners. The corne, the beasts and carriage horses, he conueyed to his campe, where he distributed the booty amongst his souldiers. This done *Moses* returning backe to the campe besides *Isme*, brought thither those other troupes of foote, of which he had the leading.

Ambuscado of Scanderbeg whereby he surpriseth the Turkes victuallers.

Whilest *Amurath* did carefully and with great diligence set forwarde his mines against *Croy*, so much the more carefull was he, and neuer ceased to molest the besieged with often and continuall allarmes and skirmishes: to the intent that by keeping them busied in the defence of their walles, they might be the lesse able to discouer the drift of his new deuises and his secret practises: during the which he receiued diuerse messages, the one acquainted him with the discomfiture of his victuallers, the taking of his corne, and how all things else had passed: the other from *Alchia* brought him newes of certaine corne which was comming out of *Macedon*. So that as the latter gaue him cause of ioy and contentment, so the former did renue his wonted griefe & discontentments. But the one being partly a recompence for the other, the Turkes were not much moued at the matter, but laying aside the care of all other matters for that instant, the souldiers applyed all their care and studie, that the new supply of prouisions might be brought in safetie to their campe. Wherefore with the consent of their Prince, there were appointed 20000. of the strongest and most able men of their whole armie for a conuoy of those other victuals, to the intent those also should not be made a prey to the Christians, as the other had lately bene for default of a good and strong conuoy to safeconduct them. But *Scanderbeg* was at that time sufficiently busied in conueying his bootie towards his owne campe, for that he might the better

Turkish campe before Croy victualled out of Macedonie.

auoide

auoide the enemie, and not any way encounter with him in his returne: he fetched a long compasse about by diuerse by waies, and with great discommoditie and paines, he draue the beasts loaden with the prey, through the roughest and hardest streights that he could chuse within the mountaines, which was an occasion of no small wearines and toile vnto him, and made him to spend long time in his returne: and yet if he had bene freed from that cariage, and though all his forces had bene present with him and in a readines: I do not think that he would for all that haue bene so desirous to pursue and set vpon the enemie, as to hazard himselfe against so mightie and puissant a multitude. All this while was *Moses* in great incertaintie and perplexitie for the prince of *Epire*, by reaſō he was certified by good espials of the departure of those troupes out of the campe of the Turkes. And he was in doubt least they were prepared for his confusion: wherefore he sent forth some light horsemen, who with all diligence and celeritie, and with great iornies should go seeke out *Scanderbeg*, and to aduertise him of this particular. But they had no tidings of him till he was returned to his people, charged with the spoiles of his slaine enemies, and the graine which he had taken from them. Likewise the Mahomatistes without any lette or disturbance, made a speedie returne with their corne, victualles, and other prouisions to their campe. By meanes whereof, being thus prouided for the necessarie sustenance of their bodies: it made them to take a good heart againe, and to reuiue both in strength and courage.

A mynes made by the Turkes against Croy.

All this while did they trauell without ceasing in vndermining of the wall: howbeit the excessiue labor of the work did swallow vp many of them within the earth: notwithstanding the pioners had their seuerall times and houres particularly proportioned vnto ech of them: and the like order was also obserued throughout all the squadrons, and amongst the souldiers of euerie tent within the campe. The continuall labour, and the obstinate resolution of the men did easily surmount all difficultie, and daylie did they continue their skirmishes and loose fightes before the walles, of purpose to abuse the Citizens. And albeit there was no daie passed without the death and slaughter of some of them: yet did not they account that for any losse amongest so many thousands of fighting men.

Venetian subiectes succour the Turkes campe before Croy with victuals.

The Infidels did in some sort spend all that time ioyfully and to their contentment, by reason that ouer and aboue their store and abundance of victualles lately arriued from *Macedony*: there was also a great number of marchaunts of the next townes vnder the obeisance of the Venetians, who serued them with plentie of corne, wine, oyle, and all sortes of victualles day by day into their campe: neither was there any want of Mercerie wares, which diuerse brought thither of purpose to traffique with them: who (as the prouerbe is) like flies drawing after honny, did repaire and flocke thither from all quarters; when they once knew of their estate: and that their campe was in great penurie of all prouisions excepting money onely. All this did *Scanderbeg* see verie well: yet because he would not offend the subiectes of his friendes and confederates, nor hinder their priuate gaine in particular: he tooke all with great patience, willing his people also to dissemble it as well as himselfe; without giuing any offence to any person either in word or in deede. For howsoeuer it were, he was not ignorant, that though he had hindered this traffique betweene them, yet the enemie for all that should not haue wanted it from other places, by reason of the neare-nesse of *Macedonie*, *Thrace* and *Seruia*. And therfore he busied his braines with greater matters, and with other affaires of more importance: how he might by force of armes and dint of sword, and not by famine and want of sustenance, expell this outragious enemie out of *Epyre*. This made him to haue an especiall care and regard of a

matter which was deeply to be considered on: and that was to encrease and augment his forces: for of the eight thousand men which he had leauied at the beginning of this warre, there was litle lesse then a thousand of them diminished and decreased: all which were either consumed in the seuerall seruices against the enemie, or by diuerse other accidents and discommodities: besides a good number who were licensed to departe, and were sent awaye to refreshe themselues in their dwellinges: such as he thought had endured sufficient hardnesse, and done their good deuoire in the forepassed dangers. The charge and commission for this matter was committed to *Tanusee* and to *Moses*, who trauersing and compassing all the prouince, did scarce leauie two thousand souldiers, whereof fiue hundreth were horsemen, and the residue footemen. It was no easie matter at that time to find any one man in all *Epire* fit and able to beare armes, but he was alreadie emploied in some place either of charge, or else appointed to some particular seruices: so well and so carefully had *Scanderbeg* strengthened and assured all things, with wonderfull counsell and aduise: because he would not willingly leaue any angle or corner of his realme exposed to the iniurie and violence of his aduersaries.

Tanusee and Moses sent by Scanderbeg to leauie a new supply of souldiers.

During the same time that this leauie was made by *Scanderbeg*, the Croians being importuned by the daily alarmes of the Infidels could not any longer containe themselues within their walles: but often times sallying out of the towne, they did with great good happe and successe encounter with them. One day aboue the rest, their seruice was most notable, at which time there issued forth about 500 of the garrison, and hauing well beaten the enemie of whom many were cut in peeces and the residue put to flight, they were so earnest and forwarde in the chase, that they pursued them euen within their trenches, which made the Mahometistes (when they sawe the Christians to be so hardie and couragious, and that their temeritie did drawe them on vppon this their good fortune) not to grieue verie much at their companions which lay slaine, because they were in hope soone to be reuenged. But this their hope was made vaine by meanes of *Vranocontes*, who though he sawe his souldiers to returne with little or no dammage, yet neuertheless wisely weighing the danger and hazard of that dayes seruice, with the politique and subtill disposition of the enemie, he would not from thence foorth any more permit them to set their foote without their portes.

Croyans sallie out vpon the Turkes.

But greater was the griefe, and more notable was the slaughter that *Scanderbeg* brought vpon *Amurath* and his forces: for his new bandes being vnited and incorporated to the bodie of his whole armie, and the same being deuided into three parts, one to *Moses*, an other to *Tanusee*, and the third reserued to himselfe: about the shutting of the euening, he caused his Ensignes to march verie secretly & directly towards the campe of the enemie. But before he was gotten as farre as *Monticlea* (which was distant about two miles from their trenches) he was discouered by the Turkish Sentinels. Great and suddaine was the tumult when they vnderstoode of his comming, but most of all where the tents lay neerest to the daunger. Wherefore nothing was omitted by the Barbarians, neither did they leaue anie remedie vnattempted, which the vncertainety and darkenesse of the night could aduise them vnto either for repelling him backe, or for debarring him from entring vppon them. There were gathered together in great haste and tumult about some eight thousand men which opposed themselues against him: which made him to pause a little, and with a softer pace and more leasure to march forwarde against them. The *Mahometans* aduaunced themselues to encounter him, and with a huge crie on all handes were the first that beganne the fight: but the Christians refusing to ioyne

A second encounter by Scanderbeg to the campe of the Turkes before Croy.

with

with them in fight, by litle and litle recuiled backwardes, to the intent that drawing them farther off from their trenches, their fury might be the more abated and diminished. Hereupon *Moſes* and *Tanuſe* hauing ſodainly entred their rampiers and barriers on that part which was appointed them, had filled al the campe with exceeding feare and confuſion: and being entred within certaine tents, and the watches ſlaine, they deſtroied all with the fury of fire, where force of armes could not any way endammage them. Greater was the loſſe and diſhonor without compariſon receiued by them then by *Scanderbeg*, for that the Infidels bending all their thoughts and endeuours to that part, *Moſes* had the more liberty euen from the beginning, freely to do execution vpon the enemy, by burning, ſacking, and killing all at pleaſure, and to bring their Campe into feare and diſorder, as in all ſodaine actions and vnexpected it is commonly vſed. But this victory was of ſmall and ſhort continuance, for within a while after a more ſtrong troupe of the Barbarians haſtening vpon them, the Chriſtians thought it not good to attend their comming. In one thing aboue the reſt did fortune greatly fauor them, in that the artillery whereof they ſtood in ſo great feare, did not at all play vpon them: were it that they could not well tell how to vſe it in the darke, or elſe that for the feare wherwith they were ſurprized (as it is oftentimes ſeene) they had forgotten to aide themſelues with it. The day began now to appeare, when as the Prince of *Albany* giuing place vnto the enemy, did withdraw himſelfe in the middeſt & chiefeſt heat of the fight, and retired about 2. miles off to a certaine hil where it was eaſie for any to ſee him, and there did he attend *Moſes* with his ſquadrons: for that was the place which at their going to the charge, was appointed for their *rende vous*. Aſſoone as the Turkes ſaw him there to make a ſtand, they went in great haſt to the *Sultan* his pauilion, humbly entreating him to giue them leaue to iſſue forth, & to ſet vpon him, ſhewing him & pointing with their fingers at the ſmall number of the Chriſtians: ſo much preuailed their praiers & importunacy, that the old man ouercome with their requeſts condiſcended thereunto. Immediatly therefore there made out 12000. men ſtrong & luſty 7000. horſe, and 5000. foot. Vpon the diſcouery of this great and mighty troupe, *Scanderbeg* at the beginning made ſome doubt, whether he ſhould ſtay and receiue them, conſidering the nearnes of the whole army of the Turkes, or whither he ſhould yeeld and giue place vnto the time: but he held beſt for that time to take and chooſe the mid way and meane between both, neither to flie altogether, nor yet altogether to abide: wherefore retiring faire and eaſily by degrees towards the higheſt and roughest parts of the mountains, he did temporize and dally away the time: relying both vpon the ſtrength of the place, and the aid of his other troupes, whom by the duſt ariſing in the air by reaſon of their marching, he did now perceiue not to be far off. The Infidels came on with great fury euen to thoſe hils, but ſeeing the difficulty of the place, & that it was very dangerous to paſſe further, for that the very waight of their bodies would ſufficiently load & hinder them from getting vp, they began to ſlacke their pace. *Scanderbeg* would not ſtirre, till he certainly knew that his people did approach, yet could not his policy be conueyed ſo cunningly, but the *Barbarians* did perceiue it very eaſily. For turning bridle vpon the hearing of the noiſe of our men that were comming on, and ſeeing their vauntcurrours, they were contented not to approach any neater, but in great haſt and feare caſting many of their enſignes to the ground, they made awaie with all ſpeed poſsible. Neuertheleſſe their great baſt did not altogether preſerue them from the ſword of their enemies, becauſe that *Scanderbeg* his ſouldiers had begun the fight with them, and with their ſhot playing vppon them from aloft, they had layed many of them dead vppon the place. On the other ſide the *Dibrian* haſting thitherwardes with great diligence, did take many priſoners of thoſe that were not able to

Moſes and Tanuſe inuade the Turkiſh Campe.

Scanderbeg retireth from the enemy.

Turkes deſire and obtaine leaue of Amurath to iſſue out and to ſet vpon Scanderbeg.

The Turkes flie.

hold way with their fellowes, and the reſidue had free liberty to ſaue them ſelues. The ſucceſſe hereof being heard and ſeene by *Amurath*, but eſpecially the horrible aſpect of that nightes ſlaughter, and the deformity of his Campe, did cauſe him to conceiue ſuch extreame griefe, that for a time it ſtopped vp his ſpeach, ſo as hee was not able to ſpeake a word, which was the occaſion that nothing was either attempted or determined all that day againſt the Chriſtians. The report is, that the next day, *Scanderbeg* with a ſmall traine attending him according to his wonted vſe was ſeene by the *Barbarians* to walke vpon the top of the mountaine which hangeth ouer *Croy*, and there to haue ſome conference with *Vranocontes*. And that this being reported, and his perſon ſhewed vnto *Amurath* by ſome of his men that pointed at him, hee blamed the folly and inconſtancy of his people: and with a dogges laughter (as the ſaying is) he told them, that the beſt way was to let alone that furious and vntamed Lion: and not from thenceforth to feede that vnhappy beaſt with the bloud of his men, that ſo peraduenture he might at length be brought to reaſon by his owne rage and proper fury, rather then by any force of armes that ſhould be vſed againſt him. But as it was litle or no diſhonour for *Scanderbeg* to heare theſe wordes vttered from the mouth of his aduerſary, ſo likewiſe was it to be taken as a marke of ſingular honour, that he had the power to draw from him this teſtimony, and that he had enforced his enemy to harbour ſuch a conceipt of him.

Speach of Amurath touching Scanderbeg ſeeing him vpon a mountaine ouer Croy

But to the matter. Now was the whole army of the *Barbarians* in great ſorrowe and ignominy, and they demeaned them ſelues rather as men beſieged, then as thoſe that beſieged others. Beſides that, to theſe their miſhappes this alſo was added which enſueth, being of no leſſe importaunce, and which alſo did greatly encreaſe their miſfortunes. The ſecret working of the Mine was now come to the knowledge of the inhabitantes: whereupon one night they iſſued forth of the towne to ſee what was done therein, and I know not how they went about it, but it was done with ſuch ſilence and ſecretſie, and ſo ſodainely, that they ouerthrew and ſcattered the moſt part of their worke, and diſcouered all the doings of the enemy without being ſeene or perceyued by their ſkoutes, till ſuch time as hauing marred all their implements and prouiſions, they were retired to the towne in ſafety. I do beleeue well that they made choiſe of the dead time of the night, when men being in their ſoundeſt ſleepe, do repreſent the very image and ſhape of death. Yet ſome doe deny that they ſallied forth at all at that time, or that they knew by any ſuch meanes the enterpriſe of the enemy: but they ſuppoſe that the Turkes being not well able to conceale their fraudulent inuention and ſecrete workings, the Chriſtians did by their countenaunce and demeanour, coniecture and grow into ſuſpition of ſome ſuch intent. Whereupon as ſoone as they began to grow doubtfull of the matter, they preſently deuiſed how to ſurpriſe and preuent them in their deuiſe. And they ſay that they did place certaine Baſons, and Pannes of Braſſe and other mettall full of water, in diuerſe places, for that by the beating and ſound of the blowes, as they were working vnder ground, the counterſtroakes and rebounding noiſe made with the force of their ſtroaks, would euidently ſhew in what place they did Mine vnderneath the earth. And although they did ſufficiently diſcerne the entry of the Mine: neuertheleſſe fearing leaſt they ſhould be ſurpriſed by the conueyaunce thereof vnder the earth, becauſe it might be digged turning and winding with great vncertainety, whereby the enemy might be brought into the towne on ſome other ſide where they leaſt ſuſpected: therefore they had deuiſed and inuented this remedy for a miſchiefe that was ſo doubtfull and vncertaine. It may be that both the one and the other of theſe aſſertions are true, and eyther of them hath ſome likelihood and probability; howbeit as the latter is more ingenious

The Mine of the Turkes diſcouered and ouerthrowen by the Croians.

A deuiſe for the diſcouery of a Mine.

then

then the former: so in my iudgement, the trueth thereof is not so likely as the other. But how soeuer it be, this is one thing not doubted of nor denied by any: that though the *Croians* did litle or nothing feare the endeuours of the enemy, yet did they make prouision with good aduise and exact deliberation for all things within the towne, whereby they might preuent and interrupt all the pretences which the *Ottoman* might deuise against them. And therefore as soone as *Amurath* knew that the Mine was discouered, and that the townes men did chearefully fortifie themselues with all kindes of resistaunce: he gaue ouer the conceipt of all these fantasies, and surceased from proceeding any further in this purpose. But had it so fallen out that his deceipt had remained still hidden and concealed from the citizens, yet notwithstanding he would in the end haue discontinued that worke of his owne proper motion: because that in vndermining of the ground, there were so many rockes, and strong banckes of hard stone in euery place, which did euer hinder their worke, by reason of the neareneſse and proximity of the mountaines In so much that to haue cleft and pierced through them, would haue beene an endleſse labour, and a worke of ineſtimable difficulty. And yet there were some who would haue had him obstinately to persueere in the same. This care then being remoued, he resolued to employ his thoughtes, and to proue an other way: the deuise whereof was with as litle profite as the other: and that was to see if he could by any manner of meanes for money and by corruption, bring the *Croians* to his deuotion. And he held it not amisse to haue recourse to this policy and inuention, seeing neither force nor fraude, nor menaces and threatnings, could preuaile nor profite him any thing at all.

An ambassage sent to Vranocontes by Amurath with intent to corrupt him, and to make him betray Croy.

Hee sent therefore to *Vranocontes* one of his Bassaes, a man of high degree and great authority about his person, and one that was greatly commended for the dexterity of his witte and iudgement. Who (taking with him but two seruaunts onely with their handes full of precious giftes, most rich presentes, and sumptuous ornamentes, after the Turkishe fashion) had instructions giuen him, that before he made any mention of the yeelding of the towne: he should offer these presents to *Vranocontes* in the name of *Amurath*, the better thereby to prepare his minde and disposition to the intended and decided parley. This done, he willed him subtelly to sound and search the depth of his thoughts, and to see how he was affected: and so with large promises of gold and siluer, he should practise to induce him to deliuer the place into his hands: and to shew him how easie a thing it was for him, who was the chiefe commaunder and gouernour of the garrison, seeing the number of the citizens was but small and slender: and that they might be drawen either by loue or by constraint, to allow of that which the souldiers should accept and like of: that likewise the souldiers would not contradict any thing which he should thinke meet. And that he should moreouer assure him, besides the offers and presentes sent vnto him, both he and his people should not want any place or degree of honour which they could desire in all his Court. The Ambassadour Turke hauing this charge and these instructions giuen him, did take his way directly towards the towne, and as he approached neare to the Port, he was stayed by the guards, till such time as the Gouernour was aduertised of his comming. *Vranocontes* being speedily sent for and arriued, the Turke deliuered the summe of his commission, and at the first as he was presenting the giftes from *Amurath*, and did labour with glorious wordes to insinuate and worke into the fauor and good liking of the Christian, thinking to allure him with his cunning perswasions, and to get credence to his message, to the intent he might cutte him off from spending further time, and from being more tedious: It is enough (sayed the Gouernour) and you haue adorned your goodly presents with as goodly and elegant speaches. Let vs

Instructions giuen by Amurath to his ambassadour.

Speach of Vranocontes to the Ambassadour of Amurath.

» now heare the reſt of the meſſage which you bring vs from your maiſter, ſo ſhall we
» be the more ready to receiue your giftes, and to accept of your largeſſe, when I ſhall
» once know the ſumme of your demand. Otherwiſe you may not thinke that we will
» any way bind our ſelues, vnto you by your curteſies, nor that we will be in any ſort
» tied vnto you by this bond of your benefites, tending perhaps to our infamy and re-
» proach, vnleſſe we firſt ſee to what end you vſe this your liberality ſo exceeding & ex-
» traordinary: for then may we either accept ſafely, or reiect iuſtly your preſents, when
» your words ſhall haue made cleare and manifeſt the intent & meaning of your hearts.

The Barbarian being nothing at all abaſhed at the ſpeach of the Gouernor, replied thereunto immediately.

Answere of the Turkiſh Ambaſſador to Vranocontes.

» Howſoeuer it be (quoth he) for other matters, we haue not brought you theſe gifts
» vnder pretence to deceiue any man, for that were the way to deale with ſlaues and
» children, and not with free and valiaunt perſons. And although (ô *Vranocontes*) all
» things proceeding from an enemy are ſuſpitious (as thou haſt ſayed very well and
» wiſely) whereof we our ſelues alſo are not ignoraunt, yet durſt we not without bluſh-
» ing preſent our ſelues before thee (as the ſaying is) with our handes voide and emp-
» ty. Neither oughteſt thou to condemne the gratitude of our mindes, if thou be the
» man that thou ſeemeſt to be, and as thou art reported to be generally. Receiue there-
» fore and take in good part theſe preſentes which ſhall not any way wrong thee, nor
» be any impediment, but that thou maieſt freely, and with full liberty diſpoſe of thy af-
» faires, and continue thy former rightes to ordaine of them as thou pleaſeſt. For whe-
» ther thou doeſt refuſe and reproue our requeſts, or other things which we haue to ſay
» vnto thee: (which perhaps doe as much concerne thy good as ours) or whether thou
» doe approue and allow of theſe preſents offered thee ſo franckly and ſo freely, we will
» not in any ſort obiect it as a reproach vnto thee. For nothing is to be held or eſteemed
» more baſe, vile and ſeruile, then ſo to giue, as to expect a profite and gaine by the gift.
» We are now come vnto thee (gentle and worthy Captaine) freely and of our owne
» accord: and (I ſpeake it from the very bottome of my heart) we doe not ſeeke to ſur-
» prize thee, neither by wordes nor by giftes, whom we haue ſo often proued to be in-
» uincible by armes and dint of ſword, and who doeſt reiute all things inferiour vn-
» to thee, and to the greatneſſe of thy thoughtes. This is the cauſe that *Amurath* lo-
» ueth thee, and doth admire theſe rare vertues in his enemy: this is the cauſe he doth
» deſire (if by any meanes he may) to haue thee neare vnto him. No doubt that is the
» place, and to be neare the preſence of ſo great a Monarke, is far more fit and conueni-
» ent for thy merites. And there it is that the excellent magnanimity of thy courage,
» and the dexterity of thy ſpirite, ſhall be able to finde out the way and meanes to mount
» to the higheſt and ſupreame degree of all glory and good fortune: not that I con-
» demne *Scanderbeg*, whom euen we our ſelues his enemies doe glorifie for the reco-
» uery of his countrey, for the defending of it ſo often and ſo valiantly, yet through thy
» ſuccours and aſsiſtance principally: but thou art worthy of another maner of Prince,
» and of a better and higher aduauncement, and not to ſpend thy yeares, and to conſume
» thy glorious life in this obſcurity, and in this vility and baſeneſſe of eſtate. Moreouer
» *Scanderbeg* his good fortune will vaniſh away euen in a moment, the Deſtinies haue
» oppoſed againſt him an enemy, who is too mighty for him to endure continually:
» wel may his puniſhment be deferred for a ſeaſon, but it cannot be auoided: ſo extreme
» and incredible an hatred hath the *Ottoman* Prince conceiued againſt him. Ouer and
» aboue the incomparable forces which he hath aſſembled for his deſtruction, he hath
» ſworne and proteſted not to ſpare any coſtes or expences, nor trauelles, nor daungers,
» nor to depart out of *Epire*, till ſuch time as he haue ſubdued him, and impoſed a moſt

deadly

deadly and mortall yoke vpon his head. Now see how the originall of this mischiefe doth begin principally with you of *Croy*: we heare him euery day sounding into the eares of his counsellours these and the like speaches: that he will rather shamefully abandon and forsake his Imperiall city of *Andrinople*, and all the dominions of his estate and Empire, before he will quit the possession of this place: before he will leaue this city vnconquered, and before his wrath shall not be fully satisfied with the slaughter and butchery of your dismembred bodies, and there is no doubt but he will doe it, and I doe tremble to foretell it. For though I be one of your enemies (amongst infinite others,) yet am I a man and haue humaine passions: and therefore hardly will my eies be able to endure or suffer so miserable a sight and obiect of your pitifull and lamentable condition. Assure your selues he will not faile to do it, if you do not chaunge your mindes; if now (taking the benefit of his long sufferance and patience) you do not accept the safety, the light, the liberty, & the peace which are so freely offered vnto you: but go to, say a Gods name, that this fortresse so vnmatchable, that these walles so inaccessible, that your valour (which is more then all the rest) shall preserue & defend you: but how long I pray you will this be? doe you thinke that the *Ottoman* will raise his siege and remoue his Campe in the middest and chiefe heate of this war? you shall see it to your cost, you shall feele it to your griefe and losse, that though his forces profite not nor prevaile not, though all his attempts and endeuours doe proue vaine & bootlesse, yet (I say) you shall see still before your eies, and you shall continually behold before your wals these same enemies, these same tents, till such time as the extremity and importunity of famine (which mastereth and ouercommeth all things) doe in the end enforce you to yeeld, and to submit your selues. What other hope then haue you left I pray you? whence is it that this greedy desire of perils and dangers hath seized vppon your obstinat and hardened hearts? Shall *Scanderbeg* supply your wants with victuals being imprisonned within these wals? who being constrained to keepe close hidden continually in these forrests, or wandring vp and down the tops of the mountains, and being ouerloaden and ouerwhelmed on all sides with cares and trauels, is scarce able to sustaine his miserable body? Will the *Venetians* send or succour you with prouisions, who do daily bring and furnish vs against you, with all store of sustenance and necessaries for the war, euen in excesse and superfluity? Be wise therefore, you that are so braue and valiant, be you once well aduised and take your wits vnto you: behold it is your enemy that warneth you, you haue persisted long enough in this obstinacy: neither your countrey nor your liberty ought to be so wilfully defended, that you should oppose your selues for them against the wil & pleasure of the diuine maiesty. It behoueth you to yeeld & to giue place to Fortune, and to bend your knees to the most puissant and mighty. But what liberty is this wherof I speake vnto you? the true liberty, the true rewardes, and the perpetuall tranquillity of this life, is in the power of *Amurath*. Prouide therfore for your selues, whileſt your affairs are in sound & good estate, whileſt you haue yet time to determine vpon it: whileſt that we your enemies do exhort you, do entreat you, and do loue to entertain you, rather as our companions and friends, with your good liking, then as our slaues & prisoners by force and constraint.

In this maner did the Barbarian deliuer his message, framing and conforming with a singular good grace, both his countenance and his voice: and hauing finished, he did attend to obserue what alteration he could perceiue in the spirits and affections of the cõpany, purposing thereupon to haue taken an occasion to treat a part & in secret with the Gouernour vpon the residue of his ambassade. But knowing that the affections of them all were mightely estranged, from liking the subiect of his discourse, as men that knew how to contemne the swords of their enemies, and not their words onely, and

hearing the souldiers begin to mutter, and murmure here & there, as if they had some wrong offred them, rather then be perswaded to yeeld themselues, he praid the gouernour to giue him leaue, to vse a word or two vnto himselfe alone and in secret, which was likewise accorded vnto him, for they did all much rely & trust vpon the sage wisdome & constancy of that personage: being assured, that he would not vndertake any thing, which should not be for the aduantage & maiesty of the Realme of *Albany*, and for the profit of ech of them particularly. Then began the wily fox to declare the secret which was committed vnto him by the *Sultan*, couering his detestable and hatefull message, with the most affected and plausible speeches that was possible. *Francontes* foreseeing the venome of his pernitious practises, did cut him off & interrupt him in the middest of his talke, enioyning him presently to get out of his sight. Thus wholly confounded and ashamed did the Ambassador depart, no man accepting of his bribes by the expresse commandement of the Gouernor: otherwise, it is not to be doubted, but the licentiousnes & greedy desire of the souldiers, would not haue needed any intreaty to lighten those varlets of their cariage. At such time as this trim Orator of the Turkishe Prince was retiring himself and ready to depart, *Francontes* in recompence of his painted and fine language did denounce vnto him this sentence: straightly charging and commanding him, that neither he, nor any other from thenceforth, should » be so hardy on the part and behalfe of the *Ottoman*, as to repaire againe to the towne, or » to demaund any parley: protesting that if they did, they should be assured (besides the » losse of their handes, their noses, and their eares, to haue their bodies wholly and hideously deformed and tormented.

Francontes reiecteth the Turkish Ambassador and dismisseth him with threats and menaces.

The Bassa being returned to the campe, was receiued of the multitude & common sort in great confusion, for that they had long expected him with great deuotion, and they were come forth against him, being desirous to vnderstand the resolution of the besieged. This was in a maner the only hope wherupon they did build for the getting of *Crey*, and for the finishing of their labors: but when they perceiued that the presents were not receiued, which they saw in the hands of the Bassa his seruants, they knew well that there was nothing done nor concluded. Moreouer after they heard it reported, with what obstinacy the *Croians* had made answer, in such sort as is already declared, there was not any one of them which conceiued not in his heart, either sorrow or feare, or fury, acording to the naturall inclination of euery one in particular. The aged *Sultan* aboue al the rest, being ouercome with impatiency, had recourse again to arms, purposing once more to force the towne by an assault, which he had earst giuen ouer & forceased: wherin he did rather content his wrath & choller, then any way reuenge his disgrace & dishonor. He commanded therfore to make ready the ladders, & other engins of assault against the next morning, spending almost al the whole night in this idle and vaine labor, and in placing the artillery, not forgetting also to prouide for the securitie & surety of his campe, knowing how *Castriot* had his eie alwaies open to deuise some means how to annoy him. For this cause he left 30000. men wel appointed, who held their horses alwaies in a readines and still bridled. The next morning about the day break, was the souldiers conueied & placed neare the wals, and at the very first beginning, the roaring cannon went off both on the one side & the other, & did seeme to contend which should deuoure most bloud, & cause greatest mortality. But the shot of the Christians fell more fortunatly then those of the Infidels, who were as litle respective of their own people as of their enemies. And whilest they assaied to driue out men from the defence of their wals, they made many of their owne cõpany to forsake the fight, both by reason of their deadly wounds, and in regard of the euident danger which they feared. When the ordinance had done thundering, they came to the Scalado,

Amurath and the Turkes agreeued at the repulse of their Ambassador, prouide to assault Crey.

Crey assaulted the third time.

lado, wherein by how much the more there did appeare perfect valour, and true courage, so much the more matter did they still find to aduenture the losse of their liues: so that in a moment, the bloud was seene on all sides to runne downe as it were in streames, and the earth was euery where couered with senseless & breathlesse bodies.

Amurath could not anie longer endure to be cruell against him selfe, notwithstanding that he had enterprized this last attempt of a meere wilfulnesse and obstinacie. Wherfore causing the fight to cease, he retired into his pauillion, as one enraged and mad for griefe and anger: where he passed the residue of that day, his owne hands doing violence and outrage to his aged and white haires, & pulling himselfe by the chin, with his eyes lifted vp to the heauens, he powred forth many iniurious and blasphemous speeches, reproching euen God him selfe with his complaints & exclamations. And he did seeme to question with him, why he had reserued his hoarie haires, and aged yeares to so many misfortunes and ignominies: that both the whole race of his forepassed life, and the name of the *Ottomans* should be altogether so disgraced and dishonored: and the glorie of his mightie conquests atchieued for many yeares, should now at the last be obscured and darkened, by meanes of one poore and base Castell in *Epire*, being in a maner but a vile and paultry village? The Bassaes & other his familiars did labour to comfort him with diuerse discourses, recounting vnto him a world of examples, both ancient and moderne, of the sudden fall and misfortune of other great and mightie Princes, and of manie straunge and foraine kings and Emperours: but all was in vaine, and his crased mind would admit no comfort. Notwithstanding the day following, the old man, albeit he were verie weake and ill disposed in his bodie, the vehemencie of his griefe hauing euen almost spent and wasted him to nothing, yet did he fall to counsell with certaine of his Chiefaines & greatest Peeres, who as the report goeth, were foure in number: two Bassaes, the one of *Romania*, the other of *Asia*, and two of those whom they call *Vizirs* or Counsellers. Long time were they in deliberating vpon the summe and consequence of this war, & they were deuided into three diuers opinions. One was to continue the siege so long, till that the extremity of famine had worn out the besieged. The secõd did aduise him to leaue *Croy*, & to pursue *Scanderbeg* with all his forces: and by that means, though he should not haue his wil of him by force of armes, yet he might peraduenture enclose and shutte him vp in some place where by famine he should bemaster him. The last opinion was: that seeing they had sufficiently tried al means, & had aduentured the fortune of al hazards, it was but meere folly to continue there any longer with shame and infamy, or vpon despite and indignation onely to consume and destroy his owne army: but that it were good rather to send some Ambassador to the *Albanois*, which should deale and perswade with him vpon any tearmes to become tributary to the *Ottoman*. And in case he did giue eare vnto it, he should demand 10000. crownes for a yearely tribute. This opinion was allowed as the most safe: and *Amurath* did consider with him selfe, that this would be a good and honorable colour and shew of victory; if before his departure out of *Epire*, he might prescribe such conditions to his enemy, and impose a yoke of such subiection vpon the Prouince of *Albanie*. For to continue the siege, they found it very inconuenient for many reasons, and they did foresee a thousand discommodities, which the winter would bring vpon them, and that the besiegers would be sooner wearied then the besieged. Moreouer the default and want of victuals, for the maintenance of so many thousands of men for so long a time: and (which was a thing of more importance) the daily courses and inuasions, which the enemy was like to make vppon their Campe, were not a litle to be feared. Neither did *Amurath* like, or take any pleasure to lose any more time in running and wandering vp & downe the mountains of *Albany*

Turkes repulsed from the assault.

Amurath his impatãcie, who enraged at his ill successe exclaimeth against God.

Amurath consulteth vpon his proceeding in the siege of Croy.

after *Scanderbeg*: seeing it was a thing also which could not be effected, without singular danoger, and a wonderfull hazard both of himselfe and all his armie.

Isup sent Ambassadour from Amurath to Scanderbeg to conclude a peace with him.

The matter therefore being thus resolued on: this Ambassade was committed to the care and wisedome of a Turke, whose name was *Isup*, a personage of great credite and authoritie with *Amurath*, who having bethought himselfe that it might be, the summe would seeme too great vnto the *Epyrote*, he warned his Ambassadour, that if he did refuse to condiscend and to submit himselfe to so great a tribute, he should abate the one halfe of it. One thing yet remained which seemed somwhat difficult: and that was the meanes how to meet with *Scanderbeg*, for to go wandring vp and down the prouince, and to seeke him without knowing in what place certaine, (all the countrey being in armes) seemed a matter very daungerous and of little safetie: notwithstanding that the name of an Ambassadour was euery where sacred and inuiolate: But they were eased of this care by meanes of certaine *Dibrians* who were then prisoners in the Turkish Campe. For they did couenaunt and vndertake, if they might haue their libertie, to conduct the Barbarian safe and sounde to the presence of *Castriot*, which being graunted them and they deliuered, they lead him the way taking their course to the Campe of the Christians. The first place they came to was the mountaine *Tumenista*, where finding the Prince of *Epire*, they went on right towards the riuer of *Isme* vpon the Sea side: but there they missed him also: for the same night hauing remoued with all his carriage, he was retired into an open countrey, which the inhabitants call the Red plaine: whereof the *Dibrians* hauing notice by certaine that dwelled thereabouts, they departed from thence, and within lesse then an houre they came to the same place (for it was not farre from the riuer *Isme*.) And before they entred all of them into the campe, one of the guides (leauing the *Mahometan* with the others) went on before to do his duty to *Scanderbeg*, & to know his pleasure concerning the Ambassador. The *Dibrian* being knowne by those of his owne squadron, & being entertained and welcomed with many salutations and embracements, entermingled with some teares, by reason of the longing desire which they had to see him, was speedily conducted to their Soueraigne: who hauing seene and welcomed the souldier, & hauing heard his message, without any delay he sent *Tamese* well accompanied with a good traine both of horsemen and footmen, to go and conduct the Ambassador vnto him: who being conueyed to the presence of the Prince, did not for that day deliuer any thing touching the message which he had in charge from his Maister, because the night began to approch: but being entertained with great curtesie, & feasted most sumptuously, he passed that night within the tents of the Christians. In the meane while *Moses* with a good number of horsemen being mounted on horseback, by the commandemēt of *Scanderbeg*, was ridden forth to course vp & down round about, & to discouer on all sides far & neare, both in the vallies and woody places: & the watches also were doubled in all the quarters of the campe, for feare lest vnder this faint shew & colour the *Ottoman* should attempt some exploit against them: so that there was nothing else done almost all that night in the campe of the Christians. Assoone as it was day, & that the chiefe and principall of the Armie were called & assembled together, *Scanderbeg* gaue audience to the Turkish Ambassador: who being formerly prepared of his oratiō artificially framed & deuised, thought to haue perswaded those ingenious & free spirits in some sort to condescend vnto his purpose. He began therefore in this maner.

The Red plaine

Scanderbeg his great care and prouidence to preuent the sodaine surprises of his enemies.

Oration of Isup to Scanderbeg.

» I could wishe, ô *Scanderbeg*, that God would haue giuen vs the minde and affe-
» ction long agoe wherewith we now come vnto thee: though perhappes more late
» then we ought, being now made wise by our owne harmes. For then neither had
» we for our partes seene so many goodly armies consumed and destroyed with one

and

and the ſame deſtinie, neither ſhouldeſt thou dayly behold before thy eyes, thy realme ſo pitifully diſmembred, nor ſhouldeſt thou haue heard ſo many complaints & lamentations on all ſides amongeſt thy ſubiects. But ſo hath nature ordained & appointed it, that it is impoſſible to attaine to a perfect peace, or rightfull equitie, without bloud and the violence of armes. Let vs therefore hold our ſelues contented, and take in good part that which reſteth: let vs preſerue theſe ſmall reliques and remainders to ſome better fortune. Sufficiently hath the land of *Albany* bene ouerflowen with the bloud of mankind for theſe many yeares: ſufficient is the deformitie and deſolation of this prouince which was ſometimes moſt pleaſant and beautifull, and the moſt flouriſhing ſeate of great and famous kings. God hath giuen vnto *Amurath* mighty forces, and his puiſſance doth in a maner exceede beyond all humane deſire: whereas thy dominions (ô *Scanderbeg*,) if thou compare them with his, and (if I may ſpeake it freely,) are very ſmall and as nothing. Neuertheleſſe the valour of thy people, thy vertue, and (that which exceedeth all) thy great and admirable fortune, haue made them that they are not to be deſpiſed: whereof thou haſt made a moſt glorious triall in the whole courſe of thy warres. And we our ſelues (though thou be our enemy) haue & do oftentimes both in publique and in priuate greatly wonder and admire it. We doe well remember the proude peoples of *Hungary* & *Greece*, that abounded ſo infinitly in goods and wealth, how eaſily they were tamed and ſubdued by our weapons: but this nation of yours only continueth inuincible, & is vtterly impatient of our dominion. I do not flatter thee, for I am thy enemy, & I would to God that the things which I ſpeake were not true. Onely againſt you and your countrey (for any thing I ſee) we haue not made any ſhew, that we are either valiant or fortunat: but reaſon would that your proſperitie (ô you *Albanians*) ought to be held ſomuch the more ſuſpitious: the end whereof (though it may happen to fall out miſerable) hath ſo puffed vp your ſpirits through ouermuch credulity, as if you had already embraced the perpetuall poſſeſſion thereof, that in the end it will be your ruine and confuſion. And yet if you ſet before your eies all the particularities of your good fortune, this lingring war hath bereaued you likewiſe in ſome ſort of your ſtrength & of your reputation. For albeit hitherto you haue held wars with vs without any great loſſe or diminution of your forces: yet where is *Sfetigrade*? where is that ample and large territory? what is become of the multitude of mannors, buildings, and rich farmes, ſo well planted and husbanded? where is the wonted beautifull ſhew and aſpect of all theſe things? wherefore is this goodly region waſted and ſpoiled? where are all thoſe large garners and ſtore-houſes of your corne, wherewith both the towns next adioyning, & *Italy* it ſelfe was wont to be ſtored and relieued? and to conclude without touching any other matters, where are the noble and goodly wals of *Croy* which are now ſo battered & deformed, that it ſeemeth, there is ſcarce left any ſhew or token of them? and the countenances of the defendants euen breathing for life, do retaine no part of their former eſtate or of their wonted condition. What is it (ô *Scanderbeg*) that thou doeſt expect further? thou ſeeſt how all things do haſten to bring vpon thee a million of miſchiefs and vexations: of thy townes, ſome are taken & loſt, ſome are preſſed with a ſtrong and mighty ſiege. *Croy* the capitall city of thy countrey, is in a maner brought to nothing, and there remaineth nothing but only the obſtinacy of the people: who though they hold out for a ſeaſon, yet in the end will ſoone be ouercome through pure want. For *Amurath* hath reſolued to augment his forces, and to continue the ſiege al the winter, yea another ſummer: and (if need be) many yeares, till ſuch time, as if the ſworde cannot maiſter them, yet famine ſhall make them to ſtoope vnder his ſubiection. But this is no otherwiſe, then in caſe thou bee deſirous of thy owne misfortune, and doeſt ſhewe thy ſelfe ſo vnwiſe as to

» refuſe theſe conditions of peace with the which I am come vnto thee. Behold how
» the *Ottoman* in ſtead of being thy mortall enemy is content now to accept thee as his
» friend and for his tributarie. He will raiſe his campe from before *Croy*, he will lead a-
» way his enſignes out of *Epyre*, which he brought hither as an enemy, neuer more to
» returne againe: and he holdeth it more pretious without bloudſhed to binde this pro-
» uince by being ſtipendary vnto him, to acknowledge the greatneſſe of the benefit,
» then to ſeeke to impoſe vpon you an endleſſe and moſt cruell ſeruitude. Now for the
» greatneſſe of ſuch a benefite he demaundeth of you but a ſmall charge and an eaſie bur-
» then: he is content to take but ten thouſand crownes for a yearely tribute: as for any
» other thing which appertaineth either to you as your owne, or to him as his due, he
» demaundeth none at all. Well may you (ô you Albanois, and thou alſo ô *Scanderbeg*,)
» without any diſhonour, without any dammage, conſent and accorde in this
» one point onely, to the iuſt demaunde of *Amurath*, in regarde of ſo many of his
» Townes in *Epyre*, and ſo many of his poſſeſsions, and ſo many goodly things, which
» thou doeſt enioy & hold from him, not by any right of inheritance, but onely by vſur-
» pation and meere violence. Is **Morea* any thing leſſe noble then *Epire*? Is the **Cara-*
» *manian* Prince any way inferiour vnto thee in nobilitie, in puiſſance, or in richeſſe? let
» me ſpeake it vnto thee without reproofe. Beſides many other peoples and nations of
» excellent renowne and antiquitie, all which do willingly & without conſtraint cauſe
» their tributs to be brought dayly euen to *Andrynople*: much more reaſon haſt thou
» to yeeld vnto the like, ſeeing it is not impoſed vppon thee by way of bondage and
» ſeruitude: but rather as a more certaine bonde, and a more ſtrict obligation of thy fi-
» delitie. Examine well thy owne forces (moſt prudent and politique Prince,) conſi-
» der all good and happie fortune, and let not ſo excellent an occaſion ſlippe away at
» this time out of thy handes. If thou ſhouldeſt now reiect theſe conditions of alli-
» ance which are offered thee, it may be that hereafter thou wilt be deſirous to haue
» them graunted, when it wilbe all too late, at ſuch time as the eſtate of thy affaires be-
» ing chaunged, thou ſhalt finde the countenaunce of the victour more auſtere, and
» much more loftie and Imperious, but in labouring thus earneſtly and carefully to
» perſwade thee in this matter: I doe more then ſtandeth either with the maieſtie of
» *Ottoman*, or the grauitie of my Ambaſſade. Neuertheleſſe I will not reuoke any
» thing which I haue ſpoken: but rather more then that (if an enemy may any thing
» preuaile with you) I pray and entreat you, I require and beſeech you: that whileſt
» it is yet time, and whileſt the old man is in ſo good a minde, you would haue a re-
» garde and conſideration both of ours and of your owne eſtate ioyntly both in one.
» For doe not you thinke (if it fall out ſo vnhappily that this peace be not obtained) that
» *Amurath* wilbe more diſcontented at it, then we ſhall haue cauſe to be wearied and
» greeued with it. For certainly therein are we all in particular intereſted, we onely are
» the men that ſhall ſmart for it, and vppon whoſe heades the whole miſchiefe is like
» to fall: becauſe for the fulfilling of his will and pleaſure, and to ſatisfie the furious
» appetite of his paſſions, we muſt vowe our ſlauiſh bodies, and prodigally expoſe and
» aduenture our liues to all hazardes and accidents, and with our owne bloud, if we
» can not with yours, we muſt ſatiate his wrath and malicious minde. Euery day muſt
» we be (as it were) in your bowelles: and we muſt continue in ſhedding each of others
» bloud: till ſuch time as either one of the two be glutted with doing of miſchiefe: or
» that our long perſeueraunce, and a certaine kinde of vnhappie fate and deſtinie doth
» altogether deuoure and conſume both parties.

» The Ambaſſadour would haue proceeded on forward with his ſpeech, but that the aſſemblie grewe into a ſodaine tumult and commotion: ſome murmured, others reioyced

**Morea* once named Peloponneſus in Greece.

**Caramania* or Cilicia.

reioyced and triumphed to see, that *Amurath* their enemy and persecutour, was not now able to do them any more harme, that he was wearied, & euen worne out with the toyles and trauels of these so long continued warres: and that he was as one already vanquished and ouercome by their valour, and they could not forbeare from laughing to heare the conditions which his Ambassadour did seeme to offer, and to propound vnto them with so glorious a shew & ostentation of good words. Some of them frowned and muttered, for that *Amurath* vnder a shadow and colour of peace and amitie should intend cunningly to worke them to submit themselues to the yoke, in yeelding their persons to be tributaries, whom being his enemies, he was not able to subdue and conquer. And this I dare say, that there was not any one of them, which did like better of this reconciliation that was offered, then that the war should be still continued: nay they did not so much as estimate it meete, that the matter should be debated by most voyces in a full and common councell: so mightely are the minds of mortall men puffed vp by the prosperous and happy successe of their affaires. Alas what is become now of the brightnesse and glorious renowme of that nation, of those noble and generous spirites, and of the seede of that inuincible vertue? The *Epirots* did see their estate and Empire most miserably rent and torne. Of their townes, some were taken, others straightly besieged, the landes and patrimony of their auncestours all couered ouer with men at armes, their wiues and their children remoued and exiled (as it were) farre from their sight, and euen languishing and pining away for very griefe, and with continuall feare and lamentation: the bodies of their friends and fellowes dayly slaine and dismembred before their eies, and all things flowing and drowned in bloud and cruelty: and yet did euery one of them take more delight and pleasure to remaine and continue in that meane and low fortune, and to stand vpon the guard and maintenaunce of their liberty, with the great expence and losse of their bloud, though not without hope of good successe, rather then they would in any sort yeeld vnto the Infidell, or to giue vnto their enemies the least shew or confession of faintnesse or cowardize. Wherefore *Scanderbeg*, (whose minde also was euer vndaunted and vtterly vnacquainted with any passion of feare or timerousnesse, after he had appeased their murmuring and the noise raised amongst them, he turned himselfe to *Isup*, and because he would not seeme to returne him to his maister the *Ottoman* (as it were) with disdaine or in suspence, or without any certaine resolution, he made him aunswere in this manner.

Sentence.

Magnanimity of the Epirots in the dayes of Scanderbeg.

Answere of Scanderbeg to Isup his Ambassade.

That which thou hast propounded vnto vs (*Isup*) at this time, is no other thing (as I now remember,) then was heretofore offered vs by *Ayradin*: who at our first comming to this Crowne, did by letters, brought vnto vs in the name of the *Sultan*, demaunde of vs certaine places of *Epyre* and all *Macedonie*, touching which point the full answere giuen you at that time was sufficient to haue satisfied you. And I doe not thinke my estate so much empayred nor yours in that manner augmented, that you should with any face or shewe of honestie seeme at this time to offer me these conditions. As for that long discourse recounting the losse of *Sfetygrade*, the battery and ruine of the walles of *Croy*, the spoyling and wasting of our fieldes and territories, we doe scarce account that any losse at all, as long as these heades are in safetie, as long as these souldiours are in health and well disposed, and as long as our people is in securitie, it wilbe an easie matter (beleeue me) to recouer whatsoeuer is lost, and to repayre that which is destroyed, God aiding and assisting vs, it is nothing to destroy or to reedifie such things as those, all the while we want not quicke handes and good workemen (such as we haue here) to vndertake them. But aunswere me (I pray thee) seeing thou hast a delight to reckon vppe our misfortunes, how dearely haue you

» bought and payed for them continually, with what losse and store of bloud-
» shed haue you bought *Sfetygrade* (albeit it was not your prowesse that carried it,
» but the superstition of the besieged?) And the siege of *Croy*, how many of your
» best souldiours hath it cost you? Goe to then, hold on still a Gods name to be braue
» in this manner, so might you alwayes proceede and continue in happynesse. For my
» part I doe not, nor will not enuie it, I can be well content to see your ensignes al-
» wayes to continue within *Epire*, to suffer my townes to be besieged and assaulted, my
» fieldes to be pilled and wasted: and whatsoeuer is good in *Macedonie* to be spoyled
» and destroyed, so long as you beare such like markes and tokens of your good for-
» tune, and such testimonies as these be of your valure. I protest vnto you, I hold it
» better and more expedient for vs to entreat you not to depart at all out of *Epire*, then
» to buy your departure at so high a price as you set vs. God forbid that any age or
» time should see, or that any man liuing should euer heare, that this prouince was be-
» come tributarie, as long as *Scanderbeg* is aliue. Assure your selues if *Ottoman* would
» restore vnto me the whole & entire possession of *Macedonie*, and all the patrimonie of
» my ancestours, nay if *Amurath* would deuide with me, and make me copartner with
» him of all his Empire: I would neuer suffer the name of *Albanie* to be stained and
» blemished with this blot of disgrace and infamie. In vayne therefore doest thou heape
» vp these examples of strangers & forreine states: in vayne doest thou represent before
» our eyes, the subiection of the Peloponnesians, and seruitude of them of *Asia*: for there
» is no example nor President whatsoeuer of so great weight and efficacie, which may
Sentence. » moue a free and liberall hart to subiect and submit it selfe to so base, villanous and
» fowle an indignitie.

Amurath sicketh vppon griefe and melancholy.

The Turke made no further reply being vnwilling to stand any longer vpon this matter: and therefore held it needelesse also to make any offer of a lesser tribute, or to follow any further the instructions giuen him by the *Sultan*: for he sawe that the mindes of them all in generall did abhorre to heare of any such submission. The counsell therefore being risen, he was conducted with his trayne to dine with *Scanderbeg* in his owne lodging: and after great cheare, & honorable entertaynement giuen him: *Tanusee* and certaine horsemen did conuey him about a myle from the Campe, for feare least vpon this fauour shewed him, the licentiousnesse of the souldiours might in some sortworke some iniurie or outrage vnto him. Scarce was he gotten out of the sight of the Albanois, but *Scanderbeg* with all his armie, doubting some ambushments of the enemy, if he should not speedely remoue from thence, did march away presently to *Tumenista*: where he placed gardes and scouts on all sides, with a far greater care then he had vsed at any time before.

The returne of *Isup* to *Amurath*, who then lay at *Tyranna* the lesser: as it did greatly augment his former griefe: so did the conceipt thereof redouble the violence of his disease and sickenesse. The daunger whereof being from day to day aggrauated, and growing more and more suspitious, it made the Bassaes to quit almost all care of armes, & to deuise vpon nothing else then how to cure & succour the old *Sultan*. But the maladie being vncertaine, and his disease vnknowen vnto them, they saw no better receipt nor remedy to minister vnto him, then to entertaine him with store of good wordes, and pleasant talke and deuises. For his sickenesse being engendred through the impatiency of griefe and discontentment, did require to be lenified and mitigated with things confortatiue, purposely applied to put away melancholy: and the cure was to be wrought with some new and pleasant delights which might cheare vp his drooping thoughts, and reuiue his spirites which were so greeuously perplexed. This was the estate of their affaires for a time, during the which the Turke founde him

selfe

selfe thus sicke and out of quiet: notwithstanding he could yet for all that in some sort giue audience and speake vnto his people, without much payning of himselfe: and he was able to giue them directions, and to prouide for manie accidents which seemed then requisite and necessarie: till such time as *Scanderbeg* being aduertised of this indisposition and crazinesse of his person, did altogether draw out of his bodie that litle strength and vigour which remained, and was yet left either in his members, or in his courage, by meanes of two or three inuasions which he made vpon his campe. At the first and second time there was not much harme done, nor scarce any thing executed worth the remembring: for that the promptnesse and vigilancie of the Turkes in defending of their trenches, did hinder and disappoint the purpose of the Epirot: besides that, their mindes were more attentiuely busied rather to the defence of thēselues then to the offending of the enemy. But this did more & more chafe and incense the hardy courage of *Scanderbeg*, who taking the benefit of the night, as the time most proper & naturall to procure tumult, feare & confusion, marched with all his horsmen towards *Tyranna*: because the place being more plaine and easie for horse to serue in, by means therof the tents of the Turks wold be the more subiect to the inuasiō of their enemies.

A third time assaulted by Scanderbeg to the campe of the Turkes before Croy.

It was now past midnight when the Christians being on foote, their cōming was discouered by the noyse and neighing of their horses. The darknesse was greater then was vsuall or accustomed, and the heauens being couered and obscured with thicke and grosse cloudes, did yeeld forth no light nor clearenes at all, and therefore hardly could any thing be done or ordained against the violence and furie of the *Albanois*. Neuertheleſſe according to the opportunity of the time did they prouide a remedy: & the souldiers were disposed in order according as they could best imagine by the hearing, & not hauing the sight of the enemy. Neither was the quality of that season lesse cōtrary & suspitious to the Christians also. And howbeit that ordinarily, the assailant hath more resolution & assurance, then the party that is surprised, yet did a certen horror seize vpon them, & seemed somewhat to daunt their courages, & not any of them durst set forward or march one before another. In the midst of this doubtfulnesse and staggaring (as it were) both on the one part & the other: *Scanderbeg* taking to himself about a hundred horse of his vauntcurrors, & seuering himselfe from the bodie of his troups, aduanced forward with great furie euen to the enemies trenches, to prouoke them to issue out: and hauing incensed them with high cries & clamors, and casting of darts in amongst them, he drew forth some of them from their appointed stations: who separated themselues from their companie with purpose to set vpon him, and in hope to haue defeated him: but the greatest mischiefe lighted vpon themselues, part of them being ouerthrowen, & the residue were glad quickly to returne frō whence they came. *Scanderbeg* continued for a time coursing vp and downe here and there, and as one that deluded & dalyed with them, he sought meanes to haue drawen forth some greater troupe to charge him: but seing the time to passe away in this vaine and friuolous expectation, and that the darknesse of the night by little and little bganne to weare away by the drawing on and approch of the day: he returned to his companie, & without any further fayning or dissembling, he ordered his troupes with very excellent good skill, and deuided them betwene *Streeze* & *Tanusse* (for *Moses* was left with the infanterie at *Tumenista*) & hauing readily instructed them what they should do, he lead them on against the enemie. The first onset was with shot, wherwith they plaied one vpon another, and the most of the fight was in that order: for the *Albanois* was in doubt, least if the rankes should ioyne, and be mingled together in the darke of the night, his souldiers should be scarce able to know their felowes frō the Infidels, for which cause he would not suffer them to presse in vpon the enemy: neither had they

come at all to handystroakes, if it had not beene long of the Turkes them selues, who presuming vpon their huge multitude, did cause a strong battallion of horse, to make out towardes the left side, and so purposed to haue enclosed the Christians betweene them. But *Scanderbeg* seeing them a little separated from the rest of their mayne armie, did presently withdrawe him selfe from their trenches into the open fielde, and deuiding his troupes also a sunder, to the intent the fight should be maintayned on both partes, he made against them speedily, and charged them with great furie both before and behinde. At the first onset the Barbarians receiued him with a braue and hardie resolution, expecting that fresh succours should haue seconded them from their campe: but the long tariance and slackenesse of their supplies, and the decrease of their owne strength, which by litle and litle fayled them, and the furie of the Christians encreasing together with the aduantage they had gotten against them, made them at length to set spurres to their horses, and they neuer thought them to runne fast enough, till they had gotten within their campe. A great number of Turkes and some Christians also left their liues in that conflict before that the Infidels betooke themselues to flight. By this time the day beganne to breake, and the multitude of the Infidels beganne to growe so great and encrease so mightily, that they constrayned *Strezé* and *Tanusee* to retyre. The Turkish troupes would gladly haue pursued them in their retreate: but for feare to displease the *Sultan*, they layde aside all desire of reuenge, and busied themselues in recounting their owne losses and misfortunes. Besides that slaughter onely which was made in the fight, there happened not any disorder within their campe, neither was there anie bootie or pillage gotten, but onely some small spoyles which were founde vppon the dead bodies: for you must note, that the fight was both beguune and ended without and not within the trenches of their campe. The great men and Chiefetaines of the armie, did very aduisedly seeke to conceale this discomfiture from the *Sultan*, to the intent his melancholique humour might not haue any further matter for to worke vpon. Neuertheless they could not by anie meanes keepe it from the knowledge of the olde man, who was verie iealous and full of care, by meanes of the generall and publique murmurings and whisperings, and the priuate plaintes of the common sort, which did easily discouer that which was happened, vnto his mind already enclyning and addicted to suspect the worst. For, as it is commonly seene, that none are either more couragious or greater cowards then the popular sort, in the good or bad successe of their fortune: so did the Turkes goe vp and downe their campe, deuising and debating one with another, and saying: That the enemy would at some one time or other, finde out some good opportunitie to set vpon the very tents and pauilions euen of the *Sultan* their Lord and Soueraigne.

Turks in great perplexitie vpon the sickneſſe of Amurath.

Now was the *Ottoman* greatly perplexed vppon the course of his proceedinges, to breake vppe his campe, to raise his siege, and to leaue the warre which he had vndertaken with so great courage and shewe of magnanimitie: verie shame would not suffer him. Some counselled him notwithstanding to leaue the greatest part of his forces before *Croy*, and with them to continue the siege: and that himselfe should retire and take his iourney to *Andrinople*, and so by that meanes prouide for his owne health and safetie: for that if he did absent himselfe for a while from the bloudie sight of his enemies, and from the viewe of those tragicall spectacles and calamities: the force of his disease would by little and little vanish away and be abolished. But his health euerie day empayring and waxing worse and worse, and his breath by little and little beginning to faile him, they then knew that the immutable decree of the heauens was not to be reuoked, neither by chaunge of place, nor by

any

any ſuccours, or humaine counſell or aduiſe. Wherefore although they neuer ceaſed by ſoueraigne medicamentes and other remedies to ſeeke the recouerie of his health, and to reuiue his decayed bodie (as the mindes of mortall men are neuer deſtitute of ſome hope,) yet had they a ſpeciall regard (as a ſort of marriners or saylers who haue loſt their pylots) euerie man to his power and abilitie, to prouide and procure all thinges requiſite, by which their armie might be ſecured and preſerued. Wherefore cauſing their tents to be drawen cloſer and neerer together, which before lay diſperſed here and there, and were more ſubiect to the violence of the enemie, they did entrench their campe in a more ſtreight circuit, and within a leſſer compaſſe, garding and defending their rampiers with good and ſtrong forces of armed ſouldiers. And hauing thus ordered the eſtate of their affaires, they did attend either the death of the *Sultan*, and therewithall an end of this warre: or elſe peraduenture, his health and recouerie which ſhould miniſter vnto them ſome new and freſh plots for the ſtrengthening and reenforcing of the ſiege. *Scanderbeg* had notice of all theſe matters, and wanted not daily aduertiſementes to bring this newes vnto him. And many there were alſo amongſt the Infidels, who came and rendered themſelues vnto him, by whom he learned the counſels and moſt ſecret deuiſes of the enemy. For there was not almoſt any one day, but there repayred vnto him a great number ſeeking refuge in his campe or in his townes, eſpecially after that it was once publikely ſuppoſed and commonly beleeued, that the *Sultan* was drawing neere his end. For it is vſually ſeene, that the vulgar ſort doe willingly followe the fortune of that partie which is ſuppoſed to be moſt ſecure and of greateſt ſuertie. Now *Scanderbeg* thought it not beſt to continue his ordinarie allarmes and inuaſions, but rather to referre them ouer, and reſerue his chiefeſt violence till ſuch time as *Amurath* were deceaſed. Neuertheleſſe he would oftentimes walke abroade both by day and by night, vpon the toppe of the mountaine named *Crayna*: and there he would deuiſe vppon matters with *Vranocontes*, or elſe he would be courſing vppe and downe the next hilles and mountaines diuerſe times with ſundry troups of ſouldiers, thinking eyther to ſurprize ſome of the Turkes, as they ſhould be employed in the ſeruices of their campe, or elſe to keepe them by all meanes poſſible in continuall terror and ſubiection.

" Sentence.

Crayna a mountaine neer Croy.

But this intermiſſion of armes, and the ſorrowfull expectation of the Turkes did not long continue: for within three dayes *Amurath* departed out of this life, and left behinde him all worldly fortune both good and bad. A moſt notable and worthie mirrour for the great men of the earth, who in this worlde beeing the mynions of fortune, are too too much puffed vppe with the happie gale of her continuall fauours: and can not abide to ſtrike their ſayles, or to vayle the bonnet to one onely ſtorme of ſiniſter and vnhappie fortune. Howe can it be but thoſe men muſt needes ſuffer ſhippewracke in the ſea of their delitious pleaſures, and in the gulfe of their owne greatneſſe? I holde it not impertinent, if I recount vnto you in this diſcourſe the laſt Acte of his ende and tragedie. The report goeth, that when he perceiued his limitted houre and appointed time to approach, as he lay vppon a little lowe bed or pallet, he cauſed himſelfe ſomewhat to be rayſed vppe, and then framing his ſpeech to his Baſſaes and chiefe Princes of his Court, he made long and lamentable complaintes, and powred foorth his grieuances exclaiming vpon the Deſtinies which had ſo deceiued him, that nowe the end and iſſue of his laſt actions ſhould be diſhonourable and infamous, whereas the forepaſſed courſe of his yeares had beene moſt glorious: that the heauens ſhould ſo ordaine it, that he, who had ſo often repreſſed the proude and haughtie *Hungarians*, who had

Amurath his laſt end a mirrour for great perſons.

Complaints & lamentations made by Amurath at his death.

» tamed the insolencie of the stately *Grecians*, and brought their name in a manner
» to nothing: should be nowe constrayned to yeeld vppe his soule in dishonour and
» reproch vnder the poore walles of a little Castle, and in the viewe of so contemp-
» tible an enemie. Then turning himselfe to his sonne, he recommended him verie earnestly to the faith and fidelitie of his seruantes: and he instructed and admonished him touching manie particularities, sometimes a part, and sometimes in the hearing of all the companie. And albeit his bodie euen destitute of all force and strength, and the teares in abundance trickling downe his cheekes to see his childe then standing before him, did euen stoppe vppe and hinder the course of his speech, yet did he often reiterate and repeate these and the like wordes vnto him. Let

Speech and admonitions of Amurath to his sonne Mahomet vpon his death bed.

» my example (quoth hee) be a warning vnto thee my sonne, neuer to contemne
» and despise anie enemie be he neuer so weake and feeble. There hath not beene
» (that I knowe of) any one thing, whereof I haue so much repented me in all my
» life time: yea euen in the other worlde (if there be at leastwise anie part of vs re-
» mayning which hath vnderstanding after the bodie is extinguished) I shall still and
» euerlastingly repent it, that I was so negligent and inconsiderate, as to be the fa-
» ther and the nourisher of a domesticall enemie: whereby I haue both purchased
» this calamitie to my selfe, and this perpetuall blot vnto the name and Empire of
» the *Ottomans*: giuing vnto the whole worlde, and to all ages in time to come, fit
» matter to talke and to make a iesting stocke of this my ignominious death, and
» shamefull ende before the walles of *Croie*. Euen then shoulde this fugitiue haue
» beene suppressed, when by that trayterous part which he plaied in *Hungarie*, he
» intruded him selfe into the crowne and realme of *Epyre*. In the first beginning,
» when hee was but yet newly established, and that the heartes of his people were
» not yet affected vnto him, the wretch him selfe, and the memorie of his name
» might haue beene for euer extinguished without the losse in a manner, of anie of
» our men. Fondly and foolishly was it done to sende against him eyther *Haly* Bassa,
» who gaue the first matter and encrease to his audacious fierceneise and to the be-
» ginnings of his good fortune: or anie other of our Chiefetaines, by whose destru-
» ction or imprisonment, he hath nowe both grounded and supported his forces,
» and hath assured him selfe of the faith and fidelitie of his subiectes: and wrought
» him selfe into the credite and good opinion of those peoples, who were his vas-
» salles. A thing which I (hauing oftentimes thought vppon) could hardly haue
» beleeued, that I should euer haue seene so great shame and ignominie to haue be-
» fallen me, or that my Empyre could haue beene so torne and dismembred by this
» warre of *Epyre*, were it not that experience (as a schoolemistresse) hath nowe
» taught it me, and made me to feele it to my wonderfull great losse and disaduan-
» tage. Of eight score thousande fighting men which followed me into *Epyre*, and
» did accompanie vs to this place, if you doe nowe conferre vppon the remain-
» ders of our armie, and doe take a diligent viewe and muster of those which are
» left, you shall finde how greatly they are abated and diminished of their first num-
» bers. These fieldes were not sufficient to entertaine all our regiments, and nowe
» howe manie tentes are voide and emptie? howe manie horses doe wander vppe
» and downe without their olde maisters? and howe much empayred and lessened in
» your forces shall you returne home to *Andrinople*? As for this bodie of mine, I
» see the Destinies haue vowed it to the territorie of *Epyre*. But wherefore doe I
» impute the trauerses and crosse accidentes of fortune to my owne ouersight and
» follie? Seeing the first seedes and originall of all our misfortunes hath beene deri-
» ued from this soyle, and that this countrie of *Epyre* did euen watch of set purpose

to

to worke vs this mischiefe? For they seeing *Hungarie* in such confusion of tumultes and rebellions, did incite and stirre vp against vs the armes of *Eugenius* and other Christians, whereby not onely the soueraigntie and royaltie of the kingdome of *Epyre*, but euen the entire possession of our Empire, and the crowne of the *Ottomans* was brought in question, and came to be tryed by battell, as the whole worlde may euidently see by our trauels and labours sustained in those famous iourneyes of *Varna* and *Basilia*. By meanes of which our troubles, and whilest we had neither time, nor forces sufficient to wade through at once with so many and weightie affaires, the power of this our enemie (as you see) grew to be encreased and enlarged. But nowe from henceforth, how or with what stratagemes you are to mainetaine the warres, you are not to expect any counsell or aduise from me, who haue beene so greatly mistaken, and haue made a wrong account of all things which concerned my owne good, and the estate of my owne affayres. Neuer was fortune so deceiptfull or false vnto me in anie of my counsels or attemptes as in this warre: and it may be that thou *Mahomet* my sonne, shalt finde more fauour at her handes against this enemie: and for so manie honours and dignities which God hath giuen mee, peraduenture he hath reserued the tryumphe of *Epyre* for thee. Thou therefore (my sonne) shalt receiue both the Scepter, and the other markes of our Empire: but principally and aboue all, I leaue vnto thee this enemie, charging thee that thou doe not leaue our death vnreuenged: but that thou haue this thing onely and continually before thy eyes, and in thy minde, in acknowledgement of so large and honourable a patrimonie as thou art to receiue and enioy by me. Other sacrifice then this neither my aged trembling handes, nor my grieued departing soule doe not require nor demaund of thee.

Amurath his death.

This discourse ended, his speech beganne to faile him, and drawing on neere towardes his ende, he lay about halfe a day as it were in an agonie or extasie. And then his eyes being couered with endlesse and eternall darkenesse, hee yeelded vppe his soule to the wonderfull ioy and contentment of manie millions of the Christians.

Amurath his manifold ouerplaits and famous acts.

The hearing of these things is a matter of no small import, and it is a worlde to see the great men of the earth, howe they doe holde the estates and kingdomes of this worlde in so high an estimation: and doe prize humaine and momentarie things at so great a rate. And they doe perswade themselues, that it is possible to get such a perpetuitie in the possession of fortune, that it should at no time be contrarie or crossing vnto them. What did that age yeelde more great then *Amurath*, who of all men then lying vpon the face of the earth, (be it spoken without offence) was of more glorious and high renowme then he? who had euer more notable testimonies and tokens of worldly felicitie? who did in his time attaine to more famous tryumphes then *Amurath*? who by the spoyles of so manie mightie Kinges and Princes, and by the ruine and conquest of so manie proude and lottie Nations, did restore the name of the *Ottomans* being in a manner cleane defaced, and did enrich the houses of the barbarous Infidels? This Prince was he that hauing suppressed the furie of all domesticall and ciuill warres, did giue the beginning and commencement vnto the greatnesse of his fortune by the bloode and slaughter of his owne naturall brother. He was the first of the Turkish Princes, that did suppresse and diminish the libertie of the madding and frantick *Grecians*, and establishing his Empire euen in the center of their bowels, did from thence enlarge and augment his forces: wherewith afterwardes he afflicted and tormented the other Nations of Christendome with so many miseries and calamities, that it is almost

impossible for the tongue of man to number them. This was he that first brake downe & ouerthrew that wall of the *Greekes* at the entry of *Morea* adioyning to the *Isthme* or Snake of *Corinth* cõmonly called *Hexamile*, by meanes wherof he made all *Europe* subiect to his inuasions. This was he that without any lawfull or iust title, but onely by his valour and by the sword, did get the possession of so many realmes and cities in *Asia*, that ouerthrew and discomfited many great and mightie armies, that ouercame many puissant Kings and Princes in pitched and set battels, and brought them vnder subiection: who hauing slaine the King of *Hungarie*, did more then once with his great good hap, giue the chase vnto *Huniades* that famous & redoubted warriour: through the conceipt and remembrance of which his glorious and haughtie exploites, and by the successe of all which fauours bestowed vppon him by fortune: his ambitious and proud heart did promise vnto it selfe the superioritie and conquest of all Empires and estates Christian, and the entire dominion of the whole earth. But ô how are his thoughts now changed! ô how farre doe those his last speeches differ from the course of his forepassed life! being now heard to powre forth such vile and base complaints, & to lament so shamefully, euen in the view of an enemie, of whom in time past he made so small reckoning and so little estimate? where were then become the haughtie thoughts of his vndaunted spirit? his arrogant and imperious voice? which so many braue Chieftaines and Leaders, so many troupes and legions, so many thousands of armed souldiers were wont to heare with feare and trembling? Oh how the case is now altered, the man is now of another manner of visage, of another kind of countenance, of another aspect. Where is that head adorned with so many trophees and goodly tryumphes? where is that royall and princely hande that swayed so many Scepters? where is the puissance, the power, the strength of his maiestie that commaunded ouer so many kingdomes, nations, and peoples? Beholde he now lyeth full low vppon the ground, a deformed, a filthy, and stincking carkasse: with his hands closed, his eyes shut, and his feete stretched out, which earst so gloriously did trample and tread vppon the earth, and did triumph vppon the landes which he had vanquished and subdued. And now of so many, and so infinite riches, of so vnmeasurable wealth, and so huge treasures, of so many honours and vaine glorious praises, which he enioyed in his life time, his fraile bodie retaineth nothing, but hath left all behind him. O the imbecilitie and weake condition of mans nature! ô the vaine glorie of mortall creatures! ô the blinded and peruerted thoughtes of foolish men, why doe we so glorifie our selues? why are wee so puffed vppe and exalted? why doe wee so set our affections on the riches, the authoritie, and the pompous vanities of this life? ô howe admirable is the chaunge of all humaine things? howe fleeting is the glorie and ostentation of mortall Empires? and howe great is the daliance of fortune, deluding and deceiuing foolishe men with such vanities.

Hexamile, a wall so called by the Greekes, which did run sixe miles in length enclosing the countrey of Peloponnesus or Morea from the sea of Aegeum, lying betweene Greece and Asia, euen to the sea of Ionia, or part of the Mediterran sea, lying betweene that and Italy now called the gulf of Venice.

Amurath an example of the vanitie and inconstancie of worldly blisse and fortune.

His bodie being embalmed with pretious oyntmentes and sweete odours was pompously and honourably kept and preserued, to be afterwardes interred at *Bursa* aunciently named *Prusa*, in *Bithinia* in the sepulcher of his auncestors. *Mahomet* being immediatly saluted as their Lord and Soueraigne, was aduised by the greatest and chiefest persons, that the death of his father should carefully be concealed, to the intent the report thereof might not come to the hearing of the enemie. Afterwards when it was farre in the night, trussing vp their baggage, and all things prouided in a readines for their discamping, they departed before the dawning of the day. The report is, that *Amurath* deceased about the middest of Autumne fiue monethes after the siege laide before *Croy*. As touching his age, there is some diuersitie of opinions, yet it is gene-

Prusa or Bursa, the place of Amurath his sepulcher.

Siege of Croy raised.

Amurath his age at his death 85. yeares.

rally

rally agreed, and gainesaied by none: that he had fully attained to fourescore and fiue yeares. Nothing is more certaine then that *Mahomet* was highly aggrieued and displeased to leaue the siege, and to abandon the warre which had brought them so great dishonor: but necessitie enforced him thereunto, and made him hasten his returne to *Andrinople*, there to take the inuestiture of his crowne and Empire, according to the ancient custome of their kings, as also to represse and extinguish the tumults which might happen, and are vsuall to be raised vpon the change and alteration of estates. *Scanderbeg* at his departure did not cease to follow him, sometimes pressing vpon his maine forces, and sometimes gleaning vp those that were hindmost: and so still continued he troubling their armie, till he saw them cleane gone out of the boundes and limits of his countrey: and then triumphing with a double occasion of ioy and gladnesse, both because *Amurath* was departed this life with shame and infamie, and for that, the reliques of the enemies forces were cleane ridde out of *Epire*: he returned to his companies, and so tooke his way directly towardes *Croie*.

Scanderbeg returneth to Croy where he is received with exceeding ioy.

By this time was *Vranocontes* & the Croians issued out of the town in great troups, and they went wandering vp and downe the fieldes which were yet moist with the blood of the Turkes. In all places they made some stay, and ouerseeing and visiting all things with an incredible pleasure and delight. Scarcely could they beleeue themselues in that which they had seene and searched with their eies, in such sort were the hearts of this people lately possessed and seized with feare and horror: that their perplexed and doubtfull spirits, could not yet forget their former terror. The king of *Albanie* was receiued with a maruellous concourse of people: and *Vranocontes* was the first that entertained him with infinite embracements: who after he had kissed him (as the fashion is) the others according to their degrees and callings, did likewise welcome him. There was not any of the common people, but did testifie their ioy and gladnes of his comming: sometimes prostrating themselues (according to their maner) at the feete of their Prince, and sometimes handling the skirtes of his robes and vestimentes, they would embrace and kisse them with great desire & affection. Then began they to expresse and make shew of their exceeding ioy, with all kinds of acclamations, melodies, and instruments of musicke, with ringing of belles, with bonfiers, with feasting and banqueting, and whatsoeuer else which in the contentment of their hearts they could any wayes imagine or bethinke themselues. The Croians were highly commended and extolled with many praises and good commendations both in publique and in priuate, for their deuoire and dutie so faithfully and valiantly performed. The garrison likewise besides their appointed pay, had great and large sums of money giuen them for a recompence with many good and rich garmentes. Touching the gouernour, besides great store of gold and siluer: *Scanderbeg* gaue him two coate armours of purple, and one other richly wrought in gold, and foure goodly manours for the reward and recompence of his vertue and good seruice: and last of all beyond his expectation, though not vndeseruedly, he honored him with a higher title, and created him Duke of *Epathis*: giuing him the present inuestiture and possession of that dignitie.

Rewards giuen to the citizens, souldiers and Gouernor of Croy by Scanderbeg.

These things thus accomplished, *Scanderbeg* tooke especiall care to dispatch away messengers of this victorie on all sides to the Princes and peoples his neighbours and confederates, the rumor and report whereof being dispersed abroad, was the occasion, that infinite numbers of people daily resorted to *Croie*: and many being allured thither onely vpon the report of these newes, of the death of the Turkish Monarch, came thither (as it were) triumphing for some strange victorie, and to see some sight and spectacle not vsuall, nor accustomed. The tidings hereof did soone spread in-

Pronounced crowned Duke of Epathia. Christofer hath by inheritance ouer-ruled Scanderbeg's sonne, and vsurped the title of Duke of Epathia.

in a manner ouer the whole world: and there could nothing haue happened more wished and desired, nor more welcome to all the estates of Christendome. *Hungarie* began to take breath: *Greece* came againe to take heart and courage to it selfe, and she seemed to be deliuered (as it were) out of bondage, and her bonds to be broken, and rent asunder. All men had their mindes and spirites lightned and erected with hope vpon the report of this good accident: and they did attend such a chaunge and alteration of the fortune of most kings and Princes, that they did expect the renuing and repairing of their former estate and condition. But out alas: how fallacious and deceitfull are the thoughts and cogitations of mortall wightes? yea more miserable are the hopes and refuges of miserable vnhappie men. It pleased God to take away *Amurath* out of this life, but did he want for all that an Heire to succeed him of lesse cruelties? True it is, that the bounty and diuine clemencie (after long and innumerable mischieues) did harken vnto the complaintes and lamentations of the Christians, and granted them to see the death and end of this tirant. But what? did the comming of *Mahomet* his sonne vnto the crowne, any thing shorten or diminish the thraldome, bondage, or seruitude of the Christians? or were the miseries of the Orientall nations any thing lessened by that accident? Oh no: behold that great and imperiall city so famous by the name and seate of the great *Constantine*: (for I will not speake of the bounds of the *Ottoman* Empire, dilated & enlarged euen to the farthermost parts of *Asia* and *Africke*:) see the noble ile of *Rhodes*: which was of late the nest and harbour of those worthy Knights of the crosse, and the ancient bulwarke of the Christians: behold how * *Nigropont*, * *Mitelene*, *Cipres*, all the *Greeke* sea, with *Hungarie*, *Croatia*, *Transiluania*, *Seruia* and *Bulgaria*: and (to be breife) in a manner the moytie and halfe of all *Europe* is become Turkish, by the victorious armes and conquestes of this *Mahomet* or his successours, and posteritie: all which to the great reproach of Christian Kings and Princes, doe testifie, that the fortune of so fearefull and terrible an enemie, is not mortall nor permutable, with the head and life of one fraile and mortall man: so mightily hath he incroched and intruded vpon our libertie, by our owne faintnesse, sloth, and cowardice, which hath enabled them against vs, whilest that we sit still with our handes (as it were) folded vp in our bosomes, and as the beholders and lookers on of their tragicall sports, which are presented vnto our eyes, vpon this Theater of worldly miseries: and whilest our ambition, our hatreds, our partialities doe set vs together by the eares amongst our selues, how do they giue occasion and opportunity to the Infidels, to aduance the greatnesse, the prerogatiue, and the maiesty of that Empire, and to increase it dayly more and more? Assuredly, if our sinnes do holde on, and continue as they haue begun, I am greatly in doubt that they will swallow vp all of vs one by one: and so, it may be, we shall make an end of our plaints and bitter griefes, when those small reliques and remainders yet left vnto the Christians shall haue an end likewise, and be brought to their finall and last confusion.

Christians had little or no benefit by the death of Amurath.

Conquests atchieued by the Turkes of late ages vpon Christendome. Euboea. Or Lesbos.

Causes of the conquests of the Turkes vpon the Christians.

But we will leaue, for this time, our complaints and exclamations, and will beare a part with others in this short ioy which God hath giuen them: for now, as it were, by emulation, there came, thicke and three-folde, gratulations from all partes vnto *Scanderbeg*, euen from nations and kingdomes farre remoued: and the renowme of this Prince was then growen famous aboue all others, in the mouthes of all men. The city of *Croy* was more notorious by the death of *Amurath*, then once was *Argos* through the death of *Pirrhus*. To be short, in all reioycings, the Princes of Christendome did adde many marks and tokens of their gratitude and liberalitie: for *Nicholas* then Bishop of *Rome*, *Ladislaus* King of *Hungarie*, and *Philip* Duke of *Burgundie*, each

Liberalitie of Christian kings & princes sending presents to Scanderbeg to congratulate his good fortune vpon the death of Amurath.

ſeeming (as it were) ielous, and commendably contending who ſhould exceed other in bountie, did ſend their Ambaſſadours into *Epyre*, with timely and neceſſarie ſuccours of great ſummes of money: knowing well that he was exhauſted and drawen drie of ſuch like meanes and ſupplies, by reaſon of the long expences and diſcommodities of the warres. *Alphonſus* king of *Arragon* was not behind any of them in contributing towards his wants: but (as one that exceeded all others in loue and good will towards *Scanderbeg*) being not ſatiſfied to ſhew his largeſſe and bountie, by the teſtimonie of thoſe ample treaſures which he ſent him: he ſuccoured him alſo with 300000. meaſures of wheate, and 100000. meaſures of barley, after he was enformed of the neceſſitie of the countrey, both by reaſon of the tillage hindered by the Turkes: and how that litle ſtore of corne which had bene ſowed, was waſted and ſpoiled by the infidels. He aided him alſo with great ſtore of workemen, whom he paied out of his owne coffers, for the repairing of the walles of *Croy*, which he knew had bene battered and beaten downe by the enemie.

Scanderbeg hauing proclaimed a ſolemne triumph of Tilt, Turney and other martiall ſports of all ſortes: by the beauty of that ſpectacle he did greatly grace his victory obtained againſt the Infidels. The number and the goodly ſhew of ſo great an aſſembly, not onely of them which came to ſee the triumphs, but of the braue and gallant youthes that came thither, vpon a deſire and hope to gaine the prize propounded: did make a ſhew and reſemblance of another faire and goodly armie vnder the walles of *Croy*. And it ſeemed no great maruell that *Amurath* had bene vanquiſhed, and diſcomfited by the Albanois, to them who ſawe ſo many warlike youthes, and the ſtrength of thoſe forces that were then with *Scanderbeg*. Then did it appeare that the ancient nobleneſſe and valour of that nation was returned into *Macedonie*: and thoſe olde times long ſince paſt and gone, of *Alexander* and *Pyrrhus*, did ſeeme to be renued and reſtored againe.

Triumphes in Epire for the diſcomfiture and death of Amurath.

To The Reader.

I See now that this volume hath exceeded his iuſt proportion: and in continuing of it longer, it might be as tedious vnto you as it hath bene wearyſome vnto mee. We will heere therefore ſound a retrait in the middeſt of our cariere: that breathing our ſelues a litle, we may be the better diſpoſed to proceede with the other following.

The end of the ſixth booke.

THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF THE FAMOVS ACTES OF GEORGE CASTRIOT, SVRNAMED *SCANDERBEG.*

The Argvment.

Mahomet is crowned Emperour of the Turkes. His gouernment, manners, and person are described. Scanderbeg at the entreatie of his subiectes is maried. He fortifieth his dominions, and prepareth for the warres. Mahomet entangled with the warres of Persia seeketh to haue peace with Scanderbeg but is reiected. Scanderbeg inuadeth the Turkish territories. Ameses one of Mahomet his Chieftaines is sent with an armie against Scanderbeg: by whome being suddenly surprized, in the battell of Modrissa, his armie is discomfited, and the Turkish Generall himselfe is taken prisoner. Mahomet sendeth another armie into Epire vnder the conduct of Debreas one of his Saniackes: who in the battell of Pologue is slaine by Scanderbeg, and his armie likewise defeated. Mahomet practiseth secretly and by rewards to corrupt Moses. Scanderbeg purposing an expedition against the Turkes, requireth and obtaineth succours of Alphonsus king of Naples. Belgrade in Macedonie is besieged by the Albanois. The Belgradians desire truce of Scanderbeg, which is accorded them vpon certaine conditions.

IN the formet fixe bookes we haue represented vnto you as vpon a Theater, those two excellent and incomparable warriours *Amurath* and *Scanderbeg*, by the successe of whose armes being so variable and diuerse, you may easily contemplate how the course of fortune hath a kind of declining and decaying age, which in processe of time maketh her (as it were) to waxe colde, and to discontinue the largesse and bountie of her wonted fauours. And howsoeuer she doth frankely and voluntarily accompanie great minds and high aspiring natures, whilest the heate of youth doth stirre vp their bloud, and enflame their haughtie courages: yet when gray haires doe by little and little approach and bring on colde and vnweldie old age, then doth fortune also seeme to grow olde and waxe faint and heauy, by meanes whereof that goodly lustre and bright beautie of their former glorie doth seeme to be eclipsed and to vanish quite away. Examples thereof are the ruines of those famous Monarchies of *Ninus*, *Cyrus*, *Alexander* and that great Romaine Emperour *Augustus*: besides many other excellent Princes and Captaines which euen in this our owne age, haue beene made liuely markes of fortunes inconstancie, who in their young yeares, hauing had the sunne beames of prosperitie

sperities gloriously shining vpon them, and fortune hauing alwaies followed them in their warres, that they seemed to haue her at commaund: yet in their elder yeares they haue bene forced to proue the inconstancie of her frownes and disfauorable aspect. And truly my opinion is, that God euen of his diuine prouidence, doth vse & enure men to these casualties and accidents, because he would haue the great men of this world to know and acknowledge, that it is he onely and no other, that dispenseth and disposeth of prosperitie and aduersitie: to the intent also that humaine and earthly things should not seeme vnto foolish mortall men to haue any durable continuance or eternitie: considering that there is nothing solide, stable, or permanent here below, nor any thing vnder the sunne, wherein may be found perfect happines. And if any one thing haue any shew and appearance of felicitie, it is so brittle, fraile and vnconstant, that euen then when men thinke to haue most ioy of it, and to enioy the pleasures and profits of the same, suddenly and immediately they see it gone and decaied: suddenly and immediately they perceiue it wasted and consumed.

Such was the ende and death of *Amurath*, which being heard and beleeued at *Andrinople*, did stirre vp diuerse motions both in the affaires and mindes of men. The great men and Nobles of the citie (as those which had neuer misliked neither of the felicity nor gouernment of this Prince) were very sorrowfull, and did for a long time bewaile and lament the olde man, partly for the common losse (for the report is, that of all the *Ottoman* race, there was neuer any one of them better beloued of his people, nor more iust & vpright to his enemies) partly also for that they were not ignorant, that the chaunge of the crowne and dignitie roiall, could not happen without infinite dammages, and the ruine of many in particular. But the stirring heades and such as were desirous of a chaunge and new alterations, did litle grieue at this chaunce: but rather on the contratie were the more in heart, and did conceiue great hopes in their imaginations: because they had of a long time wished, that *Mahomet* whom they knew to be a young Prince fierce and ambitious, might come to the crowne, and get the possession of the imperiall scepter. The popular and common sort (who of themselues are naturally desirous of nouelties and alterations) did entertaine these tidings with great ioy and contentment. But aboue all, the Ianissaries (which are called, the Prince his Enfants, reioyced exceedingly: and running vp and downe the streetes armed, did fall to sacking and spoiling freely and without controlment, of the goods and houses of many persons, especially the Christians and the Iewes: who are naturally abhorred and hated of the Turkes. For such is the license and libertie, or rather the damnable custome of that people, that at the decease & death of their soueraigne, this is vsually and ordinarily permitted and granted vnto them.

Amurath beloued by his subiects and most vpright to his enemies of all the Ottoman Princes.

Sentence.

Custome of the Ianissaries to sacke the houses of the Iewes and Christians at the death of their Prince.

It was a wonderfull thing to see the concourse and great resort of people of all sorts and degrees, that flocked daily to the imperiall citie of *Andrinople* to see the new king, and the triumphes of his coronation, which was the cause that an incredible multitude went to meete *Mahomet* as he returned with his armie. The Ianissaries were the first that went to salute him: who hauing no sooner demaunded then obtained pardon for the rapine and spoile committed within the citie, did receiue and conuey him to the pallace roiall with infinite ioy and gladnesse, and with the publike applause of all the communaltie: who with a generall voice and common consent, hauing declared and proclaimed him Emperour, he was afterwardes crowned with great solemnitie: and being furnished with the diademe, scepter and other habits and imperiall ornaments, he was placed in his fathers throne, with many prayers and solemne vowes of euerie man. And at the same time were the publique treasures deliuered vnto him: and the Bassaes and other officers of the crowne did sweare vnto

Mahomet crowned Emperour of the Turkes.

him fealtie and obedience. Theſe things thus accompliſhed, the people had a great largeſſe both of golde and ſiluer in all the ſtreetes of the citie: beſides the liberall rewardes giuen to the ſouldiers. Thus was the auncient faſhion and ceremonie of this Nation in the creating of their kings partly obſerued, and partly not, in this comming of *Mahomet* to the crowne. For the firſt thing that the Turkiſh kings do vſe and accuſtom is, to abſent their children: and to keepe them out of *Europe* in thoſe Prouinces of *Aſia* which are moſt remote and fartheſt off: euen aſſoone as they are gotten out of their infancie. And the cauſe thereof as I take it is this, for that they ſhall not practiſe and conſpire againſt their fathers through a curſed humour of ambition, and deſire of raigne and Empyre, from the which, there is ſcarce any age or perſon exempted, but hath ſome inſtinct and naturall motion thereunto. Afterwards when it happeneth that the Emperour is deceaſed, or that it is thought that his death is not farre off: the Baſſaes and others, (who are of greateſt power and authoritie both with the people, and in the gouernment of the eſtate) doe ſend away ſpeedie poaſtes and letters to the one and other of the ſonnes of the Prince laſt deceaſed, according as eche man is particularlie affected: and they doe from point to point aduertiſe him of all things: willing him to haſten his comming, that he may get the poſſeſſion of the crowne, and ſeate himſelfe in the ſucceſſion of the Empyre, then readie to fall voide and emptie. It is a ſport to ſee with what contention theſe great men doe ſtudie to ſurprize the packettes and curriers of each other: whileſt that euerie one of them laboureth to get the ſcepter to that partie, to whom he is moſt affected: and euerie one doth his beſt and worſt to beguile his companion. Nowe when theſe young Princes are thus ſollicited: with what vehemencie, with what fancies and affections they do come poaſting from all partes to beare away the prize thus in queſtion, I leaue it to your imagination. Certaine it is, that he amongſt them all that can firſt get to the ſtreights of *Gallipolie* or *Helleſpont*: he commonly is the man that obtaineth the ſouereignitie of the Empire, for that the *Ianiſſaries* comming to meete and to ſalute him, doe afterwardes all at leaſure, eaſily and quietly put him in poſſeſſion of the kingdome. The other brethren are forthwith eyther baniſhed or exiled out of all the territories and limits of their dominions: or elſe are cruelly and vnnaturally ſlaine and murthered, for feare leaſt there ſhould remaine ſome cauſe of ciuill tumults and ſedition. Hence is deriued that prouerbe vſed by the auncients, That more fortunately are children borne to priuate perſons, then to Princes. But now of all this, nothing could happen in this manner vnto *Mahomet*, for neither had he any brethren of ſufficient age, eyther fit to gouerne the Realme, or able to attempt or to obtaine the kingdome: neither did he returne as a priuate perſon out of *Aſia*, but with a moſt ſtrong and mightie armie which he brought backe out of the enemies countrie, where he had bene before ſaluted and proclaymed King and Emperor by the vniuerſall conſent of all the ſouldiers in generall. For this cauſe he came peaceably and quietly to the Empire, without any commotion, without any danger or difficultie, and with the exceeding ioy and incomparable gladneſſe of the whole Communaltie. Now had they forgotten the loſſe of their late deceaſed Prince, and all griefe and ſorrowe for his death was vaniſhed together with his memorie. The calamities and ſlaughters lately receiued in *Epyre*, and the obſequies and funeralles of their companions, were nowe cleane worne out of minde, and there was ſcarce any one by reaſon of this newe pompe and tryumphe which did apperceiue or obſerue the poore reliques of their miſerable defourmed armie, or that did remember (by reaſon they were ſo drowned in ioy) what goodly forces, and what ſtrong ſquadrons they had ſent into *Epyre*, in reſpect of thoſe which were thence

Emperours of the Turkes the maner of their ſucceeding to the crowne.

Sentence.

Prouerbe of Princes children.

thence returned, and were brought home againe.

The new Monarke, whose delight was in bloudshed and cruelty, as much as any that euer raigned, thought it good to looke to his affaires, and to prouide for the security of his estate, and he had an intention to settle some of them in good assurance, and of others to make a change and innouation. The first deede that he did was to make diligent inquisition, if he could finde any other aliue besides himselfe, that was descended from the loines of *Amurath*, vpon whom after the maner of his predecessors he might poure out the venome of his hatefull ambition. There were found two infants, the one called *Tursines* of the age of eighteene moneths, the other was called *Calepin*. The former was cast into the water and drowned by the expresse commaundement of *Mahomet*, who gaue it in charge to *Moses* one of his Bassaes to see it executed, and he without any difficulty or relenting, did easily yeeld to assist so execrable a spectacle. The mother of the infant detesting the deede, and exclaiming vppon the brutishnes of the fact, with howlings and horrible cries intermingled with continuall teares and lamentations, did poure out a thousand curses against the author of the murther being there in presence. The tyrant to appease his mother in law, did deliuer into her hands in expiation of his Parricide, him that was the executioner: and shee full of rage and extreame fury, with a knife stabbed him to the heart euen in the presence of *Mahomet*, and then ripping vp his body, shee diued & searched into his bowels for his heart, which hauing found, shee pulled it forth & cast it the dogs. A most worthy and notable lesson for men of a corrupt mind, who can be content to staine their consciences, and to prostitute them selues and their affections, to serue the furious passions of great men and princes. As concerning the other child named *Calepin*, the common report is, that *Caly Bassa* to get the good wil of *Mahomet* (such is the inconstancy of mortall men who do gladly follow the fortune of the most puissant) did present the infant vnto him being then but of the age of six moneths: and the only ioy and delight of his mother the widow of *Amurath*, who in his second mariage with this woman the daughter of one *Sponderbeg*, the noble Prince of *Penderacia*, had begotte this yong infant, & had committed him to the custody of this *Bassa*, and recõmended him to his especial care, at such time as he drew neare his end. *Mahomet* being enformed by womẽ of good knowledge, that he was of the linage of his father, caused him speedily to be strangled, and then with great magnificence celebrated his obsequies at *Bursa*, by this means consecrating the first fruits and beginnings of his cruel Empire with the bloud of his owne brethren. Howbeit others write, that *Caly Bassa* did prefer another childe in stead of *Calepin*, who was still nourished and brought vp in *Constantinople*, amongst the Greekes, and that afterwards in the shipwracke and ruines of that noble city, he with some others being left aliue was conueied thence, and that in the end, during the Papacy of *Calixtus* the third, he was entertained at *Rome* in the *Vatican*, where being instructed in the true religiõ, & regenerat in holy baptisme, he wẽt after that to the court of the Emperour *Fredericke* in *Almaine*: of whom being receiued according to the honor due vnto so great a Prince, he spent the rest of his daies in *Austriche*. You see what diuersity there is between writers in this behalfe: notwithstanding in my iudgement it hath no great likelihood or probability, that *Amurath* should be able to beget children, when he was past foure score yeare of age, vnlesse perhaps this age of ours also haue receiued that rare gift and bounty of nature, which the auncients haue obserued in *Masinissa* and *Cato* the eldest. Howsoeuer it be, it is not much materiall, onely I could wishe that trueth might haue place: for in writing of an History, I would not willingly set downe any vntrueth, nor yet reprehend others ouer rashly. For such is the law and rule of Histories, that many fables doe fall out oftentimes to be entermin-

Mahomet his cruelty & impiety.

Tursines, brother to Mahomet drowned.

Moses Bassa, the murderer of Tursines, murdered by the mother of the infant.

Calepin brother to Mahomet. Caly Bassa.

Sponderbeg Prince of Penderacia.

Calepin or one in his stead strangled by Mahomet.

Historie how to be written.

gled with true reports, which muſt ſtraightly be ſifted and examined, that in proceeding with the matter, truth and vntruth may be diſcerned, no otherwiſe then as they which are to drinke of a brooke, will purge and clarifie the water from all mud and filthineſſe. But to the purpoſe.

Mahomet his tyranny and miſchieuous manners.

Mahomet purſuing his blouddy beginnings, as one that would not omit any thing of his former furious proceedings, did daily deuiſe & ſuborne new ſlanders and accuſations againſt the greateſt perſons of his Court, and his fathers ſeruants: and vnder colour of calling them to an account, ſome of them he cauſed to be put to death, and of others he would procure the goods & offices to be confiſcated, in ſuch ſort, that within a very ſmall time (according as before his comming to the Crowne he had ſecretly plotted and purpoſed in his conceipts) he became terrible and more to be redoubted, then is fitting for a king, and he grew odious and hatefull almoſt to all his ſubiects. He altered and changed in a manner all the ſtatutes and ordinances of his auncеſters, and all the lawes and conſtitutions both ciuill and military: ſometimes reforming and correcting them, ſometimes adding of new vnto them, he ſurcharged and burthened his people with new impoſts and ſubſidies: and he bent al his endeuours more then any other of his predeceſſors to amplify and augment the numbers of the *Ianiſſaries*, and of his men at armes, and to enrich and encreaſe his treaſures. For amongſt many of his other wicked conditions, the humor of auarice and couetouſnes had that command ouer him, that the meane and ſimple order both of his diet and apparell, was reproachfully obiected vnto him as a vice: and it was ſuppoſed that his exceſsiue ſparineſſe and abſtinency, proceeded only of a miſerable and couetous humor. All men doe attribute vnto him a certaine liuelineſſe and viuacity of ſpirit, euen more then humaine, a heart couetous and greedily thirſting after glory, and not vnlike to that of the great *Alexander*. And it is moſt certaine, (as we haue partly before touched) he did excell all men liuing in cruelty, vſing (as the ſaying is) a rod of iron, both againſt his ſubiectes, and againſt ſtrangers, and he ſhewed himſelfe to haue as litle care of the bloud and life of his owne people, as of his foes and moſt mortall enemies: in ſuch ſort, that vppon euery ſleight and trifling occaſion, he would put to death euen thoſe litle boies and ladies, whom he loued voluptuouſly, and which he kept within his * *Serayl* for the fulfilling of his beaſtly pleaſure. On the contrary, he was a moſt francke and liberall rewarder of thoſe men, who were of a quicke and ready ſpirite, and ſuch as were of valour and great courage, and of them which did ſerue him faithfully and loyally. For periury there was neuer any man more notorious, for he neuer kept faith nor promiſe with any perſons whatſoeuer. Moreouer many haue bene of the opinion, that he did not beleeue in the law of *Mahomet* their owne Prophet, no more then in the Goſpell of Chriſt. For albeit he was born, bred, & inſtructed by his mother, who was the daughter of *George Deſpot* of *Seruia*, and profeſſed the Chriſtian religion, and taught him the *Pater noſter*, *Creede*, and *Aue Maria*, yet when he came to ripe yeares, and that he betooke himſelfe to the embracing of the *Mahometan* profeſsion, he did ſo litle cleaue either to the one or to the other, that he liued a meere Atheiſt, and acknowledged, ſerued, nor adored any other Deity, but that alone which he called good Fortune. Hee did maruellouſly honor and eſteeme thoſe, which were skilfull in any Art or myſtery whatſoeuer, and he tooke great care that his victories and conqueſtes might be written by learned men, and thoſe that were of iudgement: he delighted infinitely in reading of the Hiſtories of the auncients, he was very skilfull and learned in the Greeke, Perſian, and Arabian tongues, he made great ſhewes of loue and kindneſſe vnto *Iohn Maria* of *Vicentia*, the ſlaue of his eldeſt ſonne *Muſtapha*, becauſe hee would haue had him to write in the Turkey and Italian tongs, the famous victory which he obtained

Mahomet his notable vices and vertues.

Serail, a place where the Turk vſeth to keepe his concubines.

Mahomet a notable Atheiſt worſhipeth good Fortune only as God.

Iohn Maria of Vicentia ſlaue to Muſtapha eldeſt ſonne of Mahomet.

tayned against *Vsuntassan* king of the Persians. He gaue great rewardes vnto *Gentill Belin* a Painter of *Venice*, whom he caused purposely to come from thence to *Constantinople*, because he would haue his picture drawen as liuely and naturally as hee could by his art possibly: and because he should paint out the habites and fashions of the Occidentall nations. Moreouer he was a curious obseruer of the Starres and Planets, according to the course and motion of the which, he ruled and directed all his actions. Besides, he had in his mind euen with his cruelty, some impression and shew of iustice and seuerity, in so much that during his raigne, all the passages and high waies were free, open, and safe for trauellers, and the name of theeues and robbers was wholly extinguished and abolished. A great warriour he was, strong and valiaunt of his person, hardened and enured to endure watchings and trauels with notable patience: happy and fortunate in most of his actions: and (to speake in a word) he was euen a king of Fortune, which made him worthy of the Empire of *Constantinople*. As touching the forme and feature of his visage, and the making of his body, he was of a meane, or rather of a short stature, which notwithstanding did containe within a great heart, and full of magnanimity. He was pale of face and of a sallow complexion correspondent vnto his courage: his looke and aspect was frowning, fierce, and terrible, his eye browes hollow, and his nose so high and crooked, that the point thereof seemed to touch his lippes. His shoulders were large and square, and all the members and lineamentes of his body, were strong set and very well made, and with such strength, and vigour in his armes, that (at such time as *Scanderbeg* liued with *Amurath* his father, amongst all the youths of the Court, he would yeeld and giue place to none but to him only in drawing the bow or in wrastling.

Gentill Belin a Painter of Venice.

Description of Mahomet.

It may be that I haue busied my selfe about *Mahomet* more then needed, considering that my purpose was not to describe his life nor his maners, but the life of *Scanderbeg* onely. Neuertheless I thought it not amisse herein to seeke the pleasing and contentment of all men. For as my desire is that these memorialles such as they are, should not be vnpleasing to the posterity: so doe I suppose also, that the readers of the same at this present will not be wearied, by seeing (as it were) in a table the outward and inward habite of so accomplished and perfect a warriour: who (though he were an enemy) yet was a most puissaunt, a most fortunate, and a most renowmed Prince. Besides also that a good part of the praise and commendation of our *Epirot*, doth consist in the comparing and resembling of these two together. For by how much more we doe sometimes iustly condemne, and sometimes iustly extoll the former, by so much doth the valour and felicity of the other shine forth and appeare more glorious.

Whilest the spirites of the Turkes were attentiuely contemplating vpon their new Monarch, and that hee was busily occupied in the care of his priuate and domesticall affaires, the King of *Epire* the meane while did employ both his time and diligence in repairing the ruines of *Croy*. He did altogether renue the old fortifications which were partly ruinous with antiquity and length of time, and partly razed and beaten downe by force of the Cannon: and he added others vnto them of a better forme and proportion, and of more surety and security, then those which were vsed by the ancient simplicity when this thundering of Ordinaunce was not in vse, and this diuelishe inuention of the Cannon did not yet amaze and terrifie strong and defenced townes: but that all exploites and deedes of armes did onely and ordinarily consist in the stout stomackes and strength of hardy souldiours, and in the armes, valour, and prowesse of valiaunt men. O that it had pleased God, that the inuentor and first author of this Art so famous and notorious had neuer beene knowen, and that our age

Croy repaired & new fortified by Scanderbeg.

A digression and exclamation of the author against the inuention of Ordinance.

had neuer brought forth such an inuention. It may be we should haue seene many more *Hectors*, more *Epaminondaes*, more *Scipioes*, more *Rolandes*. The yeelding of townes and holdes would not haue bene so ready, and the courages of people would not so soone haue bene forced or withdrawen from fidelity and loyalty, to the breach of their faith, and to periury. If the auncient ages and forepassed times had beene acquainted with such artificiall sleightes and inuentions, we should not at this day haue had the name nor memoriall continued, either of their Captaines so highly renowmed, or of their souldiers so greatly commended. *Achilles* had not borne away the honour of the death of *Hector*, nor *AEneas* of *Turnus*, nor *Cossus* of *Volumnius*, but some base Groome, and some abiect and vile companion. The tenne yeares siege of *Troy* would neither haue drawen against that city the armes and the eies of the whole world: neither would it haue ministred fit and worthy matter for so many excellent wits from age to age, to historize vpon the actes & accidents of that war. We should not haue admired that lõg obstinacy of the *Tarentines*. We shold haue made lesse reckoning of the constancy both of the *Saguntines*, & the *Numantines*. Antiquity would not haue talked of *Petilia* in *Calabria*: and the obscure towne of *Casselin*, would not so often haue scorned and contemned the fury of *Hanniball*, that braue Chiefetaine of the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore, as the noble wittes and quicke conceipted spirites of our time, haue on the one side giuen vs good matter to write of, by reason of this and such like rare and ingenious inuentions: so on the other side by meanes of this inuention, much more beyond all comparison haue they depriued the Historiographer of all good occasion, to employ his penne any more in writing. For now from henceforth will not true valour be able to shew it selfe: to no purpose is it for souldiours to vse the Art of fighting, and to practise the skill of weapons: and in vaine is it to learne to handle the sword, the buckler, and such like, or to practise any other kind of fight hand to hand. And what then? forsooth they vse now to fight aloofe, and to make warres a farre off, and field seruices consist most in loose and light skirmishes. But returne we from whence we haue digressed. Amongest other fortifications newly made in the towne of *Croy*, at the gate of the towne *Scanderbeg* caused a great and strong towre to be builded: the walles whereof, from the bottome vpward, went not straight and euen vpright, but were raised a slope and bending in manner of a counterscarfe, to the intent the Cannon should be the lesse able to play vppon it. The other partes and quarters also of the towne, both within and without were repaired and fortified without any intermission, by the aduisement and directions of good and skillfull Engineers.

1451. *Perswasions vsed by the nobles of Epire to draw Scanderbeg to marriage.*

In the meane time, whilest these were in doing: the Princes and nobles his neerest kinsmen, did importune *Scanderbeg* without ceasing, and did shew the vehement desire which each man had to see him maried, and to haue children descended of him. Especially now at this time, when all things (as they sayed) were exempted from feare and mistrust: and now that all daungers were ouer gone and past, and that the enemies were withdrawen from all care of Armes, both by reason of their late misfortune, and by the motions and tumults which doe vsually accompany the change of a new King at his first comming to the Crowne: that he ought not to frustrate the hearty wishes and desires of so many peoples his subiects and confederates of this ioy and comfort, especially in such a season (for it was in the moneth of May, when all things did seeme to reioyce and flourish) and which did inuite him thereunto, with promise of nothing but ioy, mirth, and gladnesse. That therefore he should suffer him selfe once to be entreated and perswaded by his people, who would take more pleasure and contentment in this onely, then in all his victories obtayned against *Amurath*.

murath. Albeit the Prince of *Albany* were vnwilling to enter into this band, yet weighing all matters and circumstances with iudgement and sound aduise, it seemed vnto him more expedient and for his honour to consent thereunto, then to hold off and to vary from his former promise which he had made vnto them the yeare last past, at the instant and earnest request of all his subiectes. For this cause he condescended vnto their desire, and committed the care of the whole matter to the iudgement and wisedome of *Musache Thopie*, his sisters sonne, and some two or three others, to whom he imparted his minde in that behalfe. At that time *Ariamnites Comminat* (of whom hath beene before spoken) did excell all the Princes and Lords of *Epire*, both in puissaunce and largenesse of dominions, as also in nobilesse and antiquity of bloud, he had one daughter named *Doniqua*, worthy (no doubt of such a father,) and the true *Idea* and Image of all perfection of beauty, (which is one not of the least excellencesse, and a thing not meanely respected in women.) Wherefore *Scanderbeg* tooke no care for any other match, nor *Ariamnit* for any other husband for his daughter. The conditions and couenaunts of the mariage were as soone and easily agreed on and dispatched, as they were thought vppon and deuised: *Scanderbeg* referring it to the discretion of the father, to determine of his daughters dowry, and as it liked him to ordaine and nominate it, so was it freely and voluntarily accepted. Neuertheless it was correspondent and aunswerable to dignity, both of him which gaue it, and of the person also which receiued it. The espousals were presently celebrated and solemnized, and without any delay at all. Great were the triumphes and publique reioycings of all the Prouince at this mariage, and the Bride was as speedily brought home with a Princely traine, and most royally accompanied, by all the neighbour Princes, and almost all the nobility of the countrey, who did honour the feast with great pompe and incomparable magnificence. Such as could not be present did honour them with their Ambassadours, and most sumptuous presents. All in generall did reioyce at this straight knot of affinity, betweene these two the most puissaunt Princes of *Albany*, which gaue them some appearance and probability of hope, that in time to come their forces being vnited would preserue and defend the prouince against all inuasions and perils of the warre whatsoeuer. The Seigniours of the estate of *Venice* did testifie both by an ambassade, as also by rich presents sent him out of their common treasure, the great good liking and contentment, which that Senate receiued by this mariage. And in like manner, all other Princes and Potentates, did largely expresse the like affection, and the singular good will which they bare him in this publique cause of ioy and gladnesse, as they had done before in the times of his greatest troubles and daungers: for (as the common saying is) those are the two seasons wherein true amity and friendshippe doth make shew and triall of it selfe. That which was sent from the king of *Arragon* was in all and euery part so singular and magnificall, that *Scanderbeg* (as the report goeth) would not haue accepted it, if his neerest and most familiar friends, and the instant prayers and intreaties of the Spanish Ambassadours, had not vehemently importuned him thereunto. In lieu and recompence whereof, after hee had accepted them, he sent backe vnto the King other presentes of no lesse value and estimation, as horses, slaues, and other riches and treasures which he had taken as the spoiles of his enemies the Barbarians. In this manner was this great feast solemnized with no lesse pompe and magnificence then reputation and renowme. For besides that already spoken of, the tourneys, iustes, triumphes, and other spectacles of diuerse sorts hauing prizes and rewards of excellent value appointed for those that should best deserue them, did stir vp the courages of the young gallants on all parts, who shewing them-

Ariamnites Comminat.

Doniqua the wife of Scanderbeg.

Mariage of Scanderbeg.

"Sentence.

ſelues couetous of glory, and flocking thither to thoſe triumphs, did by their preſence greatly augment the beauty of that aſſembly.

Mahomet was not ignoraunt of any of theſe things, nor of the fortifications of *Croy*, and it is thought, that he would willingly haue troubled the ioy of our *Albanois*, but being partly retayned with his domeſticall occaſions (as newe kingdomes commonly doe engender new infirmities and new diſorders) and partly alſo being intentiue to the heaping of great ſummes of money, and to the enriching of his treaſures, he was conſtrained for a ſeaſon to forbeare from any ſuch enterpriſe. Notwithſtanding in the middeſt of his threats and menaces (as he was very talkatiue and free of his ſpeeches) he called his mariage the vnhappy and ſhort ioy of that vnfortunat couple, ſaying: that it ſhould not be long ere he would ſauce their new contentments with deadly teares and lamentations.

Saying of Mahomet touching the mariage of Scanderbeg.

One thing there was which *Scanderbeg* had not yet done, and which of a long time he had no leyſure to put in execution, by reaſon of his continuall lets and hinderaunces of the warres: and that was to viſite all the frontiers, townes, and paſſages of his Realme, which at this time he accompliſhed: hauing with him in company his new ſpouſe and a good troupe of horſemen: and he ſpent many daies in that recreation. In all places where he paſſed, the people by great flockes in a certaine kinde of emulation, did enforce them ſelues euery man according to his degree, to receiue him into their townes with magnificall and royall entertainment: and with a thouſand ſortes of goodly ſhewes and ſpectacles, and of rich preſentes, according to the vttermoſt of their power and abilities, they did gratifie both him and his princeſſe. There was not any one, but was moſt gratiouſly accepted, without any ſhew of diſlike, or any token of diſdaine: all of them were receiued with a chearfull countenaunce and like courteſie, not onely thoſe which came full handed, but euen they alſo, who wanting meanes to ſhew and teſtifie their good willes, did preſent him with their good heartes, and the prodigall bounty of their affections. The King holding on his courſe in this progreſſe, did viſite euery particular place, euen to the entry of *Macedony*, and to the very fartheſt limits and borders of his countrey. When he came into the lower *Dibria*, he obſerued one place aboue the reſt, by which the Barbarians had euer vſed and accuſtomed to make their inuaſions vppon *Albanie*, and by ſodaine roades and foragings to waſt and deſtroy at their pleaſures, the goods of the inhabitaunts, and to ſurprize and oppreſſe them at vnawares. For albeit there were many other waies and paſſages into the Prouince, yet this ſame onely was (as it were) the moſt commodious, and on that ſide more then any other, did the Chriſtians alſo vſe to inuade and harrie the fieldes and territories of the enemies. In this place therefore he determined (during that litle time of reſt which he enioyed, and whileſt the troubles of armes ceaſed) to depriue the Turkes of this opportunity of annoying of his people, and to prouide for the preſeruation and ſafetie of his ſubiectes.

The progreſſe of Scanderbeg with his Queen to viſite all his kingdom.

This was a mountaine which they of the countrey call *Modriſſa*, very ragged, and of a great height: from the which the frontiers of the Infidels may be very well diſcouered a great waie off. On the toppe of this mountaine, he reſolued to build a fortreſſe, and to fortifie it with good ſtore of ſouldiours, ſuch as being prompt and vigilant, ſhould (by ſhooting off their artillery) aduertiſe the inhabitants at all times of the comming and arriuall of the Turkes: and to the intent alſo that the neare neighbourhood of that Fort ſhould ſerue for a place of refuge vnto his people, whenſoeuer they ſhould be driuen vppon any neceſſity to flie from the enemy: a thing which he had long before conceiued in his thoughts, and many times aſſayed to put

Mountaine of Modriſſa.

in

in execution, but was alwaies compelled to leaue vndone, by reason of the daily and continuall troubles of the warres. For this cause without making any long delay, and for that him selfe would not long dwell in delightes, nor would not haue the harts of his soldiers to be corrupted & effeminated, neither to continue drowned in idlenesse, ease, and dissolution, he returned speedily towards *Croy*, the reparations whereof were by this time brought to good perfection. There did he take vp a good number of Masons, Carpenters, and most part of the workemen and labourers of the city, and about a foure thousand souldiers, to the intent, that if the enemy should go about to disturbe them, they should finde sufficient forces to repulse them, and should not be able to annoy or hinder them in their worke. With that company he went to *Modrissa*, where setting them in hand with this fort, he followed it so diligently, that it was begun and ended without any let or disturbaunce of the *Mahometans*. For albeit the Turkish Monarch were impatient of reuenge, and did at that time labour very diligently to leauy a great and puissant army against *Scanderbeg*, yet being mindful of the foule discomfitures and ouerthrowes formerly receiued by the *Albanois*, and being partly terrified with the rumour of a most daungerous warre, intended against him by the *Persians*, setting aside all other matters, and neglecting (as it were) all other occasion, he bent his whole thoughtes on that side to see, what would be the end and issue of those tumults. For this time therefore did these troubles and disturbances diuert the Turkish armes from the *Epirots*, and they enioyed yet a while longer the benefite of the death of *Amurath*.

Fortresse at Modrissa builded by Scanderbeg.

Notwithstanding the happie successe and good fortune of *Scanderbeg*, and the dayly grieuances of the subiectes of *Mahomet*, who complained vnto him that they were continually ouer-runne, harried and pilled by the ordinarie roades and incursions of the *Epirotes*, did not a little trouble and perplexe the *Sultan*: yet at the first he did but somewhat ease his stomacke (though in vaine) with many menaces and outragious speeches against *Scanderbeg* being absent: afterwardes hauing recourse to flatteries and faire speeches, he assayed to treate with him for some accord to be had of pacification and peace betweene them. To this ende he sent ouer an Ambassade vnto *Croy*, offering him to make peace with him, so that he would yeeld him selfe tributarie, according to the conditions which *Amurath* had before propounded vnto him. Of all this matter, and of the cunning dissimulation of the *Ottoman*, and of the warre raysed by the *Persians*, the Prince of *Albanie* was duely enformed, by the secrete intelligence of certaine great and noble men his friendes about *Mahomet*. By meanes whereof, the Ambassours being arriued, they were soone refused, and their demaundes vtterly reiected, returning with this aunswer for a full resolution. That hardly could hee be content to accept anie conditions of peace of the tyraunt, were they neuer so honest and tollerable: much lesse these, which were so intollerable and iniurious. That he was entred into *Epire* onely to this ende, to shake off his yoake from that Prouince, and to abolish, as much as in him lay, the hatefull name of bondage and seruitude: and not to impose newe griefes vppon them. That this was the onely fruite and benefite which he did reape of his trauelles and hazards sustayned, to see his countrey one day freed and deliuered from Turkish tyrannie and subiection. That if hee had had anie desire or deuotion to haue amitie and friendshippe with him, hee would then haue yeelded to submit him selfe to those termes of slauerie and thraldome, when the power and puissaunce in a manner of all *Europe* and of *Asia*, was euen in the verie heart and bowelles of his kingdome: when the bloudie *Amurath* did beard him to his face, and was in armes against

Ambassadours sent with conditions of peace by Mahomet to Scanderbeg.

Answer of Scanderbeg to the Ambassadors of Mahomet.

» him; and was desirous to haue had him yeeld to these conditions. That it should
» suffise them to thinke what they had suffered in times past, euen to that daye: the re-
» membraunce whereof should giue him iust cause of griefe and sorrow at all times.
» That it was not nowe with the *Epirotes* as in times past, but that matters were quite
» chaunged, and the men cleane altered from that they were wont to be: and they had
» little reason to hope to bring them to this point. Well they might do it by con-
» straint of force and open violence: but to thinke by good wordes and entising spee-
» ches to perswade and inuite them to so infamous and base an act, they were fouly mi-
» staken and deceiued.

The fortresse of Modrissa finished and furnished.

This Ambassadour being dismissed with this aunswer, and his offers being vtterly reiected: *Castriot* did altogether apply him selfe to his worke lately begunne, leauing his enemies for a while to take their rest. By this time was the fortresse of *Modrissa* in a good forwardnesse, by reason that the lyme, stones and other stuffe was prepared and made readie for the building long before hand. In lesse then sixe moneths was it enclosed and compassed with walles, and fitted with other edifices and particular houses and lodgings for the souldiers: the ouerplus that remained was followed and enlarged afterwardes from time to time. The place being sure and strong by nature, needed not anie ditches or rampiers to strengthen it: and therefore prouision was made onely of men, armes, munition, and other prouisions. There were brought thither also from *Croy*, certaine peeces of great ordinance: which being deliuered to them of the Fort, they were admonished how to vse them, and to what end: as hath bene before declared.

Territories and Dominions of the Turkes inuaded & spoiled by Scanderbeg.

These thinges thus done: *Scanderbeg* led the *Albanians* into the enemies countrey, where finding the places voyde of defence, they made a hand of all that they found, harrying and spoyling all things, and not sparing to afflict the Turkish dominions with what soeuer mischiefes and discommodities the furie and rage of the warres could possibly imagine. From thence some of them retired with their Chieftaine towardes *Croy* loden with prey and bootie: but the better parte was left vppon the frontiers (as had bene euer vsed) in garrison. For, albeit the raising of the fortresse of *Modrissa* did greatly assure and safegard the plaine countrey: yet were not the ordinarie forces retired from the frontiers, because the place where they were appointed was distant about foureteene miles or more from *Modrissa*. Besides that the souldiers of the garrison were not left for that ende, and to the same effect as those of the newe Fortresse: but principally for the repulse of the violence of the Turkes, and to gard the Prouince against the incursions and pillages of the Painims. And if it did happen that the Turkes did come vpon them with such force and puissance, as they were not able to make head against them, then were they to retire and saue them selues, either in the toppes and safe passages of the mountaines, or else in the innet partes of the countrey. *Scanderbeg* after he was arriued at *Croy*, being desirous to take the benefite of the time, whilest the *Sultan* was busied in other affaires, and by some notable act to amplifie the boundes of his Realme, he called together his Nobles, and the principall persons of the citie of *Croy*, with the most part of his troupes and companies: and hauing a long time deuised with them vpon the proceedings of the warres, and what course was best to be taken: at the last, because he would sound the intents and meaning of their thoughts, and proue how they were affected, he began thus to speake vnto them.

Oratio of Scanderbeg to his subiects, perswading them to proceed with their conquests vpon the Turkes.

Worthie Peeres and braue *Epirotes*, now that we haue sufficiently filled and gorged our selues with feasting and banquetting, and with all kinde of licentious ease

and

and libertie: we haue no reaſon anie longer to leaue our armes, and to let our wonted vertue lye (as it were) a ſleepe and forgotten: we haue kept holy day long enough: we haue feaſted and triumphed ſufficiently for the victorie had againſt *Amurath*: we haue ſpent a whole yeare, partly in recreation, partly in repairing of our townes, or building of newe places, and we haue not ſo much as once viſited the enemie. It is nowe high time to awake, and to giue ſome newe proofe of your wonted valour, euen now whileſt *Mahomet* hath his hands full with the *Perſians*, and that God hath giuen you the meanes and oportunitie, without anie effuſion of bloud to reeſtabliſh the auncient honour and reputation of *Albanie*, and to reuiue thoſe ancient times ſo greatly deſired: whileſt that the enemie his power is nowe ſomewhat weakened and repreſſed, and whileſt he is otherwiſe occupied and entangled in diuerſe wearieſome and tedious troubles, not knowing what to doe, nor what courſe to take: for theſe two, are the onely and principall ſeaſons for the good and happie diſpatch of great exploites. This therefore is the time, this is the houre, that inuiteth you to ſeeke out the enemie, and not alwayes to lye ſtill and idle, and to expect when he will come to aſſaile you. Behold howe *Sfetigrade* looketh after you, and calleth for your ayde. Doth the ill ſucceſſe of the laſt yeares ſiege terrifie you? I aſſure you I would be loth to leade you, where I ſhould thinke the miſchiefe to be ſo great, or the perill ſo euident: but nowe the great number of your victories, the death of *Amurath*, the preſent occupation of our aduerſarie, hath greatly diminiſhed theſe difficulties: beſides that you ſhall not want ſtore of artillerie, and ſuch like engines and inſtruments of aſſault. The opportunitie of the time, and the countenaunce of the enemie, ſhall inſtruct vs what is further to be done. For my part, I can promiſe you nothing without expence and loſſe of bloud: without vehement and earneſt labour: of which notwithſtanding, the valiant man, the couragious ſouldier hath ſcarce anie feeling or perſeueraunce: euen then when he is moſt painefully occupied, and in the action: much leſſe will he be afrayed or in doubt of it, before he commeth to proue the difficulty of it. Yet if *Sfetigrade* be ſo odious and diſpleaſing vnto you, there are other places and fortreſſes of the enemy not farre off, which may recompence your loſſes ſuſtained at *Sfetigrade*, and may content and ſatisfie your deſires. There is *Belgrade* as neare or nearer then *Sfetigrade*, and not vnworthy neither of our trauelles, nor of our bloud, if we haue any deſire either of honour, or of recompence. I haue reaſon (my good companions) to be aſhamed more then any, that I ſhould ſpend one yeare during my raigne amongeſt you idlely and doing nothing, and yet to ſee and ſuffer the houſes of our auncеſters, the townes of our confederates, the noble markes of the eſtate and Empire of the *Albanians*, ſo ſhamefully to be ſubiected and enthralled vnder the Infidelles. Wherefore that this time of leyſure and opportunity which is left vs, doe not ſlippe out of our handes, let vs follow and imitate the *Perſians*: let vs embrace the good fortune which God ſeemeth to haue offered vs. In ſo doing, we ſhall enlarge our dominions: we ſhall augment our franchiſes and liberties: We ſhall reuenge our loſſes, our grieues, and iniuries: and (which aboue all is to be preferred) we ſhall keepe the youth of our Realme from ſloath and idleneſſe. Neither hath the Biſhop of *Rome*, nor our good friend the king *Alphonſus*, nor ſo many deuout and Catholique Princes, aided and ſuccoured vs with their treaſures and other ſupplies, to the intent we ſhould keepe vs ſtil idle within dores: that we ſhould dwel in pleaſures and delights, & grow corrupted and effeminate: but rather that we ſhould betake our ſelues to armes, and make proofe and triall of our valour in the middeſt of all perils and daungers, and that euen in deſpite of death it ſelfe wee ſhould performe the duety and deuoyre

"Two onely times to diſpatch great exploites againſt an enemy: when he is weakened, or elſe where employed and occupied.

of men valiant and couragious, and of moſt braue and reſolute ſouldiers.

This encouragement of the king of *Epire* ſeemed not greatly to like the auditors: for they did not applaude it with a ſudden and vniuerſall crie and conſent (as they were wont:) but with a kinde of muttering noiſe, interrupted (as it were) by times, and by ſtoppes, they did ſignifie ſufficiently, that the mindes of the ſouldiers were not conformable, but rather different from his deſire. Notwithſtanding though there were fewe or none which did commend or allowe of his aduiſe: yet being aſhamed openly to contradict it, they ſtood ſtill one looking vpon another: and none of them durſt open his mouth to reply vnto him, for feare of being noted for a greater coward or more daſtardly minded then the reſt of his cõpanions. Then *Vranocontes* ſeeing all of them ſo ſtil and ſilent, ariſing out of his ſeate, & addreſſing his ſpeech to *Scanderbeg*:

Anſwer of Vranocontes to the oratiõ of Scãderbeg in the name of all the Epirots.

„ It is not (quoth he) moſt prouident and prudent Prince, either timerouſneſſe or want
„ of courage, or the experience of our late ſucceſſe at *Sfetigrade* which cauſeth vs at this
„ time with bluſhing cheekes to diſallow and diſlike thy counſell: but (giue me leaue to
„ be the firſt who may freely confeſſe vnto thee the cauſe of this our backwardneſſe): it
„ is the time and ſeaſon of the yeare, wherein ordinarily conſiſteth the beſt part of mili-
„ tarie ſeruices: it is I ſay, the time onely which doth aduiſe & admoniſh vs not to hear-
„ ken vnto thee. Thou ſeeſt that the Autumne is now well neare ſpent, ſcarcely ſhall we
„ be able to leuie any forces, ſcarcely ſhall we put in order other things requiſite for the

Winter wars moſt diſcommodious and hurtfull.

„ ſiege, and we ſhall hardly make our approches to the walles, but that the vnſeaſonable-
„ neſſe of the winter will aſſault vs with infinit inconueniences & diſcommodities, both
„ the heauens and the earth wil make warre againſt vs, the ſhowers & raine continually
„ falling, the froſts, Ice and ſnow, will both hinder, offend, and encomber our ſouldiers,
„ and will defend and protect the enemie. For as this ſeaſon is of it ſelfe vnfit & diſcom-
„ modious for all occaſions: ſo is it moſt contrary, and to the ſingular diſaduantage of
„ thoſe that come to be encamped, and lye at the ſiege of townes. And there is great ods
„ and inequalitie betweene the dammages and inconueniences which it bringeth to the
„ beſiegers, in regard of thoſe annoyances which it layeth vpon the beſieged. For theſe
„ being retired within their walles, and vnder the ſuccour and couert of their baſtils and
„ defences, will be able with pleaſure to affront vs, and hauing abundance of all neceſ-
„ ſaries, they may (as it were) with the one hand hold their weapons and armes readie
„ to defend them ſelues, whileſt with the other they do repaire and renue their forces &
„ their rampiers. And what ſhall we do the whileſt? Onely we haue the aduantage of
„ our corages prodigall & careleſſe of our owne ſafeties, and obſtinately addicted to aſ-
„ ſaile & force the enemy. For to ſpeake of any artillery, it is not vnknown vnto vs, both
„ at the ſiege of *Sfetigrade*, and at other places, how litle good it doth and will do, eſpe-
„ cially in this vnſeaſonable time of winter, and againſt places ſo defencible & ſtrong by
„ nature, ſeated vpon rocks & mountaines which are vnbatterable & impregnable. I cõ-
„ clude therfore, that it behoueth vs with all our power and endeuors to ſhun & auoyd
„ theſe vaine attempts, and this wilful loſſe and deſtruction of our ſouldiers: and it beho-

Sentence. Time and ſeaſon to be attended by men of valor & wiſedome.

„ ueth men of valor and wiſedome to attend a conuenient time and ſeaſon, as good and
„ skilful ſailers vſe to do, when they are to make their voyage. Neither will this delay
„ any thing diminiſh or abate our courages, nor will it adde any ſtomach to our ene-
„ mies. Touching the warre of the *Perſians* (if I may ſpeake what I thinke of it) for
„ my part I do repoſe little or no truſt therein at this time: for either wil the report of all
„ thoſe skirmiſhes and commotions vaniſh away to ſmoke and come to nothing: or elſe
„ it is like that the *Perſians* will deferre and put off their armes till ſome other time of
„ better oportunitie. All this notwithſtanding (moſt valiaunt Prince the mirrour of
„ magnanimitie) we will not hinder thy determinations; but if thou doeſt thinke,

that

that thine owne opinion and conceipt in this point, be more for the benefite and aduantage of the Eſtate, and for the publike and common reputation, we will march on with a good will, and will cheerefully follow thy enſignes, whereſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe thee to leade vs: we will frame and fit our tongues and our ſpeeches, our handes and our actions, yea the very times and ſeaſons to ſerue onely at thy good will and pleaſure, and as it ſhall ſeeme good vnto thee. In thy company the ſnow ſhall be pleaſant, the ſhowers ſhall ſeeme ſweete, the winter ſhall be thought milde, and all things ſhall be gracious, acceptable and pleaſing vnto vs: no trauels, no difficulties, no hazardes, nor any kinde of dangers ſhall grieue or diſcontent vs, ſo long as thou art our leader and commaunder: ſo long as we may enioy the happie preſence of thy vertues, and may follow the greatneſſe of thy fortunes.

Scanderbeg perceiuing how his ſubiects were affected, and the rather for that they ſpake nothing but what was true and certaine, he ſuffered himſelfe ſoone and eaſily to be perſwaded by them, according to that curteſie & bountie of his good nature, wherewith he did euer draw the affections of the cõmunalty to loue & honor him. Wherefore the Counſell being broken vp, the aſſembly diſmiſſed, & the ſouldiers licenſed to depart, he permitted euery man to retire to his owne home. At the beginning of the ſommer he had left the Queene at *Petralba*, as afterwards alſo in the ſame ſeaſon of the yere he vſed alwayes during his life to do the like: to thintent that during the extreme heate of ſommer, & till the end of Autumne, ſhe might remaine there for her more ſolace and recreation: & the reſt of the yere ſhe vſually ſpent at *Croy*, except it were at ſuch times as the Turks came into *Epire*, or that the country was troubled with any immoderate forces, & extraordinary puiſſance of the enemy. For then when it ſtood vpõ the hazard of his whole eſtate, he tranſported her with all her houſhold, & the moſt precious things of all her furniture and moueables vnto *Colchina* a ſea towne of the *Venetians*, or to ſome other ſuch like place farre remoued and out of the way. Now that he hadde diſmiſſed his army, he him ſelfe with *Ameſe*, and a very ſmall traine, went to the Queene to *Petralba*. Vnder this caſtell was a plaine of ſinguler beauty and very pleaſaunt, both for the admirable recreation which the very nature of the place did affoorde, as alſo by reaſon of the notable diligence of the inhabitants, who had bene very curious and induſtrious in trimming and husbanding of the ſoile. For it wanted not any fruites, vines, plants, or trees, nor any thing in the world which might ſeeme either to adorne and beautifie the countrey, or to make it bleſſed and happy. In this place during that quarter of the yeare did the Queene make her abode, accompanied with her Ladies, maides, and officers. On all ſides was the plaine enuironned with wood and thickets, and with many narrow ſtraights and vallies in a manner vnacceſſible: amongſt the which *Scanderbeg* held continuall watch and ward, keeping a great number of ſouldiers to guard and defend the place: which was alſo ſingularly well prouided and furniſhed, with armes, men, victuals, & other munitions for all occurrences and accidents of Fortune whatſoeuer. Hauing made but ſmall ſtay at *Petralba*, he remoued with his Queene backe againe to *Croy*, where alſo he had no long reſt. For (as *Vranocontes* moſt ſagely and wiſely had prognoſticated) newes came within a while, and the report encreaſed daily: that the Perſian was retired, the tumults of that war appeaſed, and all ſturs and commotions pacified: and that the Turkiſh Monarch being freed from this feare, did minde to bend his forces againſt the *Albanians*.

Deuique the wife of Scanderbeg paſſeth the Sommer at Petralba.

Colchina a citie of the Venetians vpon the ſea or gulfe of Venice in Dalmatia.

Deſcription of the country about Petralba.

Scanderbeg was greatly troubled with theſe tidings, neuertheleſſe he told his ſubiectes openly, that in this caſe it was requiſite to vſe armes and good counſell, and not choller and indignation. Howbeit he was in good hope, that the enemy would not march in a ſeaſon ſo contrary & diſcommodious. Yet did he preſently moũt on horſe

Mahomet prepareth an army againſt Scanderbeg.

backe, and taking with him not aboue fiftie horſe, he left *Croy* his chiefe citie, and drewe towardes the frontiers where *Moſes* lay in garriſon: there to take ſome more certaine counſell and aduiſe for the maner of his proceedings. When he came thither, he found that to be true in effect which had bene reported vnto him at *Croy*. For this cauſe hauing leuied and muſtered in great haſt about 5000. men, he retired with them into the lower *Dibria*, where he was wont to encampe and to winter his armie, aduertiſing *Moſes* and others not to ſtirre nor attempt any thing, till they ſaw him approch with his troups. Scarce did there paſſe ten dayes betweene theſe preparations and the comming of the Turkes: the which being diſcouered by them of the garriſon in the newe fortreſſe at *Modriſſa*, and being mindfull of the inſtructions giuen them by their Soueraigne, they ſignified the ſame accordingly by the ſhot of the Canon. This ſignall was receiued firſt by the paizants and inhabitants of the countrey, and afterwardes by *Scanderbeg*, in ſo good time, that truſſing vp baggage in the night, with as much ſilence as was poſſible, he made towardes the enemie. *Moſes* was not then preſent at that ſeruice: for by reaſon that the infidels did take their way farre off from the place where he lay, he would not leaue thoſe paſſages vngarded which were committed to his charge, for feare leſt the Painim, being either victorious or vanquiſhed, ſhould finde that paſſage vnfurniſhed and without reſiſtance. The ſelfe ſame night did the Barbarian vſe incredible celeritie & diligence in his iourney: they were about twelue thouſand fighting men and no more, all on horſebacke, choſen and well appointed, both to giue a charge brauely, and to beare a ſhocke as reſolutely: and *Mahomet* thought it not good to vſe anie greater troupes in this expedition. Our Chriſtian forces were in a maner equally parted, their numbers both of horſemen and footemen being neere alike. The night was now almoſt ſpent, and the day readie to breake, when as *Scanderbeg* being enformed by his diſcouerers of the way that *Ameſa* tooke (for ſo was the Generall Turke named) and being fauoured by the ſilence of the night, he ſeized vpon a part of the mountaine of *Modriſſa*, hauing a purpoſe to ſurpriſe the enemie: who being ignorant of this ſtratageme, had nowe paſſed the mountaine of *Mocrea*, and being entred the valley that lay betweene that and the mount *Modriſſa*, were euen readie to get vp the hill, to the intent that (paſſing from thence farther into the heart of the Prouince, he might the better ouer-reach *Scanderbeg*, and deſtroy the plaine countrey. Part of his people were nowe gotten to the place, and being entangled amongeſt the craggie rockes, and the ſteepe deſcents of the mountaine, their horſes were euen out of breath with mounting to the toppe. Others likewiſe followed cloſe after them: and many of them were as yet ſcarce paſſed the valley, when as the Generall of the Chriſtians (giuing the ſignall of the fight) with a great crie and a terrible noyſe, no otherwiſe then as a mightie ſtreame, did fall ſuddenly vpon them from aboue, ouerthrowing and beating them downe, being alreadie wearied and well neare tyred, both them and their horſes. The firſt that made head againſt them were the footemen, whom *Scanderbeg* employed in the beginning of the ſeruice, by reaſon of the ſituation and qualitie of the place: doubting leſt if his horſemen ſhould haue charged, the fall of the hill, with the force of their owne violence, might haue borne them on with more extremitie then he was willing, and ſo being caried headlong downe the mountaine, they might haue wrought their owne ruine and deſtruction. The principall praiſe therefore, and the chiefe commendation of this victorie appertained to the footemen. The Turkes which were gotten vp to the top, caſting away their launces, defended them ſelues with their cimitaries; but by reaſon that their horſes could not get anie good and ſure footing, their blowes were vncertaine, and their force was to little purpoſe. The Chriſtians couering themſelues with

Scanderbeg leuieth an armie to withſtand the Turkes.

An armie of twelue thouſand Turkes inuadeth Epire

Ameſa generall of the Turkiſh armie againſt Scanderbeg.

Mount Mocrea.

Ameſa & the Turkes armie ſurprized at Modriſſa, by Scanderbeg.

with their Targets, did first kill and ouerthrow their horses, and then all at pleasure had their willes of the riders: manie of whom perceiuing this strange and vnaccustomed kinde of daunger, dismounted from their horses, and eyther fought on foote, or sought to saue themselues by retyring into the valley towardes their companions, and to reserue themselues to a more sure exploit, and to a safer kinde of seruice. *Ameses* the Christian, being accompanied with a strong and mightie troupe of horse was sent by his Vncle to the other side of the mountaine, where the descent was more facile and easie: and there beganne an other fight in the streightes and most narrowe passages of the valley. In this meane while was it faire day light, by which time the surplus and rest of the horsemen (who were of *Scanderbeg* his battallion) hauing first repulsed the enemie, beganne to make into the plaine. Of the footemen some pursued the enemie, others kept at the foote of the mountaine, from whence with their bowes and arrowes, they spent good store of shot vppon them whom they sawe broken and out of order. On the one side where the way seemed more free and open for the enemie, *Castriot* did fiercely presse vppon them close at their backes: on the other side *Ameses* the Christian had shut in, and (as it were) besieged *Ameses* the Turkish Generall, who (seeing not anie likelihoode nor apparance either of victorie or of safetie) was oftentimes importuned and vrged by the *Albanois* to render himselfe: which at length to his great griefe, he was contented to yeeld vnto: and laying aside his armes, he gaue him his faith to be true prisoner. In like manner, infinite others yeelding to their ill fortune, did by their captiuitie, giue an ende to their woundes, and determined the conflict. The victorie being assured, the souldiers fell to make bootie of their baggage. All their Ensignes and Standards were gayned, and seuen thousand men were counted dead vpon the place. The most part of their horses were either slaine or maymed: and yet did this victorie cost the Christians litle bloud or none at all: for they lost not in the fight aboue 30. persons at the most. *Ameses* the Turkish Generall (according to the right of the law of armes) was graunted to *Ameses* the Christian by his Vncle, who willed him to leade him amongst other prisoners to *Croy*, with some part of the spoiles gotten vpon the enemy, especially the standards: the residue were liberally graunted and deuided amongst the souldiers.

Ameses Generall of the Turkes, taken prisoner by Ameses the Nephew of Scanderbeg.

Victorie of Scanderbeg against Ameses at Madrissa.

Number both of Turkes and Christians slaine in the fight at Madrissa.

The King of *Epyre* hauing continued certaine daies in that place, to ouerrunne the frontiers of the Infidels, to dismisse his souldiers, to visit, order & dispose of all things, returned to *Croy* against the feast of Christmas. At his arriuall, all the multitude both old and young pell mell, in great and huge troupes flocked together to receiue him, and they met him without the gate with many acclamations and popular applauses, much more great, and farre exceeding beyond all comparison, all that had beene vsed and accustomed. For it was a common speech and talke amongst them, that God had now giuen them a manifest signe & pledge of their good fortune, and that they shold preuaile as well against the new Monarch, as against his predecessour: also that they were assured vnder the conduct of their Prince, to haue like fortune & good happe against the sonne, as they had of late against the father. So fond and vaine are the imaginations and iudgements of the ignorant & rude communaltie, that by one only accident (be it neuer so meane) and according as the successe of the first beginnings doth more or lesse please them, so do they measure & interpret the second, the middle, & the last euents of worldly actions: especially if their owne desires and affections, and the promises of fortune doe concurre, and do seeme to ioyne and agree in one.

a Sentence.

During the solemnitie of this publique triumph and feasting, both in respect of the time which was festiuall, and of their affaires, which had succeeded so fortunate, *Scan-*

The Turkes prisoners feasted by Scanderbeg.

derbeg commaunded the prisoners to be enlarged, and that *Ameses* should be brought vnto him: whom after he had welcommed and receiued with great humanitie, he honored & feasted most magnificently, to the intent he should be pertaker of their ioy and triumph for that victorie, whereof himselfe had partly bene the giuer and the occasion. But first of all, the *Mahometan* did request him, that he would vouchsafe to license some one of the captiues to go to *Andrinople*, and to aduertise his friends of his estate and condition, and to bring his ransome. For it may be (said he) that they which are escaped from the slaughter, doe know nothing of my misfortune and aduenture: but may thinke me to be slaine amongst the rest. This being accorded as he demanded, and the price of all their ransomes being concluded and agreed vpon at 13000. crownes: two of them were presently dispatched and sent away to deale for the deliuerie of their companions, and they were accompanied with one of the Christians, till such time as he had conducted them safe out of the countrie. Thus you see what passed this yeare in *Epyre*, and what were the chiefest tumults of that time.

1452. Whilest that matters stood vppon these tearmes, the newes of this discomfiture was come to the eares of *Mahomet*, who seeing the reliques of his army without a Generall, without ensignes, & without armes, I leaue it to you to be imagined, whether the sight therof did not procure griefe and sorrow both in publique & in priuate. The *Sultan* did enquire particularly of the encounter, & he was desirous to heare the discourse of the whole manner and order of the fight: which being told him, though he were euen enraged for pure despite and anger, yet he fell from the conceipt and remembrance of that misfortune, to feasting, reuelling and banquetting, striuing & enforcing himselfe to the vttermost of his power, to obscure the praise and deserts of the *Albanois*, and to colour, excuse, & hide his own misfortune. But if the calamity of his army vpon the view & hearing of their mischance, did in any sort trouble this couetous & miserable minded Prince, you may be sure that the message sent by *Ameses* did much more moue him & eagerly incense him. By meanes whereof, sometimes imputing vnto him the disgrace of that ouerthrow, in that he had so foolishly lost his people, by trayning them in the night time rashly and inconsideratly into those streights & steepe mountaines: and somtimes accusing him of cowardice, treason & disloialty, he wold willingly haue refused to disburse any thing towards their ransome, (so subtill & ingenious is the humor of auarice, to keepe together the riches which it hath gathered:) if that the principall persons of the court, and the kinsmen and friends of the prisoners had not perswaded him to the contrarie. For what with their good and sufficient reasons, and what with their humble prayers and entreaties, they appeased the *Sultan*, shewing him, that *Ameses* in the whole course of his life before past, could not iustly be blamed nor suspected of the like error or default. Moreouer that he alone was not fallen into this misfortune, but many braue and valiant souldiers besides him: and that therefore the case of their companions ought not to be neglected and vnregarded. Many other reasons did they alleage, in so much, that the money being soone procured and deliuered vnto the messengers, together with manie pretious gifts and presents, which they sent priuately to *Scanderbeg*: it was quickely brought and paied in *Epyre*. The most part of that summe *Scanderbeg* willed to be deliuered to his Nephew, the residue was partly deuided and shared amongest the souldiers, and partly sent vnto *Moses* to be distributed amongst them of his garrison. The Nephew of *Scanderbeg* shewed himselfe no lesse liberall then his Vncle. For reseruing to himselfe very little or nothing of that which was giuen him, he gaue it in common, and parted it both amongest friendes and welwillers, and to those that were partners with him in his perils. Their ransomes being thus paied, the Turkes

Mahomet incensed against Ameses, is vnwilling to pay his ransome.

Sentence.

Perswasions vsed by Ameses his friends and the Turkes courtiers, to Mahomet in his behalfe.

Liberalitie of Ameses the Nephew of Scanderbeg.

were

were licenſed to depart at their pleaſures. *Ameſe* was very ſorie to leaue the King of *Albanie*, and (the ſaying is) that before his departure, he did a long while, in ſecret deuiſe with *Scanderbeg* vpon the nature and diſpoſition of *Mahomet*, and the manner of maintayning the warre againſt him. At their going thence there were manie preſents beſtowed vpon them, and victuals prouided to ſerue them for manie dayes, beſides a good conuoy, which did bring them ſafe and ſound into their owne limits and confines. *Ameſe and the other Turkes prisoners ransommed.*

Before ſuch time as *Ameſe* arriued at *Andrinople*, there was begunne to be made a newe leauie of other forces, and the old companies were ſupplyed with freſh men in the place of thoſe which were loſt. He that had the leading of them was named *Debreas*, a man of notable courage, and one that by his experience and long practiſe in armes, had attained to the degree & dignitie of a *Saniacke*. But he had laboured too ambitiouſly with the *Ottoman* to grant him this commiſſion, enforcing himſelf with manie glorious promiſes to animate the *Sultan* more & more, and to put him in a full hope and perſwaſion of an aſſured victorie. For he referred all things to the conceipt of his owne wit, and to the ſufficiencie of his owne wiſedome, attributing little or nothing vnto fortune, notwithſtanding that ſhe doth beare a great ſtroke in all humaine actions, and eſpecially in deedes of armes. Neuertheleſſe he promiſed the *Sultan* not to hazard all his forces at one blow, nor to commit them to the aduenture of one entire battell, but that he would by ſome good entry and beginning make himſelfe way to an aſſured victorie. Beſides, he tooke no great care nor was deſirous of any greater forces, then ſuch as *Ameſe* his predeceſſor had lately had before him: induced thereunto through a kind of emulation & deſire of glory: to the intent it might be ſaid, that he had reeſtabliſhed the good fortune of the Turkiſh Empire with the like numbers, & (as it were) with the ſame ſouldiers. As it is cõmonly ſeene, that the man which is hardie and reſolute thinketh nothing impoſſible whereunto his mind is affectioned. *Debreas apointed with a new armie against Scanderbeg.* *Debreas his ambition and glorious oſtentation.* *A Sentence.*

Now was not *Debreas* the onely man that had thus deſired to be employed by the *Sultan*, but there were many others, who of themſelues and their owne motion, did ſue to haue the honour of that difficult and hard ſeruice: for by how much the more the name of *Scanderbeg* did growe glorious amongſt the Barbarians, and the greater report and renowme that ranne of his inuincible fortune: ſo much the greater was the reſort and concourſe of all ſuch as thought any thing well of their owne valure and worthineſſe: eche of them greedily deſiring to haue the credite of that iourney, as men that did affect and aſpire to the greateſt offices and higheſt dignities. Beſides, the ambition of theſe men was much augmented and pricked forward by the liberalitie of the Turkiſh Monarche publiſhed and ſpread abroad, who had lately proclaymed and decreed a wonderfull great rewarde and recompence to him that could vanquiſh the *Albanois*. But after that *Ameſe* vppon his returne was ſeene and heard to vtter his opinion and cõceit of *Scanderbeg* and his fortune, thoſe their haughtie deſires were much chaunged and abated. For by a continuall, yet true commendation, he did ſo extoll the vertue of the Chriſtian Prince and his companies, as it little wanted, but that *Debreas* had chaunged his opinion, and that the *Sultan* had not broken the voyage. Neuertheleſſe becauſe he would not derogate from the maieſtie of his Empire, he thought it better to encreaſe and ſtrenthen his armie, then either to miſtruſt the diligence and deuoire of his *Saniacke*, before he had made proofe and tryall of him: or to leaue the diſcomfiture of *Ameſe*, and the late iniuries of his people vnreuenged. Wherefore there was added to the troupes before leauied a new ſupply of 3000. horſe. Thus whileſt that *Ameſe* diſcharging the dutie of a friend, and gratifying his late hoaſt, did exalt the honour of *Scanderbeg*, and did publiſh his rare ver- *Ambition and emvie of the Turkes against Scanderbeg.* *Ameſe cõmending the vertue of Scanderbeg diſcouraguth the Turkes.*

tues, he was in a manner iniurious vnto him, or rather he was the author and occasioner of his greater praise and of his more honorable victorie.

All things being in a readinesse, and the companies readie to march, there fell such great store of raine, continuing for many dayes together, that it did for a while hinder the forwardnesse of the souldiers. But the foule weather being ceased, and the season of the yeare being likewise growen more milde and pleasant, by the comming on of the spring, they tooke their iourney with all speede and celeritie: the same reason and consideration drew *Scanderbeg* likewise into his campe, there to deliberate with his Chieftaines, and to prouide for the ordering of his affaires, which the roughnesse of the winter had caused him to deferre and put off, till the time fell out more fit and gratious to his purpose. This was the occasion, that at the same time when both the preparations, and the comming of the enemy were noysed in the countrie, he was with *Moses* amongst the *Dibrians*, wherefore he assembled speedily, and in a small time to the number of 7000. men or somewhat more.

Debreas marcheth into Epyre with an armie of 15000. men.

Scanderbeg leaueth an armie of 7000. men against Debreas.

It ought not to seeme strange, neither should any man maruell, that the Christians were so suddenly and readily armed and prouided, nor that they gathered an armie with such incredible speede and celeritie. For the King of *Epyre* of his owne meere and proper motion, without the desert or merit of any mans seruice, had giuen the better part of his ordinarie reuenues, especially of his demaines, to certaine of the greatest and chiefest men of the countrie, vppon condition, that whensoeuer there happened any necessitie of warre, they should presently find him a certaine number of men at their costes and charges, according to ech mans state and qualitie: with whom, themselues also in person should make their speedie repayre vnto him, and so to receiue such directions, and to be employed in such seruices, as it should please him to commaund and appoint. These men therefore were alwaies readie in armes, and well appointed, expecting nothing but the will and pleasure of their Chiefetaine. Besides there was a certaine number of the inhabitants, and especially of the husbandmen, who by a certaine vsage and custome of the countrie, were bound to accompanie them whersoeuer they marched without anie consideration of pay or wages: and commonly, the onely desire of prey and pillage did furnish him with more men then he himselfe would haue demaunded. Hereof it appeareth, howe *Scanderbeg* could continually repayre so manie and so often armies, considering that his rents and customes were not so great, nor were not sufficient for anie long time to entertaine his souldiers. Adde herewithall, that if neither the custome of the countrie, nor their greedie desire of prey, had not beene such as it was, yet the regarde of the common perill, the consideration of their Prince his dexteritie and good fortune, might easily haue allured and perswaded them, and was sufficient to haue drawen them into armes. As for the stipendarie succours and mercenarie souldiers which he hyred for his money, the chiefe burthen and importance of that charge, was borne for the most part by the Bishoppes of *Rome*, the King of *Naples*, and other Catholique Christian Princes, who fayled not from time to time to furnish him with money and treasure, which (as the saying is) are the synewes of the warres.

The order taken by Scanderbeg for the sudden arming of his subiects and speedie raising of an armie.

Debreas hauing passed ouer the greatest part of *Bulgarie*, or the countrie of the *Tryballians*, was gotten as farre as *Pologne*, which is a place and part of *Bulgarie*, vnder the obeysance of the great Turke, and not farre from the confines of *Epyre*. Hereof *Castriot* being certainely informed at full, commaunded speedily to mount on horse backe, choosing out of all the companie sixe thousand horse: for the matter requiring so great haste, he could not conueniently vse the ayde of his footemen.

Pologne.

Scanderbeg marcheth with 6000. men against Debreas

The

The residue he sent away with the olde garrison of *Moses*, having first taken order for such thinges as seemed necessarie: but before hee beganne to march with his troupes he had sent the *Dybrian* with tenne horsemen to take notice, and to discouer the comming and purpose of the enemie. The rest of the squadrons followed after fayre and easily. The Generall of the Turkes was encamped in the fieldes of *Pologue*, tarrying for the breaking of the day. The plaine was bounded on the one side with the mountaine of *Mocrea*, on the other side with the towne of *Scopia* (which was belonging to the Turkes) and it was enclosed likewise with two other mountaines of a notable height called by a generall name, the mountaines of *Pologue*. *Moses* had good leasure to surucy all things (for the Moone being at full, did shine verie bright) and he brought backe certaine and perfect notice of euerie thing to the generall of the Christians, who taking the aduantage of this singular benefite of the night, commaunded his companies to hasten their pace. They were no sooner departed from *Mocrea*, and scarce entred within the plaine, but the heauens were suddenly chaunged euen in an instant: and at the first there fell a sweete shower, which did but gently wet the battallions, but the raine encreasing by litle and litle, there followed a great tempest of thunder and lightning with a mightie storme and violent windes. Hereupon did the Ensignes make a stande, and a certaine horror and feare beganne to possesse the companies: in such sort, that they stoode gazing one vppon another verie sad and pensiue, as if some sinister token and presage of ill fortune had befallen them. *Scanderbeg* making but a iest of this their timerousnesse and vaine feare, went to the head of the battell and pushed forward the Standard-bearer with his hand, telling him, that he was but an ill prognosticator vnto himselfe: and he saide with a loud voice: that it behoued them vpon such an opportunitie to take the aduantage of the time, and to charge the enemie: that this was no other but the casualtie and inconstancie of the spring time, and new season of the yeare, namely of the moneth of March: and that before they should be able to come to handie-stroakes with the enemie, they should see the ayre would waxe cleare, and as calme and pleasant as before. Whereupon the souldiers being recomforted, and interpreting it to be a signe of their owne good fortune, they did both mutually encourage one another, and they put their leaders likewise in a better hope and comfort. By this time the weather being cleared (as *Scanderbeg* had foretolde) the brightnesse of the moone-light encreasing with her course, and the neerenesse of their troupes did now discouer the approach of the *Albanois*, which hastened on eche mans fortune eyther good or bad. The enemie at the first being astonished and vnresolued, stoode a while in suspence, whether they should fight, or flie: or whether it were best to temporize. The darkenesse of the night did much augment their terrour, and the audacitie of the Christians whom they sawe to be aduaunced so farre without their confines and from their owne dwellings. On the contrarie, this seemed to encourage them, and to encrease their hardinesse, in that they knewe they were to fight not in the enemies countrie where they might be in feare of ambushments and surprises. But the principall point that made them to cast awaie all feare, was the multitude and valure of their troupes, which was enough euen to make the veriest cowards to be ashamed to thinke of flight. Wherefore in the ende *Debreas* giuing a signe to beginne the fight, willed them to goe to the charge, and calling to minde his owne great and large promises made to the *Ottoman*, and the instructions giuen him, he animated his souldiers, and coursing vppe and downe nowe here now there, thus did he incense and egge them on more fiercely against the enemie.

The description of the countrie about Pologne.

Scopia a chiefe towne in Macedonia.

Army of Scanderbeg striken with feare by the terror of a sudden tempest.

A Speech of Scanderbeg to his souldiers encouraging them not to be amazed at the tempest.

Oration of Debreas encouraging his souldiers to the battell.

» On, on, braue souldiers (quoth he) now is the time come that you shall be fully
» reuenged of your wrongs, and repaire the honour which heretofore we haue lost:
» now may you auenge you of your imprisonment, of the losse of your fellowes, and
» your owne bloud. See how these Champions of the night doe hasten against you:
» see how they come bringing (as it were) bondes and fetters to manacle your handes.
» They thinke they shall encounter here with their courteous hoast *Ameſe*: they are
» perswaded that they shall be fauoured by the vallies of *Mocrea*, and the thickets of
» *Modrissa*, and these dens & starting holes which are the ordinary refuges of theeues
» and robbers. Behold with what securitie and suertie the battell is offered vnto you,
» euen in a manner at home, and at your owne doores. If your selues will, they cannot
» stand against you, neither for valure nor for number: and you can not desire a place
» more fit and conuenient to fight on horsebacke. For my part either will I loose my
» life together with you, and here will I rest, if not fortunate, yet free amongst the dead
» bodies of my deerest companions, or else by your prowes and vertue I will so carrie
» and demeane my selfe, as the seuere iudgement of our Prince shall haue no cause to
» reproue vs. Goe to then my good friends, let euery man be of good courage, none
» did desire this voyage so earnestly as we, none did accept the iourney with more ioy
» and gladnesse. If we be conquerors, none can expect greater glorie nor greater re-
» wardes then are prepared for vs: if we be vanquished, as great will be the frownes, the
» scornes and the reproofe which will be laid vpon vs.

Thus saying he sent forth a certaine number of souldiers in manner of a forlorne hope, to skirmish with the Christians, and to keepe them play, that whilest they did stoppe and hinder their furie and violence, himselfe in the meane time might take some sure course vpon the hazard of his whole forces in the maine fight: and then afterwards by little and little he came to trie the fortune of the field. *Scanderbeg* on the other side thus spake vnto his men.

Oration of Scanderbeg encouraging his souldiers to the battell against Debreas.

» How now my souldiers? what a shame is this? Haue they that were of late your
» prisoners taken armes now againe? Haue they the courage to oppose themselues a-
» gainst you that were their maisters? See these infamous reliques of the campe of *A-*
» *meſe*, they complaine and they cry out against you, that you were but bad banquet-
» ters. For it is the fashion at great banquets, and it is the dutie of right banquetters to
» leaue nothing behind them: behold here I see other store also of fresh and new forces
» with their new Generall: what other thing is it, then a newe matter and obiect of
» greater glorie? downe with them, ouerthrowe them as you were wont, you braue
» *Albanois*. Let not our faintnesse and slothfulnesse cast vs out of the possession of our
» wonted good fortune: let not our aduersaries haue any occasion to say by our present
» misfortune, that it was *Modrissa*, and the vallies of *Mocrea*, and not we that did of late
» vanquish them: let the plaine and open fieldes, giue plaine and apparant proofe of
» your valiant hearts and vndaunted valure.

In this manner admonishing and encouraging his companies, he tooke especiall care that his souldiers should keepe themselues firme in good array and order of battell, to the intent the rankes might not be confounded and intermingled, but might be discerned and distinguished from the enemie. And he had this reason especially, for that the smaller number being once disordered, might easily be forced and ouerthrowen by the greater. And because he durst not relie too much vpon the strength of those loose troupes which he had made out to encounter and to beginne the fight with the Barbarians: he caused *Moſes* and *Ameſe* with a strong squadron of chosen men, to make head against the enemie which was comming to giue the onset vpon him: doubting least if at the beginning of the battell they in the forefront should hap-

The battell of Pologne.

pen

pen to be repulsed, both his owne people might be the more troubled and terrified, and the enemie the better hartened and encouraged. As for the rest of his squadrons, he kept them close and excellently well ordered in great silence. In like case, the Infidell either doubting the obscuritie of the night, or conforming his counsels to the tenour and demeanour of the Christians, stirred not at all: but with his battell close arraunged and in good array, he held himselfe quiet as a beholder of the fight. Thus the conflict betweene the vauntcurrours on the one side and the other did seeme to represent (as it were) a pleasant combat: and the two armies on both partes did carefully attend in great doubt the euent and hazard of the battell, which it behoued them shortly to vndertake. But the *Dibrian* did soone cut off this spectacle and their expectation: for like a violent storme rushing in vpon the middest of them that fought, with the destruction and slaughter of a great many, he did easily put the rest to flight, and with the exceeding vehemencie of his furie, hauing forgotten himselfe, he had without all doubt pursued them euen into the middest of their maine battallion, if that *Amese* calling backe his souldiers had not refrayned his furie, and with good words as well as deedes had not caused him to retire their ensignes.

Moses putteth to flight the Turkes that began the fight.

Certaine it is and not to be denied: that *Moses* was a braue man, hardie and valiant of his person, and a most excellent Captaine fit to haue the commaund of any forces: yet when he was once embrued with the blood of his enemies, and that (as the saying is) his blood was once hot: his impatiencie did so master him, that he was not able any longer to rule and moderate himselfe. Wherefore it is reported that *Scanderbeg* did sharply reprehend him: admonishing him to temper his hardinesse and audacitie with more moderation and modestie, and to vse his victorie more aduisedly: that well it might be toletable in a priuate souldier to be so audacious and hardie: but in a leader which hath the charge and commaund of men, it is a fault no lesse pernitious then reproueable, and a very bad president and ill ensample.

Moses his immoderate fury in the heat of fight.

"Speech of "Scanderbeg "to Moses re- "prehending "his ouermuch "hardines.

But the rare qualities and excellent deserts of this worthie personage do inuite me, by the way to touch a word or two concerning his originall. This *Moses* (who was called the *Dibrian*) by reason that he dwelt, and did possesse a goodly and large territorie and inheritance amongest the *Dibrians*, by another surname was called *Golemc Ariamnites* by nation an *Epirot*: descended and borne in the citie of *Valmes* in *Epire*: *Musache* being his father and *Roissana* his mother. This *Musache* had two brethren to wit *Ariamnites Golemc* or *Comniat* father in lawe to *Scanderbeg* (of whom hath bene before entreated.) And *Vladienne Golemc de Ariamnites*, who begot *Musache*, surnamed *Golemc de Ariamnit*: otherwise *Musache de Angeline*, so called by reason of his mother the sister of *Scanderbeg*: and thus much briefly for the discent of *Moses*. But to our purpose.

Moses his originall & discent of pedegree.

Valmes a citie in Epire.

The rest of the troupes Albanois stood a while at a stay, and without moning either forward or backward, admiring the extreme hardines of the Chieftaine. But on the contrary, the enemies were striken with an exceeding feare, and began thereupon to conceiue a certaine and generall resolution to fly away, and to leaue fighting: notwithstanding thinking that the Christians by reason of the darknesse of the night would not stirre any farther, nor enterprize any thing, but deferre the maine fight till the break of the day, they stirred not at all, but held good & stood firme for a while, & the rather for that besides the shame and ignominie, they iudged that their flight in the vncertaintie of the darke would be farre more perilous and full of hazard. Likewise the Albanois was not a little perplexed in his thoughts, but had diuerse imaginations in his minde: being in doubt whether he should attend the day-light or else should presse forward this his good fortune, which to men of warre, is very light and

inconstant. For herein he found him selfe deceiued of his hope, in that he thought to haue surprized them at vnwares, and found them out of order, as he had of late ouertaken the *Amezans*: & yet for all that, seeing he had ouerthrown and beaten backe their first troupes, he was in hope that they would not abide him but be gone, and so pursuing them at their backes, he might obtaine the victorie without any losse or bloodshed of his owne men. Now therefore when he perceiued them to set a good countenance on the matter, and yet neuertheless to be (as it were) in a mammering, and readie to turne their backs: without any more delay, he sounded a charge & gaue the onset vpon them most furiously both before and behind: saying vnto his souldiers.

Speech of Scanderbeg encouraging his souldiers to giue the charge vpon Debreas.

Come on (my friends) let vs vse the victorie whilest these fellowes are thus amazed, and whilest their wounds are yet fresh and bleeding: let vs preuent the enemie of their flight, which they are now deuising and debating, how to take their most aduantage, and how to get away free and safe out of our sight.

Debreas his troups endured the shocke at the first verie coldly: which made him to repaire to their fore rankes, where he animated & exhorted them to behaue themselues manfully and to stand firme both with good words, and by the example of his owne vertue and valour: insomuch that now they began to receiue the Christians to the encounter with a good resolution, & made them to hold bridle, & stopped them in their pace. But whilest they were thus combating together, and that ech of the armies were in doubt to be confounded and entangled one within another, the fight as yet was not verie mortall, till such time as one of the *Musaches* was sent with part of the horsemen from the left wing to charge the enemie vpon that side, where first of all their rankes beganne to breake and be disordered. *Scanderbeg* pressing continually vpon them in the forefront, did beate vp and downe the presse hauing a vehement desire to encounter with the Generall of the Turkes, and he had enioyned some of his people with promises of good rewardes to carie a good eye vpon *Debreas*. The report is, that it was a propertie peculiar and vsuall with him in all battels & encounters, to lay the first and principall plot of his victory against his enemies by giuing the onset vpon their Generall, and by his death and destruction: for he was wont commonly to say, That the head was first to be cut off, and then that the rest of the bodie would tumble after it all alone: that he knew not any kind of creature in the whole world, which could surviue after the head thereof was once taken away.

Policie of Scanderbeg in battell to aime at the destruction of the Generall of his enemies.

Saying of Scanderbeg touching the cutting off of the Generall of the enemies.

But the braue and sudden charge giuen by *Musache*, did somewhat hinder the purpose of *Scanderbeg*, for that *Debreas* leauing the head of the battell where he as then kept, did suddenly make towardes that side: that repulsing the enemie and redressing the rankes againe in good order which *Musache* had disordered, he might cause them to temporize yet a while, and to beare off the violence of their enemies, till such time as it grew to be day. The souldiers in the vaunegard no sooner perceiued their Generall to be absent, but they beganne presently to waxe more faint and slacke in fighting, suffering themselues with little violence to be beaten backe euen into the middest of their other battallions. *Moses*, to the intent he might winne honour by so glorious an action, brake in verie furiously amongst the thickest of them, and snatching an Ensigne out of the handes of one of the Barbarians, he threwe it to his copanions that followed him. This accident made them to redouble their fiercenesse against the enemie, and did with a kinde of iealouzie so incense and set spurres to their courages, that they came trouping thither on all sides as men that bravely despised all daunger, and feare of death. Then beganne the slaughter and chiefest feare amongst the Infidels: then might you haue seene many a *Moses*: then might you haue seene how the Turkes by heapes and companies forsooke and lost their Standarder:

A hardie act of Moses.

There was no more queſtion or contention who ſhould keepe the fielde: but euerie man thought it beſt to ſhift for himſelfe by running away. The miſſortune that followed *Debreas* made him forgetfull of all good diſcipline and martiall order, and depriued him of all good counſell. For without all delay (as a man diſtracted with furie and feare) he came poaſting thitherwards: where, as he was carefully buſied in rallying of his ſquadrons, and ſeeking to renue the battell: *Scanderbeg* who had euer caried an eye towardes him, came vpon him, and with his launce in the reſt charged him, and with the point thereof ran him cleane through a litle aboue the breſt euen vnder the chinne: and he endeuoring to auoide the blowe by bending aſide his head, receiued the ſtaffe wholly into his bodie: and he made an end both of his life and of this battell. Being fallen from his horſe his people couered him with their bodies, as long as they thought him to be liuing, ſtill looking that he ſhould remount againe to horſebacke: but perceiuing his bodie lie dead without a ſoule, and that there was not now any man left which could vpbraid them for flying away: they turned bridle immediately, and abandoned ſpeedily both their ſtandardes, their cariages, their companions and their enemies: and they held him to be moſt accurſed, that in flying was the hindermoſt. Thoſe ſouldiours that ſerued vnder *Ameſe* in the laſt iorney at *Modriſſa*, hauing ſtill in mind that aduenture, as they fought verie warily and careſull of their liues: ſo were they the foremoſt and moſt fortunate in their flight: the which being made more certaine by reaſon of the day-light, ſo was it the more cruell and cauſed the greater bloodſhed and ſlaughter. For *Muſachie* on the one ſide, and *Moſes* on the other purſuing and preſſing cloſe vpon them at their heeles, did kill and cut off more of them in the chaſe, then were ſlaine in the field during the fight: and ſome of them alſo were taken aliue. Much more large and ample no doubt had this victorie bene, at leaſt in reſpect of them which were wounded, if the Chriſtians had bene ſeconded with any Archers or Harquebuzziers: but more then their launces, targets, and courtlaxes they had no other weapons to vſe vpon the enemie. At the length when they were gotten a good way within the Turkiſh confines, and that the chaſe now ſeemed to be more dangerous to them that followed, then to thoſe which fled, *Scanderbeg* left purſuing of them, and gathered together his troupes, who were maruellouſly glad and ioyfull: and ſo he retired with his priſoners without any loſſe or dammage, hauing not any one of his men either ſlaine or wounded. Thus you ſee by the ſtrange ſucceſſe of this battell, how fortune diſpoſeth of the purpoſes of men, and doth ſometimes fauour them beyond all reaſon and conſideration. The Turkes loſt 4120 men: and therefore the Chriſtians might well ſay (as they might vſually) that this victorie was not bought but giuen.

Debreas ſlaine by Scanderbeg.

Victorie of Scanderbeg againſt the armie of Debreas.

A Sentence.

Number of Turkes ſlaine in the battell of Pologue.

Victory not bought but giuen to the Chriſtians.

The bootie by order of the Prince, being brought forth in the common and open ſight of them all was equally deuided amongeſt the ſouldiers: to the intent that they which had continued the furie of the fight, by following the chaſe vpon the enemie, without any care of ſacking their campe, or ſpoiling of the dead, might not ſuſtaine any loſſe or diſaduantage. To *Moſes* he gaue with his owne hand the horſe and armour of *Debreas*, with an honourable teſtimonie likewiſe of his great deſertes and commendations. As for the reſt, euerie one had a ſhare, and fared the better for this iorney, and ſome of them had priſoners giuen vnto them. Amongſt others, *Muſachie* his fortune was, to haue a yong Turke to his priſoner, whoſe phyſiognomy and good countenance ſhewed him to be both of nobilitie and of courage. But betweene the maſter and the priſoner, there aroſe forthwith a pleaſant controuerſie, which gaue occaſion of laughter to all the ſtanders by, and I will impart the ſame vnto you. The young man hauing ſome ſpeech with *Muſachie* concerning his ranſome, demaunded

Debreas his horſe and armour giuen to Moſes by Scanderbeg in honour of his valure & vertue.

A pleasant question betweene Musache and a Turke his prisoner.

of him, what summe would content him: in the end they agreed vpon 200. crownes, which the Turke presently taking out of a litle bagge payed, and told out vnto him: and afterwardes desiring leaue to depart, the Epirot began to smile: telling him, that he must seeke elsewhere for some other money to make vp his ransome: that it was no reason he should thinke to pay him with his owne money: that all that coine, and what else soeuer was taken with him, did of right belong vnto him, and was in one and the same case and condition with his bodie, and that a prisoner taken in the war, could not reserue nor chalenge any thing as his owne. The Turke sometimes with reasons, and sometimes with entreatie desired him to let him goe. But (to make short) the matter was brought before *Scanderbeg*, who purposely commanded both the one and the other of them to alledge what they could in defence of their right: and afterwards turning him to his people, he vsed these wordes.

Speech of Scanderbeg deciding a controuersie betweene Musache & the Turke his prisoner

Truely (said he) here is a pretie controuersie, both of these plead for that which is mine: the money *Musache* which we knew not of, we did not bestow vpon thee: nor you (sir youth) ought not to abuse vs with this wile, who doe well know, that euen the life wherewith thou breathest, is but borrowed, and dependeth on our mercie: so farre is it that thou canst pretend any right to be reserued to thy selfe in anie thing. Notwithstanding there is no reason that I should be iudge in mine owne cause: but who will not iudge rightly in a matter of libertie? and who will not set aside all rigour and rightes of warre in fauor of a prisoner? To thee therefore *Musache*, we giue of our owne free motion all that this prisoner hath about him: and do thou as franckly and freely giue him his libertie: or rather, the dutie of nature, on this condition, that if euer hereafter he fall againe into thy hand, thou shalt dispose of him fully and freely at thine owne pleasure and discretion.

Thus this young Turke being verie glad and exceeding ioyfull, that he had gotten his libertie: and hauing also both his horse and his armes franckly giuen him by *Scanderbeg*, departed, highly commending without ceasing, this his bountie and liberalitie, praying vnto God hartily to prosper both the King and the estate of *Albanie*. The Christians trussing vp their baggage, towardes the euening did retire thence into *Dibria*, where during the time of their aboad, (as it is commonly seene that when any enterprise succeedeth happily vnto men, it lifteth vp their minds to affect greater matters,) the *Albanois* beganne to make a motion in a generall councell touching their proceeding in the warres, and for the assaulting and winning of some townes from the enemie. But in the end it was concluded for the best and most expedient, that they should stay a while to see what the Turkish Monarch would do after this discomfiture of his forces, least they should happen incontinently to vndertake an action, either with too much hastinesse & temeritie, or more dangerous then would easily be effected. Two monethes therefore were limitted for the discouering of that matter, and there were espials dispersed throughout all partes: notwithstanding that there was no want of fugitiues both from *Andrinople* and other places, which came daily to yeelde themselues to the *Albanois*. These things thus passed, *Moses* retyred himselfe to his garrison vpon the frontiers: and *Scanderbeg* with *Amese* and the rest of his Princes and Nobles, tooke his iourney towards *Croy*.

Sentence.

Mahomet and his Nobles greatly troubled and vexed at the discomfiture of Debrea.

In this meane time, the army of the Barbarians which had bene broken and ouerthrowen, was returned and come to the presence of *Mahomet*, who though he saw them in a most miserable plight, and distressed in all respects, yet tooke no pittie nor compassion of their estate. For first of all, both the *Sultan* and all the great persons of his Court, were greatly troubled and agreeued at the flight of so many sufficient and able men, saying openly and aloud, that they were people enough to haue restored the

the fortune of any battell, had it bene neuer so desperate and out of hope. Afterwards, when as the great Turke came to enquire of the particulars, where and in what place the battell had bene fought, and against what troupes and numbers of the enemie: then was he much more enflamed with rage and choller then before, commaunding them out of his sight, reproaching and blaming them vncessantly, and exclaming against and detesting their faintnesse, sloth, and cowardice. Moreouer, the misfortune and mishappe of *Debreas* caused those of his condition and calling, rather to be glad then to grieue thereat: were it either because they did enuie the reputation of his valour and vertue: or that they did hate his audacious presumption. *Mahomet* himselfe was exceedingly abashed at the successe of this miracle, and was not altogether free and exempted from feare. He could not be perswaded that *Scanderbeg* with so small a companie, durst enterprize to enter so farre vpon his frontiers, and euen in the open plaines of *Pologne* to encounter with *Debreas*. Notwithstanding finding that their testimonies did agree in all parts, and that there was no difference nor disagreement in their tales; he durst not call in question the truth of their reportes. Touching the principall point, which was, how to be reuenged: he wanted not flatterers of all sorts, (an ordinarie plague attending great Princes, and which doeth puffe them vp with vanitie) who by a certaine reprochfull and artificiall interpretation, did obscure and detract from the honor and deserts of the Christians, offering both their persons and their liues to serue against them, and vndertaking and promising, that they would ouerreach and goe beyond the *Epirot*, were he neuer so cunning and well practised in sleights & policies: that euerie place was not as *Modrissa*: that the starres would not fauour him in all places: that he should not find euerie one to be an *Amese*, nor a *Debreas*, especially when that *Scanderbeg* should see himselfe beset and assailed with such a troublesome *Hydra* hauing so many heades: and that of echt one which was cut off and ouercome, there should still arise another monster who would neuer cease to seeke to deuoure him. And were it that he were (as a man may say) euen in the armes of his *Iesus*: yet should he not be alwaies in safetie and securitie.

"Sentence.
"Speeches and
"perswasions
"of Mahomet
"his flatterers
"animating
"him against
"Scanderbeg

Mahomet did gladly giue eare to the good affection of his people, and he would not openly gainesay nor contradict any one of them, that offered themselues so willingly to these daungers: but the craftie Foxe had another matter hammering in his head: his braines were beating and deuising vpon another kinde of reuenge, which might be wrought with lesse bloodshed & losse of his people: namely, how he might oppresse and confound this his aduersarie by some ciuill and domesticall warre, and by stirring vp against him the armes and ambushments of some of his owne subiects. For he knew, that where force of armes would not preuaile, there policie and other sleights of warre ought to supply their defects. A course which he himselfe had oftentimes put in practise with happie and good successe against many others, by following the tract which his father *Amurath* had troden before him, at such time as he impatronized himselfe vpon the empire of *Greece*. And (such are the ticklings and enticementes of mens desires, especially when they seeke for Empires and dominions) he easily promised vnto himselfe and was perswaded, that he should find some of the most inward and familiar friends of *Scanderbeg*, who would be wrought and allured to be the authors and executioners of his wicked practise: wherein he was not altogether deceiued.

Mahomet deuiseth to corrupt some of Scanderbeg his subiects.

"Sentence.

At that time there were many about *Scanderbeg* who were of great account and authority with him, both in the administration of the estate, as also in the warres. But as *Moses* did excell them all in the practise and experience of armes, so was he in the highest degree of fauour and reputation with his Prince: and *Scanderbeg* loued

Mahomet seeketh to vndermine the faith of Moſes.

and eſteemed him aboue all the reſt. This made the *Ottoman* to haue a deſire to practiſe and worke with this perſonage, and by the greatneſſe of his faire and large promiſes, to make a conqueſt of the fortreſſe of his conſtancie, faith and loialtie. One thing there was which he did hope would greatly further the conuciance of this matter: and that was, becauſe it was told him, that the lands and poſſeſſions of *Moſes* did bound and butte vpon his confines, eſpecially towards *Sfetigrade*: ſuppoſing that this neare neighbourhood would giue him the more eaſie and readie acceſſe to haue ſome ſpeech and conference with him: and that the whole matter might be handled the more conueniently and the more ſecretly. Wherefore touching any further prouiſions to be made for the wars, and to thoſe vaine offers & vaunts made by his Courtiers: he faigned that vpon ſome good conſiderations he would deferre the reuenge of his wrongs and outrages in *Epire*, till another time and ſeaſon, and then hauing communicated this ſecret with one or two of his moſt priuate and faithfull Councellours, he wrote vnto the Gouernour of *Sfetigrade* in a moſt cunning and ſubtile manner, and the ſaying is, that he did the like to the Gouernour of *Alchria*. But it is not much materiall whether he writ to them both or not: yet I beleeue, that this web was weaued and this practiſe was begunne, continued and ended in one of thoſe places onely: neither was it wrought for all that without great daunger and difficultie: and the reaſon which maketh me to thinke ſo, is the qualitie of the caſe, and alſo for that the letters ſent to *Alchria* (if there were any) did neuer ſort to any purpoſe and effect.

Letters of Mahomet to the gouernor of Sfetigrade willing him to practiſe with Moſes to reuolt from Scanderbeg.

The Gouernour of *Sfetigrade* hauing receiued the letters which were ſent vnto him, did peruſe them verie ſecretly, and he had a great deſire to execute the commandement of his ſoueraigne as effectually as he might: for that by the accompliſhing of his will and pleaſure, he was ſure to become great, and to be highly rewarded. The ſubſtance of the letters in regard of *Moſes* was to this effect: That he ſhould deale with him in the name of *Mahomet*, and to put it to his choiſe, whether he would accept of money, or elſe haue preferment and aduancement of eſtate and liuings, eyther with the Turkes in the court of the Emperour, or (if he had rather) in the realme of *Albanie*, vpon this condition: That he ſhould make away *Scanderbeg*, or by ſome meanes cauſe him to be made away: or at the leaſt by leauing of his ſeruice to follow the armes and partie of *Ottoman*. Many other good ſpeeches were added in the letters fit to perſwade and induce him thereunto, by which it was eaſie to be diſcerned what was further to be done in the matter: albeit there was not any mention at all made of *Moſes*. And it was referred to the power and diſcretion of the gouernour to deale as the time and the place ſhould giue him opportunitie, and as he ſhould iudge to be moſt for the profit and dignitie of his maieſtie. The Barbarian forgot nothing of that was enioyned him, but vſed ſingular dexteritie, diligence, and diſcretion in inuiting *Moſes* to conferre with him. And the better to attaine thereunto, he imparted this matter to a Chriſtian one of his owne houſhold ſeruants, and by Nation an *Albanois*: putting him in hope, that it ſhould be the meane to enrich both him and his houſe for euer, if he could bring the *Dibrian* to this point to haue ſome ſpeech and conference with him. This fellow therefore did the gouernour ſend towards *Moſes*.

A meſſenger ſent to Moſes from the Gouernour of Sfetigrade to practiſe with him for his reuolt.

The night ſeemed to be the fitteſt time for the effecting of this matter, during the which, this *Epyrot* taking his iorney, and being skilfull of all the places and paſſages of the countrie, he neuer loſt his way, but came directly to the place where he found *Moſes* with his garriſon in the frontiers of the Prouince. The *Dibrian* preſently vpon the comming of this meſſenger from the enemie, gaue him conuenient opportunitie to ſpeake vnto him, and withdrew him apart from all other companie: who before

before that he came to breake with him any thing touching his message or the cause of his comming, at the very first entreated him to take the paines to come to *Sfetigrade*. Whereupon seeing him to refuse so to doe, and that he did in a manner laugh at the impudency of the Infidels, he changed his course, and falling to flattering, and faire speeches, he made him attentiue to his talke: then entring into the matter, he discouered to him in some sort the intention and minde of the *Sultan*. *Moses* gladly gaue eare vnto him, and with a wonderfull liking (such is the variety of men especially of them that follow armes) he swallowed vp the cunning and close bait of his own praises: namely, when the messenger told him, that the great Turke did so highly honor and esteeme of him, that he thought him only of all the flower of *Epire*, worthy to be sollicited both by letters and by speeches. Reason would he should rather haue blushed for shame, to see him selfe only amongst so many others (as a man forlorne & of a desperate hope) to be chosen and selected as a fit instrument and occasion of so detestable and felonious an act, and of a crime so hatefull, vile & trecherous. But such is our corrupt desire of earthly honors, and so ambitious are our thoughts, aspiring to glory and Empire, that it maketh vs altogether to forget our selues and our dueties. Neuertheless for that time did *Moses* shew him selfe both by his speaches, and by his countenance to be such a one, that the subtill messenger could not tell what to make of him, or whether he did approue or reproue that which had beene propounded vnto him. Yet did this minister of Sathan sufficiently coniecture of the meaning and thoughtes of the man, and therefore not detayning him with any further discourse, but promising to returne vnto him againe shortly, he tooke his leaue and returned to the Gouernour. It is commonly reported, that when *Moses* was demanded by some of his souldiers, what communication had passed betweene them, he answered, that it was a spy of the partes neare about *Sfetigrade*, which came to giue him certain aduertisements, and that he was in good hope by his aide and assistance to doe the king good seruice and greatly to further his attempts & purposes. The souldiers did easily beleeue what he saied, as not mistrusting any thing. Besides that, the habit and attire, and the speach of the messenger being a Christian did seeme to perswade and import no lesse. And what reason had they but to credit *Moses*, whose faith and fidelity had bene so notably knowen and testified, and into whose handes the whole estate of his Prince had bene so often put and committed? especially in the warre of *Dayna*, when that *Mustapha* on the one side, and the *Venetians* on the other side, did seeke to haue gotten the estate of *Epire* from him? Notwithstanding the *Dibrian* was noted euer afterwardes to be very sad and pensiue, more then he was wont or vsually accustomed: which proceeded (as I suppose) of the remorse of conscience that seemed to touch him with a deepe consideration of the fact, being so weighty, difficult, and important. He was mightely distracted and perplexed in his mind, somtimes his heart was touched with the thoughtes and remembrance of the curtesie and humanity of his prince, who deserued no such vnkinde and wicked part, and with the greatnesse of the authority & preheminence which he had about *Scanderbeg*, wherwith any other besides him would haue held him selfe highly contented, sometimes againe he considered the excessiue greatnesse and rewardes offered him by *Mahomet*, especially the crowne and scepter presented vnto him, a thing so much desired and affected of miserable mortal men, and so sweete a thing doe the thinke it to sit aloft, and to be preferred aboue other men. But in the middest of these meditations, and in this variety of his thoughtes and cogitations, he did with great deuotion attend the returne of his espiall: a manifest argument that his heart was corrupted. O most impious and wicked ears, that could so easily be drawen and allured to hearken so long vnto so mischieuous a message! O most

" Sentent.

" Sentent.

ingrate and vnthankfull *Moſes*, whoſe inconſtancy could cauſe thee to violat thy faith and loyalty, and to conſpire againſt thy country, againſt thy Prince, againſt thy frends and companions, againſt thy religion, againſt thy owne dignity and honor, & againſt the ſecurity of thy own eſtate, vpon a vaine hope of ſome idle conceited good hap, and of a thing meerely doubtfull and vncertaine?

Moſes peruerted and corrupted to become a traitour to Scanderbeg.

Whileſt the *Dibrian* did remaine thus perplexed & turmoiled with the vncertainty of his owne thoughts, behold our gentle meſſenger is againe returned, plentifully furniſhed and prouided, not onely with words farre more ſweete and plauſible, but with rich giftes and ſumptuous preſents: yet I doe not finde that *Moſes* did accept of any of them, but that onely his mind was now throughly poſſeſſed with a diſpoſition enclining to infidelity and treaſon. Notwithſtanding the aunſwere which he made to the meſſenger, did ſufficiently diſcouer the malady of his minde: for he willed him to come no more into his preſence, that he did moſt humbly thanke the *Sultan* for his great fauour, and good will, and promiſed him ſo to cary and demeane himſelfe, that from thenceforward he ſhould not find him to be his enemy. Thus whileſt that *Scanderbeg* being ignoraunt of the counſels of *Mahomet*, doth ſend abroad eſpials on all ſides, to ſound and ſearch out his determinations, the Infidelles are plotting and deuiſing how to worke him a greater miſchiefe, and to ouerwhelme him with a daunger farre more pernicious.

Speche of Moſes to the Turkiſh meſſenger.

Scanderbeg determineth to haue the aide of Italians in the warres.

It hath bene before touched, how that both *Scanderbeg* and his ſubiects, did delay and put off the warre, and the beſieging of townes for a ſeaſon, to a time then prefixed and appointed: which being now expired, and no newes of any motions or tumults heard of from *Andrinople*, but that all things were in good reſt and quietneſſe; the king of *Albany* bethought and deuiſed with him ſelfe what expedition were beſt to be vndertaken, and what things were requiſite to haue it well and orderly executed. To this end he was reſolued (if he might) to aide him ſelfe with the ſuccours of the *Italians*, conſidering, that though his ſubiects were excellent in fighting of maine battels, and in combatting hand to hand in the plaine field: yet did he not thinke them to be fitte or ſufficient for the aſſaulting of holdes, and the forcing of townes, and ſuch like ſeruices. *Alphonſus* King of *Sicily* and *Naples* (of whom mention hath beene often made) did keepe his Court continually at *Naples*, which was not farre diſtant from thence. And for as much as not onely *Scanderbeg*, but in a manner all Chriſtendome, did vſe this Prince with a kind of familiarity, he tooke care to vſe the helpe of no other, but of him onely; aſſuring him ſelfe, that of all the Princes and Potentates Chriſtian, he ſhould not finde any more willing nor more ready to aide and aſſiſt him. For this cauſe before hee would proclaime any leauy or muſter of men within his Prouince, he cauſed two good and ſtrong ſhippes to be rigged, trimmed, and made ready: which being richly furniſhed and fraughted with many excellent and ſumptuous preſentes, he ſent with two of the greateſt and nobleſt perſons of his kingdome vnto *Alphonſus* with letters written in moſt familiar and pleaſaunt manner. Someafffrme, that becauſe hee would finde him the more ready to ſend him ſuccours, he did require *Alphonſus* by this Ambaſſade, to receiue him into his ſafegard and protection: but the Epiſtle enſuing ſpeaketh not a word of any ſuch matter, neither doe I dare to auerre it for trueth. The tenour of thoſe letters were as followeth.

To the moſt noble and victorious Prince Alphonſus king of Arragon, Naples, and Sicilie: Scanderbeg king of the Epirots ſendeth health and proſperity.

Our ſouldiours (moſt Catholique King) know how to fight with men onely in the

the field: but for the assaulting of walles and holdes, they are vtterly ignorant. You *Italians* (as I heare) are very skillfull in that kinde of seruice, and you loue it well: this is the cause that wee at this time haue neede of your good aide, which we desire you to impart vnto vs. The Infidelles are possessed of certaine of our townes in *Epire*: and I haue for a long time had a singular desire to plucke this thorne (if God be so pleased) out of my foote, but the continuall impedimentes and hinderaunces of the warres, hauing euer withheld me, I haue not bene able to this day to bring it to any good passe. Wherefore to the intent I might accomplish my desire, I haue made choise of this oportunity: being most fit both in regard of the season now present, as also of the leysure and rest which *Mahomet* hath permitted vs, whose fury we haue now represled in two seuerall combattes and battelles. You may gesse by few wordes what it is that we haue neede of, all other things are in a readinesse, onely we stay for succours and aide from you, which (if it shall please your Maiesty) you may send vnto vs: namely Harquebushiers and Crossebowes, such as are skilfull to fight aloose, and to trouble the enemy a farre off: for of other souldiours, our dominions are sufficiently well furnished. But ô how happy may I account *Naples* and *Sicily* which are gouerned by such a king as my *Alphonsus*, from whence as out of a treasury, a man may haue choise of all presidentes and examples of vertue. If we haue neede of your people either in peace or in war: both our estate hath bene furthered by your lawes, and our warres haue bene maintained by your armes. For my part, I doe so highly esteeme of your loue and good will, and the memory of your exceeding great benefits doth remaine so sacred & inuiolable in my mind, that many times I wish (though perhaps therein I ouershoot my selfe) that your fortune and estate were such, as you might haue occasion to try and proue, rather then to purchase and tie your friends vnto you. For so should I be able by some certaine and euident proofe to testifie my deuotion and ready seruice, and the entire affections of my vntained loue towards you.

Letters of Scanderbeg to Alphonsus king of Naples &c.

The Ambassadors hauing had their dispatch with these letters, *Scanderbeg* made a iourney into *Dibria*, where the garrison then lay, and had in his company *Amese* his nephew, *Musache* his brother in law, and some other of his Lordes and nobles, with whom he purposed there to consult vpon the estate of his affaires, and to take some order for the leauying of an army. Being arriued there, he demanded of *Moses*, whether he had learned any newes that concerned the estate, being so neare and continuall a neighbour to the enemy? His aunswer was: That he heard of none, but (quoth he) I haue had conference of late with a man of *Sfetigrade*, to see if there could be found any way or meane to get that place from the enemy, but he hath protested and sworne vnto me with great oaths, that it is so carefully guarded, and so circumspectly gouerned with watch and ward day and night, and it is so aboundantly furnished and prouided of al necessaries, that it is not possible by any means to obtaine it. For the *Dibrian* was in great feare and doubt, least that *Scanderbeg* should enterprise the recouery of *Sfetigrade*, and by that meanes he should not be able to keepe his promise made to the *Sultan*, wherefore his chiefest care was so to perswade with *Scanderbeg*, that he might turne his minde wholly to the siege of *Belgrade*.

Scanderbeg visiteth his garrison with Moses

Speeches and dissimulation of Moses to Scanderbeg.

Mahomet hauing heard what had passed betweene *Moses* & the man of *Sfetigrade*, was much troubled in his minde, considering he had no assuraunce by any pledge or gage of the faith of *Moses*. Notwithstading being then pressed with other cares more vrgent concerning *Greece*, which at that time called him to armes, he surceased for a time the expedition of *Epire*, because he could not conueniently goe thither him selfe in person, nor yet send any great forces sufficient to atchieue and compasse a matter of that importance. On the other side to prouoke the enemy or rather to feede him still

Mahomet willeth the gouernour of Sfetigrade to hold on his traffike with Moſes.

with light inuaſions and running Camps, he held it to be a courſe neither correſpondent to his greatneſſe, nor yet for his aduantage or profite. Wherefore without any more adoe ſending other letters vnto the Gouernour, he willed him to haue in mind what he had giuen him in charge, and both commending his diligence, and ſpurring him on in his good deuoire, he encouraged him to perſeuere as he had begun, and to entertaine the Chriſtian with his wonted perſwaſions, not troubling him ſelfe with any thing elſe for that time touching the warre of *Albany*.

Succours ſent by Alphonſus king of Naples to Scanderbeg.

Whileſt matters ſtood thus in reſt and quietneſſe, *Alphonſus* receiued both the Ambaſſade and the letters of *Scanderbeg* very honourably, and with all ſpeed cauſed men to be leuied according as the haſt of the time would permit. There were muſtered to the number of 1000. footmen, 500. harquebuſsiers, & the reſt croſſebowes. The king would willingly haue encreaſed the number, but that the Ambaſſadours ſhewed him that thoſe would ſuffice, becauſe the places which were to be beſieged were but of a ſmal circuit and cõpaſſe: beſides that the Prouince of *Epire* was well ſtored with good and expert archers. Neuertheleſſe in ſtead of greater forces, they deſired him to furniſh them with certaine engines of aſſault, as artillery and barres of iron, all which were granted vnto them, and he appointed them alſo certaine Cannoniers for the ſeruice of the ordinance. The king *Alphonſus* alſo not contented with theſe offices of amity, did adde thereunto a great quantity of corne, and a huge ſumme of money, to defray the charge of the war, prouiding alſo two other veſſels richly furniſhed and appointed: In the which the ſouldiers being embarked vpon the *Adriaticke* ſea, or the gulfe of *Venice*, (where the paſſage was not aboue 60. miles ouer) he recommended them to God and to the windes. Within a while after, he ſent a new ſupply by *Gilbert Ortaſan* a knight of great valour and experience, by whom alſo he ſent letters vnto *Scanderbeg*: wherein firſt he rendred him thanks for the excellent giſts and preſents which had bene ſent him. Then highly praiſing and commending him for the confidence & good opinion which he had of his affaires, hee exhorted him to vſe him as his owne, and with officious tearmes of great amity, he endeuored to encreaſe that opinion in him. And withall moſt bountifully and liberally did he proffer & promiſe him, that all his beſt means ſhould be euer ready to do him pleaſure. As for the ſouldiers ſent vnto him, merely he made him this aunſwere: That the *Italians* were expert and very skilfull not onely in combatting with men vpon the wals of ſtrong holdes and defenced townes, but with Ladies and Gentlewomen in their priuat chambers: That the *Albanois* ought therefore to be carefull and to looke well vnto it, leaſt that they whom they had inuited to fight with their enemies a farre off, ſhould be found to enter combat neare home, and at hand within their owne houſes.

Gilbert Ortaſan a knight of Naples, ſent by Alphonſus to the aide of Scanderbeg.

Anſwer of Alphonſus king of Naples to the letters of Scanderbeg.

Our *Italians* being caried with a good and proſperous gale of wind which blew at South, had a pleaſaunt paſſage, and in few daies arriued in *Epire*. The ſouldiers being ſet on ſhoare with their baggage, armes, and furniture, went preſently to *Croy*, whileſt the Prince of *Albany* was yet in *Dibria* about the muſtering of his ſouldiers, (which was well neare finiſhed) and watching carefully to heare, if there were newes of any new motions or ſtirrings from the partes of Turkie. All things being ready prouided and nothing left vndone that was neceſſary, he returned with his army towards *Croy*, there to ioyne with the *Italian* forces, of whoſe comming he was well aſſured, and to make prouiſion of ſome other neceſſaries requiſite for the ſeruice that was intended. *Moſes* was left at *Dibria* with the garriſon which conſiſted of 1000. horſe, and as many footemen, though *Scanderbeg* were very vnwilling thereunto, and would gladly haue had his company in that voiage, hauing many times inuited him to go with him to that ſeruice, and offering to appoint ſome other in his place for the keeping of the borders.

borders: were it that he doubted of some future mischiefe, as oftentimes the dexterity of our spirites doth cause vs (though we know not why nor wherefore) to foresee things to come. Many others also encreated and perswaded with him, to go with them to the siege of *Belgrade*, but he being too precise and scrupulous in his faith and promise vnlawfully giuen to an Infidell, did by shifts and excuses cunningly exempt himselfe from that seruice, telling them that it was not conuenient, that that quarter of the countrey should be left to the mercy of the *Barbarian*: for *Belgrade* being situated on the other side of the countrey, was distant from *Dibris* more then one hundred and forty miles,) and that no man could more faithfully and carefully guard his lands and possessions then him selfe. That if they had gone to besiege *Sfetigrade* which was neare hand, he would haue borne them company: that it was not more discontenting to any then to him selfe, that he could not be at the siege, where he knew both himselfe might purchase honour, and his souldiers might finde great profite and benefit: that he was of the opinion, that he should haue enough to doe, and that *Mahomet* would not lie idle, but as soone as he should heare that *Belgrade* were besieged, he would perhaps inuade that part of the countrey, and renue the warre vpon the *Albanois*, purposely to withdraw and diuert their campe from before *Belgrade*. There was none but did allow of these his reasons: and his trecherous counsell was generally approued of those who were ignorant of the secret thoughtes of his heart. In so much as he had authority giuen him to encrease the garrison, according to the exigence of the affaires and the necessity of the time.

Moses faineth by excuse to exempt himself from going to the siege of Belgrade.

The king of *Epire* returning towards *Croy*, the *Italian* bands sent vnto him by *Alphonsus* went to meet him on the way, and receiuing him with great ioy & triumph, they conueyd him into the city, the residue of the army being willed to encamp without the walles. The Ambassadours hauing deliuered the effect of their charge, did consigne the money which they had brought into his hands, together with the kings letters: which being openly read in the publique assembly, gaue occasion of laughter vnto all the audience. *Castriot* with a long Oration magnified the liberality of the King of *Naples*, and his singular amity and friendshippe towardes the people of *Albanie*: and afterwardes gaue order that the straunge companies should be entertained each according to the estate of his degree and calling, and that they should be welcommed and feasted with publique banquets and triumphs, whilest that the commanders and chiefe officers of the army did take order for the mounting of the artillery and for the prouiding of cariages and other necessary instruments. All things being in a readinesse, *Scanderbeg* issued forth into the fielde, the whole multitude conueying him to his Campe, where first of all hauing taken a generall view and muster of his army, and publique prayers and processions being solemnly perfourmed before their departure, for a prosperous and happy returne, and for the victory: so as the souldiers being now ready to march, onely attending the stroake of the drumme and the sound of the trumpet, *Scanderbeg* spake vnto them in this manner.

Neapolitan Ambassade & succours entertained and feasted at Croy by Scanderbeg.

"This is now the eleuenth yeare of our continuall trauelles (my good souldiours) which we haue sustayned for the recouery and possession of out country of *Epire*, and for the feate and dwellings of out auncestors which were lost vnto the *Barbarian*, rather by a certaine kinde of fatall necessity, then by any default or want of courage either in them or vs. The time is now come that we must employ out whole power and endeuours to diuest these Infidels, and to expell them wholly out of our countrey, and with no lesse glory to impose the yoke vpon the necks of our enemies, then we haue already by the diuine clemency and your vnspeakable prowesse, shaken it off from our owne shoulders. If the life and the death of *Amurath* haue heretofore

Oration of Scanderbeg to his army being to march to the siege of Belgrade.

» giuen you a large and ample subiect of glory: you haue now a fitter occasion & a more
» noble matter to purchase honour. And it may be that his sonne is reserued for your
» greater glory. You haue had euen of late some pledge & experience of your good for-
» tune, and the tyrant gaue you some proofe and triall thereof, whilest that with the one
» hand (as it were) holding the funerals of his father, with the other he demanded peace
» of you, yet vnder a certaine colour and honest shew of tribute. The which we hauing
» denied him, he would with a strong hand haue enforced and exacted of vs, sending hi-
» ther certaine of his captaines and souldiers as Collectors of that his tribute, through-
» out all this Prouince. But the vallies of *Mocrea*, and the fields of *Pologne*, can testifie
» that they had but ill paiment, and that they made but a bad audit. The consideration
» hereof ought to spur vs on to follow and pursue that which remaineth yet vndone. A-
» mongst the rest the town of *Belgrade* doth seeme to promise vs no lesse good successe:
» in the siege whereof, we will continue as long as your selues shall thinke conuenient:
» in such sort that if either the fortune of the warre, or the obstinacy of the defendants,
» doe protract & draw it out at length, we are not determined to continue there longer
» then till the end of Autumne. Howbeit I am in good hope, that we shall not be en-
» forced to stay there to the end of that season, considering both your accustomed va-
» lour, the flower of so many goodly troupes, such great store of engines, and peeces for
» battery, wherewith the King of *Sicily* hath most bountifully furnished vs. Besides
» you know that *Belgrade* is a towne of Christians, peopled with our owne kinsmen
Theodore Co-rona, Lord of Belgrade in Bulgary. » and friends, and that *Amurath* after the death of *Theodore Corona* the last Lord of that
» city, did traiterously seize and possesse him selfe of the same. This place is yet full of her
» ancient citizens, who do onely attend to be freed and deliuered out of the seruitude of
» those Infidels. I am much deceiued if they do not greatly further and fauor our attepts,
» whereby the enemy shall be assailed both within & without. Go to therfore (my good
» friends and companions in armes) march on a Gods name resolutely and couragiously,
» succour them that attend in expectation of your vertue: at least wise spare not to en-
» force both them and the residue, if you find them peruerse and obstinate.

With the end of this Oration, there began a great cry and clamor of all the army with exceeding ioy and gladnesse: then began the companies to set forward, but *Scanderbeg* commanded them to stand, and that euery man should keepe him selfe still in his quarter: for neither had he as yet sent forth any vauntcurrours (as he was accustomed) to discouer the countrey: nor the Marshalles were not yet departed to choose a place for their campe to lodge in. *Tamises* had commission to this effect, who being accompanied with three thousand good horse departed immediatly without any further delay, endeuoring by his diligence to preuent the enemy. Then *Scanderbeg* sending his baggage and cariages before, did follow after with his maine army. The fame and report of this enterprise was already gotten to *Belgrade*, and the citizens were throughly enformed of euery thing in particular, which was the cause that the Christians, were deprined of all meanes to do them any dammage, either by secret ambushmets, or by open force & violence: for the peisants were retired into the strong holds with the chiefest of their corne and other prouisions, and hauing left nothing in the fields (for it was in the hart of sommer) they had layd vp all in garners within the wals, insomuch that the souldiers (naturally addicted to couetousnes & desire of pillage, and not finding any matter fit to prey vpon, or to make boot of) would not haue abstained from ouerrunning all the country, and from destroying & burning al with sword and fire, if *Tamises* had not hindered and withheld them: telling them, that he had no such charge nor commission giuen him by the general. Wherfore keeping good watch & ward on all sides, he lodged his troupes quietly and without any disturbance vnder the wals, without doing any outrage or iniury to the inhabitants, either in word or deed.

Tamises sent to begin the siege of Belgrade.

Neither did they in like manner in any sort hinder or contradict their approach, but held themselues still and quiet within the towne, without any stur or motion made against them: yet did they in the meane time carefully prouide for all things within the city, disposing their courts of gard and sentinels, and appointing ech man to his place. *Belgrade besieged.*

The garrison of Turkes within *Belgrade* was very strong, consisting of a thousand men at the least: the common people being Christians were more in number by a third part, yet altogether vnfit and vnapt to beare armes. For as touching the weaker sexe of women and children, they tooke no great care to suffer them to remaine and abide within the towne: but concerning the citizens, there was great difference and disagreement of opinions amongst the souldiers, whether they should permit them to continue there still, or to put them foorth. Some suspition they had of their faith and fidelitie, by reason that their ceremonies and religion was different from the Turkish profession. Notwithstanding this greatly diminished that suspition, in that they had bene suffered so long within the citie, and had bene friendly and courteously vsed by the *Ottoman*, and none of them had bene euer touched or suspected with any shewe or token of treason. Besides that, they sawe in their owne handes (as it were) certaine and assured pledges of their faith: euen their wiues, their children, their parents, and all their fortunes and possessions. The consideration of these contrarie respectes, did make them in a doubt what to doe and to determine of them. The Gouernour being willing to retaine them within the towne, & yet to haue some more assured gage of their faith, who were but as straungers vnto them: that he might make all sure: and that fighting with the enemie, he neede not to doubt any ciuill or domesticall rebellion, caused certaine of the chiefest and most auncient of the Christians to come vnto him, with whom, after he had taken them aside, he reasoned and discoursed a long time in close and couert termes, touching this warre and siege begun by the *Albanois*: and in the end discouering vnto them the deliberation of the souldiers, he aduertized them, that the matter could not be passed ouer without some sedition, if the minds of the garrison were not satisfied with some sure bond of their faith and fidelitie. That he for his part did neuer make any doubt of their truth and good deuoire, nor at that present had any mistrust therof, nor had lesse hope in their armes, then in himself & those of the garrison. That neuertheless it was his duty to admit and hearken to the plaints of the others, and to do them reason in their demands, whom it especially concerned, and to whom it principally appertained to bethinke them selues how they might be assured to haue but one only enemy. The *Belgradians* began to complaine and to find themselues agreeued, that this wrong should be done them, who had never committed any act, whereby the Turkes should either seeke to bring them into further seruitude, or should take occasion to conceiue that euill opinion of them: that they knew no reason whence this their mistrust should proceede, but onely because they were Christians, and of the race of the *Albanois*: But therein they did them apparaunt and great wrong, to thinke that they did esteeme of their safety more vnder others: considering that they could not possibly hope for more liberty, nor a more franke and free permission of their ceremonies and religion, then *Mahomet* euen to that day had graciously graunted vnto them. That all other pretences were but vaine and friuolous, by which they were charged to loue and to esteeme better of *Scanderbeg*, for that the towne of *Belgrade* was neuer any part of his dominion nor vnder his subiection. And that the *Belgradians* did disdaine the rule and gouernment of the *Castriots*: insomuch that they would endure any other indignity, rather then to be brought vnder his command and authority: that they had then had some appearance & likelihood of truth to be afraid of their faith, if there had bene left aliue any of the issue of *Theodore*,

Number of Turkes in the garrison of Belgrade.

Turkes within Belgrade are doubtfull of the faith of the Citizens.

Conference betweene the Gouernour and Citizens of Belgrade vpon the suspition elected of their faith by the garrison.

Answer of the citizens of Belgrade to the speeches of the Gouernour.

» who might haue presented himself to the communalty, which commonly is desirous
» of their auncient estate and condition: but nowe that he was dead and gone, all the
» alliance and societie of the *Albanois* was together with him dead and extinguished: and
» that euer since his death they had constantly and with singular good affection, accep-
» ted and endured the Empire of the *Ottomans*: to whom they had vowed and con-
» secrated their countrey, their libertie, their wiues and children, with their bodies,
» goods, and liuings. Other gages or better assurances they had not to giue them, or to
» bind their faith more strictly and assuredly to them of the garrison, then that which
» they had already giuen vnto *Amurath*.

Citizens of Belgrade giue hostages to the Turkes for assurance of their faith.

The Barbarian being more intentiue to obserue their countenances, then the outward shewe of their wordes, did receiue their protestation with great ioy and contentment. Neuertheless he caried him selfe, and framed his speeches with such cunning and dexteritie, that before they departed from his companie, they promised him a good number of hostages: which being deliuered, were put in sure and safe keeping, within the castell or fortresse where the Turks only commanded. Willingly he wold haue transported them to *Andrinople*, the better to be assured of them, but he was not able so to do, by reason that the siege layd about the towne, did hinder him from the same. Matters being thus settled and pacified within *Belgrade*, and all suspition being now extinguished, the companies, the watches, the portes being reuisited, and euerie part and place of the towne being surueyed, and a strong Court of gard being appointed vppon the market place to serue against all necessities and sudden occurrences whatsoeuer, the Gouernour was desirous to encourage and hearten both the citizens and the souldiers: and to the intent hee might quicken, and stirre vp their minds to behaue themselues faithfully and valiantly, he vsed these or the like speeches.

Oration of the Gouernor of Belgrade to his people being besieged.

» If there be anie thing at this present, which a Captaine ought to speake vnto his
» souldiers: or if by my speeches (ô *Belgradians*) you were to haue your courages con-
» firmed and stregthened: the enemie nowe planted before your eyes, hath preuented
» me of all such speeches and perswasions. For there is no exhortation more effectuall,
» no spurres are more sharpe; euen to the greatest cowardes, then the daunger it selfe
» which is threatened by the enemie: neither is it their guise to inuite or allure, to
» perswade and exhort, to encourage and confirme the mindes of men, as Captaines
» vse to doe vnto their souldiers, and as I doe vnto you. But they doe presse and con-
» straine you to armes, they holde their naked swordes to your throates, they bring
» cordes and irons to binde and mannacle you, if you shewe your selues fayntharted
» and negligent. Me thinkes I see nowe insolent and proude *Scanderbeg*, cruell and
» bloudie *Scanderbeg*: me thinkes I heare him summoning you to bondage and thral-
» dome. Stop your eares, I coniure you in the name of God, stop your eares: hearken
» not vnto his speeches, which tende to nothing but your shame and infamie. Valiant
» men vse not to aunswer with their mouthes and with their lippes, but with their
» weapons, and with their handes readie armed. We haue not put on armes to be
» forced with wordes, we haue not shut and rammed vp our gates, to open them a-
» gaine as men amazed or astonished. Let our enemies then make way for them-
» selues, if their fortune so serue them. For our partes, wee are not to feare it, no
» more then that the heauens are like presently to fall vppon vs. Was it possible,
» that *Sfetigrade* (being seated euen in the verie middest of our enemies, and being
» furnished with lesser numbers) was able to deride the Brauadoes of the *Albanois*,
» and to maintaine the immortall name of the *Ottomans* in *Epire*? Nay (let the ver-
» tue euen of our enemies, serue you for an example) was it possible that *Croy* should
» bee able so cheerefullie, and so audaciously, to hold out and make resistance against

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the puiſſance of all *Aſia* and *Europe*? Could ſhee (her walles being ouerthrowen, her fortifications being raiſed) onely by her notable perſeueraunce and conſtancy merite the perpetuall and euerlaſting title of glory? and ſhall we in the aboundance of all things, and hauing ſo neare an hope of aide and ſuccours from *Andrinople*: ſhall wee (I ſay) be afraied at the ſight of a handfull of baſe companions? Shall not we dare to looke vppon them without terrour of aſtoniſhment, who are no other then an infamous troupe of theeues and freebooters?

This ſhort Oration did ſo chaſe the harts of the ſouldiers, that beſides infinit vaunts and brauadoes (as is vſuall in ſuch caſes) ſome of them flocked together about the Gouernour, and with great inſtance beſought him to grant them leaue to ſally forth, & to ſet vpon the enemy: but he refuſed to yeeld vnto their demaund, by reaſon hee was aduertiſed that *Scanderbeg* did approach, betweene whoſe arriuall and theſe accidentes, there was litle or no great ſpace. It was about the tenth houre, that the troupes of the *Albanois* did appeare before the towne, and did encampe them ſelues cloſe together in a large plaine vnder the walles. Firſt they tooke their repaſt all at their eaſe, and then afterwardes they parted their companies, each hauing their ſeuerall quarter appointed them. The numbers of *Scanderbeg* his army, was 15000. men, 8000. horſe, 7000. foote. They were placed round about ouer the plaine, and vpon the mountaine, the which being not very high nor ſteepe, did ſerue as well for the horſemen to encampe in, as the footmen. And for this cauſe was the artillery planted there alſo in diuers places fit and conuenient, to make a battery againſt the wals. By that time that all things were ordained in a readineſſe, the night ouertooke them, the audacity and fierceneſſe of the beſieged was much abated, by the terrible ſhewe and aſpect of our people, and eſpecially by the view of thoſe peeces and engines prepared for the battering and aſſaulting of the towne.

Scanderbeg before Belgrade.

Number of Scanderbeg his armie before Belgrade.

Immediatly vpon the breake of day, the ordinaunce began to thunder moſt furiouſly, and the Curtin in ſome places began to be diſmanteled, and the Flankers to be razed: whereupon the defendants both falling to conſultation, and yet labouring the whileſt to repaire the breaches, were for a time deuided into contrary opinions, being in doubt whether it were beſt to demaund a Parley or not, before that the enemie ſhould come to the ſcaling of the walles, and that the furie of the aſſault ſhould bebegunne. For they were ſore affrayed, leſt they ſhould not be able to maintaine the place: and if in the middle and heate of the fight they ſhould intend it, that then the ſouldiours being caried away with the hope of victorie, would not be perſwaded to yeeld vnto it. But the Gouernour would not in any caſe conſent thereunto: telling them, That the perill as yet was not ſo great, and that they ſhould at all times finde oportunitie enough to take that courſe ſo vile and ignominious: whereupon they were ſatisfied, and ſurceaſed that motion. The next day likewiſe paſſed in the ſame manner, for that the breache was not yet aſſaultable, nor ſufficient to receiue the ſouldiours, and *Scanderbeg* cauſed the batterie to continue ſtill with great furie. And after two dayes were ſpent in that ſort, and that the ditches were nowe filled vp with the ruines of the wall: he withdrewe his ordinaunce from that ſide where the towne was made leaſt defenſible, and for that it was nowe time to vſe the furie of his ſouldiours, he appointed the next day to giue an aſſault, and to make a triall of their valour, commaunding them to be ready by the breake of the next morning: which was done accordingly. As the enſignes were readie diſplayed, and that the ſouldiours with great cries and clamours began to march in good order and reſolution, certaine of the towne came foorth ſuddenly and met them: who being conducted to the preſence of the Prince, required to haue truce; which was ſoone and eaſily graunted

Belgrade battered.

Belgradians demand a truce.

them. Afterwardes demaunding what their compoſition ſhould be, if they did yeeld
» them ſelues: Such (quoth *Scanderbeg*) as is due to men that doe yeeld: to wit, their
» liues ſaued, and free libertie to depart with their armour, bagge and baggage: as for
the reſt, it did belong to the victours. The two meſſengers being returned, and their
aunſwer openly reported, the defendants were generally ſadde and ſorrowfull, that
ſo hard conditions ſhould be impoſed vpon them, all things being as yet ſound and
in good eſtate: whereas if their caſe had bene deſperate, and the towne forced to the
vttermoſt, euen they that were in a manner vanquiſhed, might eaſily obtaine ſuch
an agreement. The garriſon were penſiue and ſore grieued: feare and deſpite made
them to haue manie motions and conceipts in their minds. The Chriſtians ſayd neuer
a word, notwithſtanding that by the articles propounded for their compoſition, they
ſawe they ſhould be depriued both of their goods and their houſes. True it is, that
they were in a good hope, that if the place came into the handes of the Chriſtians,
they ſhould obtaine of the King of *Albanie* what ſoeuer they would demaund. And
therefore they made no ſhewe howe they were affected, either on the one ſide or the
other, nor what they thought of the conditions, for feare leſt they ſhould renewe and
reuiue the ſuſpition that had bene before conceiued of them. Being demaunded of the
Gouernour of Belgrade conſulteth with the citizens vpō the conditions offered by Scanderbeg. Gouernour what their opinion was, they refuſed to ſhew their mindes, giuing him
onely this anſwer: That they did expect from him not interrogatories, but commaun-
dements: that whatſoeuer he ſhould iudge to be for the honour and profit of all in ge-
nerall, that would they maintaine and ratifie, both armed and diſarmed. A great part
of that day was ſpent in conſultations: at laſt it was concluded, that they ſhould de-
maund a truce and abſtinence from armes for one whole moneth, during which time
if there came no ſuccours, that then they would ſubmit them ſelues to the conditions
and offers which were propounded. They were in hope that *Mahomet* would not en-
dure this ſhame and infamie, but would either be there himſelf in perſon, or elſe would
ſend ſome ſuccours with all ſpeed. For before the comming of *Tanuſee*, they had ad-
uertized him of the preparations made againſt them. Thus by this pollicie and deuice
they did hope to preſerue their libertie & their towne without any bloudſhed or loſſe
at all. And if the Chriſtian did deny to condeſcend to this agreement, that then each
man ſhould be reſolute, and prepare him ſelfe with a good courage to the defence of
their walles, and to vſe their vttermoſt obſtinacie againſt ſo obſtinate an enemy. The
meſſengers being ſent backe with theſe capitulations to the campe of the Chriſtians,
Scanderbeg made no other accompt of theſe demaundes, but reputed them wor-
thie to be laughed at, willing them either to be better adviſed, and that with ſpeede,
or elſe to prepare them ſelues to the extremitie of a generall aſſault. In the end when
he ſawe that they were ſo fully and firmely determined, as they would not abate ſo
much as fiue dayes of the delaye and reſpite which they demaunded, he grewe into
greater choller: but the night comming vppon them, did put off the concluſion
thereof for that inſtant. *Scanderbeg* calling a Counſell to conſult and deliberate vpon
Speeches of ſome of the Nobles and Captaines of Scanderbeg: perſwading him to accept the offers of the Belgradians. » the matter, ſome of his chiefe Lordes and eldeſt Captaines were of opinion: That
» he ſhould not altogether reiect theſe demaundes, but that he ſhould ſound the beſie-
» ged euen to the laſt point, whether they would abridge anie part of that time. They
» alledged the difficulties that would impeach them from carrying of the place: for
» that the toppe of the mountaine (whereon the citie was ſeated) did not for the moſt
» part admit and giue anie eaſie acceſſe vnto thoſe that ſhould labour to clime the ſame:
» and that the great ſtonie rocks naturally ariſing in many places round about the town,
» and being wrought by arte into the circuite of the walles, and ſo ſeruing for a forti-
fication to the towne in many places, would eaſily ſcorne all the force and violence

of

of their ordinaunce, and make them of no power nor vertue: in regard whereof it might be an occasion that the siege might be of long continuaunce. They alleaged moreouer, that how soeuer it fell out, and whether the truce were either graunted or denied to the defendaunts, yet they beleeued that the *Sultan* would not faile, to ayde and to send them succours: that the daunger would be much greater and more to be feared, if hee should come and finde them wearied and sore laboured, whereas if he came not at all, or that he did foreslow his comming, they might then obtaine the towne without any bloudshed, and without any losse or hazard of their people: or in case he did come in good time to their rescue, yet they might then take their choise both of the time and the occasion, according as it should offer it selfe: that all things would fall out conueniently and to his aduauntage in the fight, and would be to the furtherance of his victory, and to the greatnesse of his glorie. That he had with as small forces as those then present, giuen a memorable ouerthrow to *Haly Bassa*. Moreouer, that *Mahomet* in regard of his couetous desire and vnsatiable ambition to the Empire of *Constantinople*, had cleane forgotten the warre of *Epire*. And they supposed that the *Belgradians* did demand this time of truce, for the deliuery of their towne, to no other end and purpose, but onely because the king of Turkes should not blame them for yeelding it vp so hastily and shamefully, and to the intent, when they should be cast out of their dwellings, and spoyled of all their substaunce, they might be thought worthy both of pardon and compassion. *Scanderbeg* smiling at these their allegations, replied vnto them in this manner.

Answer of Scanderbeg to the perswasions of his Chiefetaines, touching the graunting of truce to the Belgradians

I see (quoth he) that the *Albanians* are glutted with so many victories, that they are nowe become delicate and effeminate: and that as the frosts and cold of the last winter were vnpleasing vnto them, so the heate of the Sommer doth nowe annoy them. They haue neede to be visited with some misaduenture (God graunt that it happen not vnto them) to chastise them for their sloth and negligence. Besides, who will not condemne vs of ouer much credulitie? If we remember, the like fraude was practised against vs heretofore by them of *Sfetigrade*, and they deluded vs in the same maner. What thinke you is then to be done, when the prefixed time of the truce being expired, you shall finde either their deceipt secretly hidden to be discouered: or that their minds shall be altered and chaunged? We shall then abide hard penance for our light credulitie, and in vaine shall we repent the losse of the time past: and we shall be constrained in the meane time to depend wholy vpon the pleasure and faith of our enemies. And how soeuer there be many things alledged touching the difficulty of the siege, and the occupations of the *Sultan*, yet ought not wee for all that to deferre that which the vrgency of our affaires doeth require to be done. And if it happen that whilest we are busied in forcing of the towne, there do appeare any likelihood of stirs from *Andrinople*, we haue forces sufficient both to defend our selues, and to secure vs from their attempts. Besides that, *Dibria* also is sufficiently assured with the garrison which *Moses* hath in a readinesse vpon those frontiers.

Truce for sixteene dayes granted to the of Belgrade.

After the matter had bene long debated and discussed to and fro, notwithstanding anie thing that had bene sayd to the contrarie, *Scanderbeg* was content in the ende to subscribe to the opinion of the greatest number. As touching the time, there was some difference betweene them and the infidels, many matters being argued and disputed on both partes: but in the ende they agreed vpon a truce for sixteene dayes. The capitulation being thus accorded and concluded, *Scanderbeg* tooke not more care of anie thing, then to set good watch and ward on all sides. And therefore ouer and aboue the ordinary scoutes disposed and ordained by *Tanusee*, he chose out fiue and twentie watchfull and diligent souldiers, whom he appointed to keepe vpon the top of a cer-

taine mountaine not farre from the campe, for the more suretie of his troupes: to the intent, that the enemie being discouered by them a farre off, and notice thereof giuen to the campe, by fires and lights held vp aloft in the aire, themselues also should immediatly giue the allarme, retiring speedily into the campe. By meanes whereof the souldier being certified, and hauing warning of the comming of the enemie, should haue some time to arme themselues, and to put themselues in a readinesse to fight. Furthermore, because his companies should encampe more at their ease, and by lying at large might recreat themselues from the parching and vehement heate of the sunne: he himselfe with *Ameſe* and certaine of his Nobles, lodged vpon the mountaine next the towne, retaining for his regiment three thousand horse and a thousand foote: and he disposed all things with singular prouidence and discretion, planting certaine peeces of ordinance right opposite ouer against *Belgrade*, which were alwayes kept in a readinesse, for feare lest they of the towne should make any sallie and inuade him on a sodaine. *Muſatbe* and *Tauſee* with the rest of the armie were commanded to encampe in the plaine vnderneath him, for their greater ease and commoditie. The souldiers also were willed to abstaine from armes, and to rest themselues from all actions of hostilitie, till such time as the daies of truce limited to the inhabitants, were fully ended and expired.

The ende of the seuenth booke.

THE

THE EIGHT BOOKE OF THE FAMOVS ACTES OF GEORGE CASTRIOT, SVRNAMED SCANDERBEG.

The Argvment.

Mahomet hauing vndertaken the conquest of Constantinople, and marching against it with a mightie armie, vpon the newes of the siege of Belgrade stayeth his iourney, and sendeth Sebalias to relieue Belgrade: who surprizeth the armie of the Christians, and raiseth the siege. Scanderbeg maketh head against him. The battell of Belgrade betweene Scanderbeg and Sebalias. The particular combat of Scanderbeg with Acmath and Barach two Turkes, who hauing vowed his destruction to Mahomet, are both slaine by Scanderbeg. Sebalias and the Turkes are put to the retyre. Scanderbeg withdraweth his army into the confines of Epyre. Moses reuolteth from Scanderbeg to Mahomet. Sebalias returneth to Andrinople. Tanusee sent by Scanderbeg to bury the Christians slaine at Belgrade, spoileth and destroieth all the countrey. Scanderbeg is visited with Ambassadors from diuers Princes to comfort him vpon his misfortunes. Moses is sent by Mahomet with an army against Scanderbeg. Constantinople is besieged by Mahomet. The description of the city and maner of the siege. The negligence and couetousnesse of the Greekes and the simplicitie of Constantine the Emperour, causeth their owne ruine and destruction. Mahomet hauing diuersely forced the citie all in vaine, at length by the strange cowardize of Iohn Iustinian Lieutenant Generall to the Emperour, and the faintnesse of the Greekes winneth it by an assault. The Emperour is smothered and troden to death. The horrible excesse and crueltie of the Turkes in the sacke of Constantinople, and the barbarous crueltie of Mahomet against the Christian prisoners. The towne of Pera neere Constantinople yeeldeth voluntarilie to Mahomet, who with singular periurie, vseth them with all kindes of crueltie.

IT is vsually seene, that when there happeneth any newes of great importance, the fame thereof, like a running Poast flieth all about more swift then the winde: so was the siege of *Belgrade* euery where noysed and blowen abroad, and the tydings thereof came to the eares of *Mahomet*, at such time as he was not farre from *Romania*, marching with ensignes displayed to the conquest of the Grecian Empire, and to seeke the ruine of the Emperour of *Greece*, and the destruction and desolation of the people of God. The haughtie and generous courage of this young Prince, did aspire to the dominion of the whole worlde: the boundes of his ambition did exceede farre beyonde the succession of his fathers Empire, and he sought to surmount the glorie of all his auncestors. For

Mahomet going to the conquest of Constantinople is staied vpon the newes of Belgrade.

casting his thoughts to higher enterprises, he was resolued to reduce within the number of his conquests, the proude and triumphant citie of *Constantinople*: and he helde it to be a great blot and staine to his honour to entitle himselfe Emperour of *Greece*, and not to haue the possession of the Imperiall seate and capitall city of that Empire. Besides, he considered this with himselfe, that by enterprising an exploite of so high regard, he should make his memorie immortall ouer the whole earth, and that all the Nations and peoples of the world, would be striken with the terror of his wonderfull actes, in that he being but in the prime and entrance of his youth, should be able to make a conquest of a towne so puissant, and to purchase to himselfe a name so glorious and renowned. And he was the more enflamed in this his desire and affection, because his predecessors hauing oftentimes attempted the winning of that towne, had alwayes bene repulsed with some disgrace and losse of honor and reputation.

Assoone therefore as the newes of *Belgrade* was come vnto his eares, he was extreamely grieued and perplexed, and he complained with infinite plaints and lamentations, that fortune should so crosse and disturbe his attempts, as to take out of his hands the ioy, benefit, and aduantage of a glorie so excellent and incomparable. The very conceipt and griefe wherof dryuing him into rage and choller, made him to exclaime and to burst out into these speeches. Vnhappie and vnfortunate *Epyre*, which doest alwaies bring some sinister and vnluckie misfortune to the hinderance of our affaires and proceedings. Whereupon surceasing for that time to proceede any further against the *Greekes*, he bent all his care and imagination only to the relieue of *Belgrade*. Howbeit that some of his Bassaes perswaded him in any case not to interrupt or breake off so goodly and honorable a iourney, nor to leaue off all those royall & princely preparations for the hazard and danger of one only baggage and paultry towne of *Epire*.

Speech and exclamation of Mahomet vpō the newes of the siege of Belgrade.

Speech of Mahomet to his Bassaes perswading him not to leaue his voyage of Constantinople for Belgrade.

» But *Mahomet* replyed and told them, saying: That his auncestors neuer taught him
» that lesson, to abandon and forsake the defence of his owne against the iniuries of his
» enemies, whilest of an ambitious mind he sought that which belonged to other men.
» That for his part he reputed all conquests and ech victorie vile and dishonorable, and
» that glory to be base, & of no moment nor estimat, which should be defiled or stained
» with the least touch of ignominie. Can it be good or commendable (quoth he) for a
» Prince to amplifie & enlarge his Empire with the one hand, and to diminish & lessen
» it with the other? how shall I beleeue, that any of my people can fight with quiet and
» setled mindes in *Romania*, as long as their fancies and imaginations are caried away
» with thinking, that a vile & lewd fugitiue is triumphing the whilest ouer *Macedony*,
» and is tearing, rending, and spoiling the bodies of their fellows & companions? True
» it may be, that vpon the *Greekes* we may purchase vs great honor, and greater spoiles
» and bootie: but the losse of *Belgrade* will be more to our detriment and disaduantage
» then we can reap profit by the conquest of the whole *Leuant*. It behoueth Monarches
» & great conquerors to be carefull of their fame and reputation, and (as good & excel-
» lent tutors & protectors) to preserue it vnspotted & vnblameable, both towards them
» which are aliue present, and to the posteritie that are to succeede hereafter. Moreouer
» *Constantinople* cannot fly from vs, but *Belgrade* being once gotten out of the power &
» alleagance of the *Ottomans*, will not without great difficulty be recouered. It standeth
» vs vpon first to quench this fire within our own dores, for feare least being neglected,
» it grow more strong & violent, and spread farther abroad: and the fury of a people so
» proud & insolent, is not to be left vnpunished and vnsubdued. The citie of *Croie* may
» serue for a sufficient testimonie to teach vs, the which continueth and remaineth as
» yet in good estate and condition, lifting vp her head aboue all the cities of *Epyre*: and
» gloriously vaunting and boasting of the woundes and calamities which she gaue vs,

and

and which we haue ſuffered to reſt vnreuenged, to the great reproch of the name of the *Ottomans*.

But his Baſſaes ſhewing him that *Belgrade* was ſtrongly and excellently well fortified, that it was abundantly prouided of all neceſſaries for defence: and that for the more ſecuritie, he might ſende thither ſuch freſh ſuccours, as it ſhould be impoſſible for the enemie to winne it, and that the voyage of *Romania* needed not in the meane while to be interrupted: All this would not anie whit perſwade him, nor turne his obſtinate minde from the warre of *Epyre*. For the ſiege of *Belgrade* and the onely ſhame thereof had ſwallowed vppe all his thoughtes and imaginations, and his head was alwayes deuiſing vppon the ſame. And to ſpeake the trueth, I dare aſſure you, that there is not anie Nation nor kinde of men vnder the heauens more diligent and carefull in preſeruing of their conqueſtes, and in keeping the countries which they haue gotten from their enemies, then are the Turkes. For they holde it a moſt notable iniurie, and eternall ſhame and infamie, that their enemies ſhould take from them one foote of ground, whereof they are the owners: or ſhould innouate, alter, or chaunge any thing vppon their poſſeſſions. It ſhall not be impertinent in this place to recount an accident which is as yet freſh in memorie, during the raigne of the laſt *Baiazeth*. The *Hungarians* had erected neere to the riuer of *Danowe* a tower of wood ſeruing to diuerſe vſes and priuate commodities, rather then to any purpoſe of ſeruice for the warres: a worke in trueth that was not worth the ſpeaking of. *Baiazeth* being aduertiſed thereof, could not moderate his paſſions, but to his extreame charges and expences, he aſſembled forthwith a mighty armie, onely and of purpoſe to ouerthrow and beate downe this edifice. And he held it not ſufficient to commit the execution thereof to his Lieutenants, but he would needes be there in proper perſon, waſting and deſtroying the whole countrie adioyning. The *Hungarians* thought it not beſt to oppoſe themſelues againſt his furie, but gaue place vnto him, and made a mocke of ſo fooliſh and outragious a part: and ſo litle did they grieue at the dammage offered them, that they wiſhed him many ſuch victories. Now whether this diligence in the Turkes be either to be commended or diſcommended, this is moſt certaine, that the euent of things doth apparantly make ſhew of it. But we for our partes doe imagine that there is no cauſe of feare vntill ſuch time as the fire be gotten into our owne houſes, and that the flame haue embraced euen our bed-chambers. Hence it proceedeth, that whileſt we prepare water againſt to morrow for the quenching of the fire, we are preuented in the inſtant: being burnt vp preſently and conſumed out of hand.

Turkes their wonderfull care to preſerue their conqueſts

An act of Baiazeth the ſecond vpon the riuer of Danowe or Danubius in Hungaria.

Note. The delaies and ſecuritie of Chriſtians

The great Turke taking that courſe which the importance of thoſe affayres did require, amongeſt all his ſeruants made choiſe of *Sebalias*, a Captaine more politique and ſubtill, then aduenturous and hardie: and who more then once had tryed himſelfe againſt *Scanderbeg*. In regard whereof he made him Generall of this iourney into *Epyre*, and gaue him the commaund of 40000. horſe, all choſen men and well appointed: ſo that they made a goodly armie, very ſtrong both for their number and for their valure. *Mahomet* calling *Sebalias* vnto him before his departure, helde him with a long diſcourſe, vſing not onely exhortations and perſwaſions, but with many praiers expreſſed in moſt vrgent and earneſt tearmes, he entreated him, that he would employ all his diligence, induſtrie, courage, & vigilancie, & the beſt & moſt ſufficient meanes he was poſſibly able in that ſeruice, to bring that warre to a good end, and to reſcue his ſubiects, promiſing him great riches, honors, and aduancement euen in the higheſt degree that he could beſtow vpon him, and as farre as himſelfe would wiſh and deſire: eſpecially if he could bring him either the head of *Scanderbeg* cut from his

Sebalias ſent againſt Scanderbeg with an army of 40000 horſe.

Mahomet conſpireth the death of Scanderbeg.

shoulders, or his person aliue into his presence. I doe finde also that this matter should be plotted in another fashion, and that two souldiers, the strongest and most aduenturous of the whole armie, named *Acmath* and *Barach*, should of their owne proper motion present themselues to *Mahomet*, and should bargaine with him for a huge summe of money: and that he did condescend to giue them a farre greater reward then they demaunded, so that they would (accordingly as they offered) contriue » the death and destruction of *Scanderbeg*. Behold how pretious and excellent was his » life and person to be esteemed, which was so highly prised and valued euen by one so » miserably and couetously addicted.

Acmath and Barach promise Mahomet to kill Scanderbeg.

Sebalius being readie furnished and prouided, as one that was more forwarde with his hand then with his tongue, to put in execution the commaundement and charge giuen him by his soueraigne: and supposing it needefull to make haste, if he would bring his matters to any good passe: he caused his souldiers with all speede possible to mount on horse backe, and when they demaunded whither he would leade them, he tolde them into *Epyre*. For the *Sultan* himselfe was not more tormented in his mind, then *Sebalius* was perplexed and troubled with thinking vpon *Belgrade*: day & night, sleeping and waking, vncessantly and in all places, was that towne before his eies. And because he was in great feare and doubt, least they within the towne should not hold out till his comming: hauing a desire to put them in good courage & hope, by the expectation of speedie ayde and succours: he had no sooner gotten his dispatch from the *Sultan*, but he determined to sende away speedily a Poast with letters to them that were besieged. But the chiefest care and difficultie was howe to get a man fit and able to vndertake the enterprise, and that durst expose himselfe to the hazard of so great and manifest a perill. And yet the large promises which he made were sufficient not onely to haue inuited and allured, but in a manner to haue enforced the heart of any man to aduenture it. In the ende, they found one a very quicke and light fellow, who being presently mounted vpon the swiftest horse in all the armie, spurred away with all speede, sparing neither by day nor by night, no trauaile nor paynes, nor for anie extreamitie of the heate, so as in three dayes or little more he came to a towne vnder the obeisance of the Turkes, named *Gyrocastra*, being about some sixe score and fiue miles from *Belgrade*. The Turkes haue no ordinarie and set Poastes in *Turkie*, but in stead of them, and because vppon such occurrences, their Curriers (whom they call *Vlach*) shall not be vnprouided of horses, the *Sultans* haue established and laide downe this order: that in running on their iourney, they may dismount as manie men as they meete with on the way without anie exception: and so by often chaunging of their horse, they make way with incredible speede and diligence. This messenger being arriued at *Gyrocastra*, and hauing communicated his businesse to the Magistrates of that place, by their counsell and aduise staied there that day till it grew to night: then leauing there his horse, and chaunging his attire (the better to deceiue the scoutes of the Christians) in the darke of the night, he tooke his iourney on foote, and at the length, he got neere the towne on that side where *Scanderbeg* himselfe lay encamped. For the tentes of the two Thopics, and the rest which lay in the open plaine, stoode farther off, so as they could not perceiue him. Both the one and the other of them were easily deceiued, for that the messenger (hauing verie aduisedly shunned the tentes of the Christians, and taken the other side of the mountaine, where the way was more couert, and the passage more harde and difficult, had so secretly and closely conueyed himselfe euen to the foote of the towne wall, that he was scarcely discerned by the Sentinelles of the towne. Vnto whom, after that he had by whisteling and calling

Sebalius marcheth towards Epyre.

A Poast sent by Sebalius to carrie newes of succours to the Belgradians.

Gyrocastra.

Vlach Poasts of Turkie.

vnto

vnto them, made himselfe knowen by his speech, he was suddenly drawen vp with a corde let downe from the wall, and so conueyed into the towne. As he went on to seeke out the Gouernor, the common people in a great confusion came running about him on all sides, and in great doubt and suspence began to enquire of him, & to learne what good newes he had brought: for the end of the truce was now neere at hand, and the time approched wherein they were to auoide the towne. The Gouernor hauing caused the common people to depart, and calling the messenger vnto him, he questioned with him in secret, very few being present: after he had receiued and perused the letter, he gaue credit to that which the messenger reported: by meanes whereof the Captaines of the garrison consulting together, did conclude and determine if neede were, to stand resolutely in defence of the place, till the comming of *Sebalias* to relieue them: and when the day-light should appeare, they appointed that these tydings should be published and made knowen to them of the town, and it was accordingly imparted vnto all of them, not with a loude voice or open proclamation, but by the mouth of the Gouernor himselfe, first in the market place, and after from one to another, with an expresse charge and commaundement to keepe it secret, that they without might not be aduertised of it. For they had a great desire both to deceiue and delude them by the meanes of this truce taken for the rendring of the towne, as also to see them suddenly surprised and oppressed ere they were aware: and yet whilest they studied by their close and cunning silence to deceiue the Christians, they bewrayed the matter by another occasion.

Belgradians aduertised of succours comming to relieue them.

The inhabitantes and garrison of *Belgrade* were in some doubt, least that their succours would not come timely enough and before the truce were expyred: by meanes whereof eyther they should be driuen to defende them selues, or else to forgoe and forsake the towne. For this cause they beganne to repaire their walles and bastilles, where they had beene battered and beaten with the artillerie. The Generall of the Christians perceiuing this, and misdoubting some fraude, entred into great choller, and was in a minde to haue assaulted them: neuertheless for that the time of the truce was to expire within a three dayes, he pacified himselfe, and was content to send one vnto them to reproue them, and to let them knowe, that they did violate and infringe the agreement and couenants passed betweene them, by innouating and altering thinges from their former estate: an euident signe of some treason secretly intended and imagined. That they should surcease therefore from their worke, or otherwise if they came afterwardes to endure the rigour and extreamitie of their enemies, they shoulde impute it, not to anie breach of faith in them, but to their owne default and deserts. The inhabitants in outwarde shewe and appearance seemed to obey it, and did forbeare from doing any thing, that their enemies could either see or perceiue: notwithstanding they continued night and day by all other meanes, as to carrie earth, to strengthen the walles, to lay together great heapes of stones, and other prouisions fit to throwe vppon their enemies: all which they did close behinde their rampiers. O of what power, force, and efficacie is hope, so to alter and chaunge the mindes of mortall men, and to make them so variable and inconstant? O howe little and small a thing can make them chaunge their thoughts and cogitations? Of late this people when their estate was whole and sound, were most cowardly discouraged and amazed, being striken with feare and terror at the onely viewe of the enemie: and now their walles being battered, razed, and beaten downe, their bulwarkes being ouerthrowen, and their defences laid open and discouered, they doe prepare to make resistance against an enemie, whom they are like to find more fiercely & cruelly incensed, and readie by the sword most iustly to reuenge

Belgradians repaire their breach contrarie to their agreement.

Message of Scanderbeg to the Belgradians willing them to desist from repairing of their towne.

a Sentence.

and to demaund reason for their faith and promise violated. Neuerthelesse still did they continue running vp and downe the walles, getting to the toppes of their houses and into all the towers and highest places of the towne to see, if they could discouer the aide and succours which they expected and desired so earnestly: or if they could perceiue any dust of their horses, or heare any noise of their comming by the people of the countrie. Their eyes were clearer sighted then ordinarie, whatsoeuer sound they heard, whatsoeuer obiect presented it selfe to their senses, they thought it to be *Sebalias*, and that it had beene their gods comming to their succours: so easie a matter is it for a man to perswade himselfe of that, whereof he hath any hope that it is like to come to passe.

Sentence.

That which gaue cause of hope to them of *Belgrade*, was an occasion of feare and suspition to the Christians: they regarded no lesse carefully then the others, the toppes and highest places of the mountaines where their scoutes were placed, to see if they could discerne any aduertisement by boughes and branches of trees, or by fires or any other signe giuen them to arme themselues, and to prepare to horsebacke, it being a thing not possible to keepe them continually sadled, nor themselues alwaies in armes, by reason of the violent and extreame heate, which did make their bodies very faint and feeble. But the Ensignes of the enemie were in sight, and their cries and clamors were heard amongest them before that they had any notice or warning giuen them by their scoutes of their approch and comming. Not much vnlike vnto a companie of seafaring men and saylers, who being embarked & becalmed vpon the maine seas, whilest the Master and Pilots do looke vp to the flagge or streames to see what wind doth blow, to the intent they may fit their tackling, and make readie their sayles: suddenly in the meane time being ouertaken with an outragious and horrible tempest, (whereof there appeareth not any precedent signes either by darke cloudes, or the roaring of the seas, nor any other such celestiall threates and tokens) by reason whereof they are suddenly oppressed, not fearing any such matter: their sayles are rent and torne, their mastes blowen ouerborde, their gables and anchors are lost, and they (not able to worke, whilest they are busied on all sides to attend their charges and seuerall duties) are constrained in the end with the violence of the tempest, to giue ouer and to leaue all to the mercie of the winde and weather, and of fortune, and to haue a care onely of their owne safetie: so did it now fall out with the Christians lying before *Belgrade*. For they hauing their eyes alwayes regarding the toppes of the mountaines to see some signe giuen them from their Sentinels, had the sword of the enemie ouer their heads, before they discerned or perceiued any such matter. It is a wonderfull thing to imagine how so great preparations, and the sudden approch of the Infidels could be so concealed, that euen the very stones and riuers (as a man may say) did not reueale it. In all the warres that *Scanderbeg* had made, he was neuer without spyes, fugitiues, letters, or some such secret aduertisements of his friendes, saue onely at this instant, when he had most neede of them. But it may be, that the preparations for the warre of *Greece* being begunne, and continuing so long, was the cause he was so deceiued: by reason that *Mahomet* hauing his great armie in a readines for another iorney, did on a sudden employ part of those forces, and that with singular diligence, secrecy, & celerity, so as no report nor espials could easily preuent their cōming: as they might haue done, if an armie had bene leauied and raised purposely for this iourney. Besides, letters and messengers haue not alwayes free libertie of passage. And as for the watches and scoutes which were placed vpon the mountaines purposely for the discouering of the approach of the enemie: and vppon whom principally did depende the safetie of the Christian armie before *Belgrade*: they neuer gaue them any signe

Christians before Belgrade surprised by the Turkes.

An excellent comparison.

Comming of Sebalias why concealed from Scanderbeg.

nor

nor token of their comming, nor it was neuer knowen what became of them. There is great varietie and diuerſitie of opinions concerning thoſe ſcoutes: ſome ſay they were corrupted by the Turke: others affirme, that they were ſurprized, and put to the ſword by the vauntcurrers of the Barbarians, who found them verie negligently walking vp and downe, about the freſh and moſt delectable places of the mountaines, taking their pleaſure and recreation: by meanes whereof they could not giue any ſigne to the campe, as it was concluded. For my part I know not well what to thinke of it. Touching their infidelitie, I ſuppoſe it was not a thing ſo eaſie to be compaſſed: for albeit it were a matter which amongſt a few might ſoone haue bene contriued; yet amongeſt ſo many it was verie difficult, and in a manner incredible: in like caſe, that they ſhould be ſlaine it is as vnlikely: for neither were their dead bodies euer ſeene or heard of after that: nor any reliques, markes, or apparance of them: and therefore ſome doe affirme, and it is moſt likely, that they were taken aliue by the enemie. Howſoeuer it was, the other watches which were appointed to watch elſe where, could not diſcouer the enemie till they were come verie neare them: and yet aſſoone as they coulde, they gaue them ſome warning. By meanes whereof, they had a verie litle and ſhort time to make readie their companies, and to put themſelues in order for to fight with the enemie. Neither was it poſſible that *Scanderbeg* ſhould ſend any ſcoutes farther off, to beat the wayes, and to diſcouer the paſſages, or to prouide better for the ſafetie of his campe (as he was wont) becauſe all the whole countrey round about being for the enemie, they might eaſily haue bene entrapped by ſome ſecret ambuſhments, or openly diſtreſſed by the force of the inhabitants. And it may be, that his miſfortune and deſtinie, did not permit him to deuiſe & inuent any better remedie againſt that miſchiefe which hanged ouer his head. For we ſee it is a common and vſuall courſe with fortune to oppoſe herſelfe as a ſtepdame againſt the enterpriſes of great perſonages: and being not able to ſuffer the continuance of their good happe, not willing that it ſhould be perdurable: ſhe doth often interrupt the courſe of their beſt and moſt glorious actions. But let vs proceed with the ſcope of our hiſtorie.

Scouts of the Albanois ſurprized by the enemie.

" Sentence.

Theſe fiue and twentie men which were ordained to watch vpon the mountaine, either by treaſon or by negligence (as hath bene ſaied) cauſed great miſchiefe to the whole armie. For *Muſache* (who lay encamped next to that ſide where the enemie did approach and was to ſuſtaine the firſt brunt and onſet that ſhould be giuen) would hardly be perſwaded that the Turkes were at hand: notwithſtanding that the watch did continue the allarme, and did in a manner ſhew him the duſt raiſed by the trampling of their horſes. Some ſay that he was found ſleeping in his tent: others ſay that he was playing at dice with one of the Gentlemen of the Kings priuie chamber; and that the Turkes comming vpon him vnprouided, did bereaue him of all meanes of hope to mount on horſebacke, and enforced him on foote to ſeeke to ſaue himſelfe by flying towardes the mountaine. But the moſt common opinion is: that he had ſome time and leiſure (though verie litle) to put on his armour, and to mount on horſebacke: and that he loſt his life fighting valiantly euen in the formoſt rancker of his companie: and that vpon his death the reſidue beganne to flie. For aſſoone as the ſtandards of the Infidels and their vauntcurrers began to appeare in ſight, *Muſache* hauing ordered his troups, as well as the ſhortneſſe of the time would giue him leaue, was at the firſt in ſome doubt, whether he ſhould ſtand and abide the charge; or betake himſelfe to flight towards the maine ſtrength and bodie of the armie. But becauſe the enemie was nowe ſo neare, that he thought his flight would cauſe the greater ſlaughter of his companie: beſides, for that he tooke not the enemie to be ſo ſtrong as

Muſache de Thopie brother in law to Scanderbeg, ſurprized in his quarter by the Turkes.

he afterwardes founde them: and being vnwilling alſo to looſe his life with diſhonor by any default in himſelfe, or to abandon and forſake his Prince, and the others who were lodged on the mountaine: he ſetled himſelfe to receiue the enemie; and therefore couragiouſly he endured the charge, and ſtoutly oppoſed himſelfe againſt their furie and violence. For a time he held good, neither his courage failing him, nor his forces: and he was reſolute, not to looſe his life without a braue reuenge of himſelfe and his companie. In the ende perceiuing by the ſlaughter of his companions, that his flanckes lay open to the enemie, and that his vertue and perſeuerance was in vaine and vnprofitable, he did aſſay many times by trauerſing and courſing vppe and downe the fielde, to ſaue himſelfe and the reſt of his men by making towardes the mountaine, for other place of refuge there was none thereabouts, where he might if not auoid, yet at leaſt wiſe delay the extreamitie of the daunger. But the enemie hauing ſhut vp all the wayes by which he might ſafely make a retrait, and he being incloſed on all ſides as in a parke, with the ineſtimable multitude of his enemies: and ſeeing that both his life and honor did now hang in the ballance of chaunce and caſualtie: with a deſperate reſolution, turning his valour and proweſſe into rage and furie, he terrified the enemie with the wonderfull aſtoniſhment of his hardines and audacitie, and euen in the middeſt of them fighting valiantly, he left his life worthy of eternall praiſe and commendation, for the many worthie ſeruices done to his Prince and countrey. *Tanuſee Thopie* on the other ſide, albeit he were in no leſſe diſtreſſe, yet hauing a compaſſion at the miſhap of his vncle, he ſeemed to forget all other occaſions; and as a man tranſported with outrage and furie, did enforce himſelfe many times, by charging valiantly vpon the enemie, to open him a free way and paſſage. But in the end knowing all his endeuors to be in vaine, and that there now remained no other point of charitie to be ſhewed towardes him, vnleſſe he would beare him companie in the like vnhappie end; he thought it beſt to forbeare fighting: to the intent he might ſaue the reſt which were left, and hauing gathered them neere about him, he perſwaded them to ſecure thẽſelues by flying. The like did *Tanuſee Gynathe*, and the reſidue, howbeit that their flight did abate little or nothing of their daunger, nor of the ſlaughter. For the Turkes being diſperſed here and there, and deuided into ſeuerall bandes and ſquadrons, ſome of them did continue enuironing of *Muſache* and his companie, as long as there remained any of them liuing: and others purſuing after thoſe that fled, did neuer giue ouer the aduantage which they had gotten, but followed it to the ſingular and extreame dammage of the Chriſtians. He that ſhould haue ſeene this diſorder would haue thought, that that good fortune which had euer heretofore ſeconded the *Albanois*, had now left and forſaken them, to follow the part of the Infidels. *Scanderbeg* (whoſe tents were ſomewhat further remoued from this bickering) was oftentimes about to haue deſcended into the plaine, with a full determination to doe his beſt and laſt endeuours for the ayding and ſuccouring of his people, or by his owne death to make the victorie of *Sebalias* much more noble and glorious. But being earneſtly and inſtantly entreated by his Nobles, not to enterpriſe any thing but vpon aduantage, nor to expoſe himſelfe vnaduiſedly to a death inceitable: he gnaſhed with his teeth, and with his mouth all bloudie, he was cleane out of patience: and ſtirring vp and downe on all ſides, he tormented and vexed himſelfe with extreame griefe and diſcontentment. For this one thing which is reported of him, is not to be omitted, that whenſoeuer he was vpon the point readie to charge the enemie, & likewiſe in the heate and furie of the fight: beſides other ſtrange ſignes of chaunge and alteration in his countenance, his neather lippe would commonly cleaue aſunder, and yeeld forth great abundance of bloud: a thing oftentimes marked

Muſache his death and glorious end.

A ſtrange qualitie in Scanderbeg.

and

and obserued in him, not onely in his martiall actions and exploites, but euen in his ciuill affayres, whensoeuer his choller did abound, and that his anger did exceede more then ordinarie.

The Generall of the *Painims* (hauing cut in peeces the bands of *Musache* together with their Captaine) followed the chase after *Tanusee*, and the rest which discamped with him: of whom he ouerthrew a great number that neuer recouered: and he left behinde him his rereward, the same being but weakely and simply guarded, wherby you may coniecture, that he made but small account of our troups that were encamped vpon the mountaine. Peraduenture he did it because he saw them enclosed: and he thought, after the victorie of the plaine field was once fully assured, that he should be able with ease to intercept and cutte them off: or it may be, for that the heate and furie of the fight, and the hast which he made to follow the chase, did make him to forget them. But it was the occasion that he lost the oportunitie of seeing the finall ende of his aduersarie, and of obtayning a full and absolute triumph for that daies iourney.

Sebalias his indiscretion and ouersight.

When the King of *Albanie* saw that there was litle or no daunger behind from the rereward of the enemies armie, he drew forth his squadrons with singular good aduise and iudgement: and descended downe into the plaine, according as the present trouble and confusion would giue him leaue, placing his infanterie in the middest, and enuironning them with his horsemen. All this while did not they of the towne make any sally forth vpon the Christians, neither whilest they fought, nor at their departure: which is a thing much to be wondered at, considering that the besieged did plainly see what a notable aduantage their fellowes had gotten against their enemies, and that all things were safe and sure on their part. It seemed they stood in feare (as it is often seene) of those who were no lesse affraied of them. Notwithstanding at such time as *Scanderbeg* did depart, the gates were speedily set open, and the multitude ranne foorth to sacke the campe of the Christians, before that the souldiers (who had purchased the victorie) could come to ioyne with them in the same. They tooke away at their pleasure, whatsoeuer they thought good, but especially the Artillerie, which they caried into the towne, with a notable crie and clamour testifying their exceeding great ioy.

Scanderbeg descendeth downe the hill into the plaine against Sebalias.

Belgradians sacke the campe of the Christians.

Scanderbeg without any care taken for the bodie of *Musache*, at this time especially, wherein he had more need of reuenge then of succours, put himselfe with great furie in the tayle of those who had the Christians in chase, both beating and hewing them at their backes, and crying instantly to those that fled, that they should turne and make head against their enemies, & take the benefit of the new succours which he brought them: without the which it is most sure and certaine they had bene but in bad taking. Herewithall, those Cornets of Turks which were left behinde for the rereward, and they also which had bene at the killing of *Musache* and his troups, letting alone their companions: and our men which were together fighting, did scatter themselues all ouer the fielde in diuerse quarters; wholly applying themselues, to gather the spoiles and prey of the dead bodies, which was an occasion that *Scanderbeg* was greatly eased and recomforted, hauing the fitter oportunitie both to terrifie the Infidels, and to stop the flight of his owne people. For assoone as *Sebalias* perceiued that *Scanderbeg* did presse vppon his backe, and did hinder the course and honour of his victorie, he caused his Cornets to turne, and to wheele about, and went speedily and roundly to encounter him, not without some losse both giuen and taken on both parties. After a while he withdrewe himselfe aside, causing his armie to retire and to recuile a litle, till he had renued the rankes of his battell, and that he had

Scanderbeg chargeth vpon the Turkes who are in chase of the Christians.

gathered together his ſouldiours that were diſperſed and diſordered. In like manner, *Scanderbeg* was not verie importunate vpon him whileſt he thus temporized and delayed the fight: but he emploied his thoughts likewiſe in the reallying of his forces, and reuniting them together in one. But the Barbarian could not long endure to ſuffer him, for though his owne battallions were ſore trauelled and wearied, and were not as yet fully reordered and redreſſed: yet did he beginne to preſſe vpon him, and he gaue a freſhe charge and onſet vppon our men: and (as it were) in diſdaine and mockerie, he threatned and vpbraided them: telling them, that now was the ende come of the inſolencie and pride of the *Albanian*: and that he ſhould now receiue the condigne puniſhment of his rebellion: and he often repeated theſe and the like ſpeches, ſaying: that he would vtterly confound and deſtroy this handfull of Chriſtians both men and horſes. And in verie deede their numbers was much decreaſed: for beſides thoſe which were ſlaine vnder the conduct of *Tamaſee*, and in the chaſe as they fled before the enemie, there were more then three thouſand ſlaine with *Muſache*, of which two thouſand were foormen and the reſt horſemen. Neuertheleſſe *Scanderbeg* (not vnlike a good and hardie pylot, who hauing gathered together the remnants of his ſhipwarcke, and hauing ſcarcely repaired the bottome of his veſſell, doth yet cheerefully prepare himſelfe with more courage then hope, to abide the extremitie of a new tempeſt): doth animate and encourage his ſouldiers to trie the fortune of a freſh combat: calling and crying vnto them with a furious terrible voice.

Speech of Sebalius deriding and reproching the Chriſtians.

Follow me (my friends) follow me your companion in armes, not to the conflict, but to the ſlaughter of theſe curſed dogges and miſcreants: and then ſharply blaming and reprouing them, he called ech of them after other by their names, ſaying: what cowardize is this that poſſeſſeth you? what ſtrange feare hath ſeized vpon you? ſhall we leaue the noble bodies of ſo many of our brethren, friends and kinſemen, here lying without reuenge? will all of you yeelde vp your ghoaſts vnreuenged? you haue not here any other then your wonted and old enemie, euen that enemie I ſay, whom you were wont to make the ordinarie ſubiect of your honour and reputation.

Speeches of Scanderbeg encouraging his ſouldiers againſt Sebalius.

The battell of Belgrade betweene Sebalius & Scanderbeg.

In the middeſt of theſe and the like ſpeeches, (preſſed forward with conſtraint and neceſſitie, which did inuite him to leaue and commit all to the pleaſure of fortune) he caſt himſelfe as a man forlorne and deſperate into the middeſt and thickeſt of the enemies ſquadrons, confirming by an aſſured proofe, & beyond all humaine reaſon, that ſaying of *Homer*: That amongſt all other vertues, magnanimitie of courage, is often accompanied with a kinde of furie and ſupernaturall violence. Thus did *Scanderbeg* fill all places whereſoeuer he came with bloud and terror, ſometimes beating downe thoſe that fled from him, and ſometimes thoſe which did withſtande him: as a warriour, that was inuincible and moſt fortunate. But if euer his valure did ſhew it ſelfe, it was at this time, when he farre paſſed and excelled all his former deedes and haughtie exploits. The reſt of his troupes likewiſe taking example by his valure, and being tranſported with rage and diſpaire, did breake in vpon the enemie, and ruſhed vppon their weapons, as men blinded and hardened againſt all perils, and followed their Generall through all hazards and daungers.

Sentence of Homer.

George Thopia his misfortune.

But the ſudden accident and miſhappe of *George Thopie*, brother to *Tamaſee*, did put the reſidue in a great feare and aſtoniſhment: for he being throwen to the ground and almoſt ouerwhelmed with the ſhot of the enemie, our men had much a doe to free him out of their handes, and to ſet him on horſe backe. The infanterie of the *Albanois* could better ſaue themſelues from the violence of their enemies then from their horſes: for in many places they made way ouer their bellies, as they lay ouerthrowen vpon the ground, and ſo did put them to great ſcath and miſchiefe. By meanes wherof

(as

(as there is nothing that doth more awaken the spirites of a man, or that doth make him more apt to deuise and subtillize a thousand fine inuentions then doth necessitie) they did aduise themselues of this policie: to seize vpon all the horses of those which were slaine, and which they coulde possiblie come by, both of their fellowes and of the *Paynims*: and speedily they mounted vpon them with singular agilitie. This was the cause that very many of them were preserued, and it did greatly strengthen the rest of the armie, for that their forces were by this meanes in a manner redoubled. " Sentence. " "

By this time had *Scanderbeg* broken and disordered a strong troupe of the enemies horse, and had pressed in euen to the standard & corps du gard of the Turkish General: endeuoring (according to his wonted custome in most battels) to haue made the beginning of his victorie by their Chieftains death, & so to haue enforced them to yeeld him the honor of that iourney. But euen then at that instant those two souldiers who (as we haue saied) had sworne his death to the *Sultan*, did aduance themselues in that front of the fight, and with their swords readie drawen did receiue him to the combat. At that verie time, and in the same place, *Musache de Angeline* desiring to succour and aide his Vncle, receiued a sore wound vpon his right shoulder: and the rest of the *Epirots* likewise being but fewe against many, were so plyed and kept doing on all handes, both in front and in flancke, and at their backes, and that so fiercely and so roundly, that they had no leisure to looke after their chiefe commaunder, who by meanes thereof being now left alone against two (as it were) by a fatall kind of chance and destinie, did cause eche man to turne and bend their eyes to himwardes. For the two *Mahometans* both with their hands and with their voice putting backe and making their companions to retire, would needes by themselues alone carrie away the honour of the death of the Prince of *Albanie*: and they thought to reserue to themselues onely the prize propounded and promised them by the *Ottoman*. But it is a common saying: That, the foole is greatly deceiued of that he thinketh. These two Infidels did continue a while coasting and coursing vp and downe round about him now here, now there, on euerie side, to take him at some aduantage. In the end eche of them setting spurres to their horses, and with a careless contempt of their owne death and daunger, they came vpon him brauely and with a full cariere charged this fierce enemie whom they hated most deadly and odiously. The notorious valour and notable prowes of *Scanderbeg*, so often tried and approued, did greatly comfort the carefull harts of the *Albanois*, as one whom they had often receiued victorious and triumphant, not of two onely, but of more enemies all at once. Notwithstanding, as feare maketh men to cast many doubts; so the brauerie of the enemies, and their audacious defie giuen to the Prince of *Epire*, did make many of them to suspect the issue of the combat. Wherefore immediately they aduanced forward with their squadrons, and whilest matters stood yet in good case and entire, they enforced themselues to their vttermost power to second their King against his enemies. But he in the meane time bearing vp close to both of them, did reach a full blow to the head of *Barath*, and lighting vpon his face did cut him ouer the eyes, and cleft his head almost in twaine. The other after many blowes past betweene them, and no bloud drawen on neither partie, let his sworde fall out of his hand, and immediately the Turke being verie actiue, pressed close to him with his horse, and clasping both his armes about his necke, and forsaking his stirruppes and his horse, with the whole weight of his bodie, he hanged vpon the shoulder of *Scanderbeg*, thinking to haue forced him, and to haue pulled him to the ground together with himselfe. The Infidels desirous to aide their companion gaue in presently, and enuironned the *Epirot* Prince on all sides. But their labour was in vaine: for *Scanderbeg* hauing cut off the

Musache de Angeline wounded.

Combat of Acmath and Barath with Scanderbeg.

" *A prouerbe.* "

" *Sentence.* "

Barath slaine by Scanderbeg.

Acmath slaine by Scanderbeg. heade from his bodie as it did hang vppon him, freed himselfe from the burthen of his enemie. You may be sure, that this acte did notably encrease the courage of the Christians, and made them to follow desperately after their Generall, beating downe great numbers of the Barbarians: who now began to shrinke, committing a great and mightie slaughter amongest them. These beginnings and first-fruites of victorie, did minister occasion of much sorrow vnto the Infidels and vnto the Christians of great ioy and comfort: and it was taken as a good signe and happie token of the returne of their good fortune. But the strength of their bodies, and the daylight also fayling both the one and the other all alike, they were enforced for that time, to giue place vnto the night. *Sebalius* was the first that made shew either of his feare that he durst not, or of his wearinesse that he could not endure the fight anie longer. Whereupon all his companies, by the commaundement of their Captaines, made close vp to their colours, and so retyred themselues to the mountaine, before that the darkenesse of the night should ouertake them in the field. The Prince of *Epyre* being farre spent with labour and trauell, and full of griefe and sorrowe insupportable, did the like also with his armie, seizing vpon an other mountaine distant about two miles from the enemie. There did he stay till it was two houres within night: at which time he dislodged verie secretly, neither him selfe nor his souldiers hauing had any refreshing at all, either of sleepe or victuals. For (poore soules) neither had they any thing to eate, neither had they any desire thereunto, by reason of the extreame griefe and anguish of their hearts, which tooke from them all care both of meate and drinke.

Sebalius with his armie retireth first from the battell.

Retrait of Scanderbeg

The Bassa for that night did not enter into the towne, but hauing store of victualles brought him by the Burgesses of *Belgrade*: he lodged his armie, partly in the mountaines, and partly in the suburbes. And placing good and strong courts of gard and Sentinelles on all sides, he celebrated his victorie with great ioy and triumph. For he was perswaded that the Christians would haue stayed there the rest of the night: and that the next morning fresh and fasting, as men that were not vsed to be beaten, and that would seeke to repaire their honour lost: they would haue aduentured themselues to a second battell. Wherefore hauing set all things in a readinesse and in good order: by the breake of day he descended into the playne, sending foorth many companies to skirmish with the Christians, and to drawe them foorth to the fight: for although about two houres in the night he had heard a noyse, and did discerne some signes, that might signifie their departure, yet he did beleeue, that they were remoued onely to some other place, where they might eyther rest more securely, or more commodiously dresse some ambuscado to entrappe him and his armie. And this also was the cause that he durst not sende foorth his forces to ouerrunne and spoile the countrie, doubting least he might thereby disgrace the honour of this victorie, it being a thing verie vnusuall with the Turkes to haue such a hand of the *Epyrots*: and besides the inconstancie of fortune being an ordinarie chaunce in the warres more then in any other thing whatsoeuer. He was not therefore much discontented either with the flight of the Christians, or because he had lost the opportunitie of fight with them againe: belike he was induced thereunto by an exceeding iealousie of this aduantage so vnaccustomed, and of the good fortune which had befallen him, being desirous not to loose it after he had once gotten it. And the former daies iourney did seeme to testifie no lesse, because that he being the first that sounded the retrait, did therein bewray, that either he confessed himselfe to be wearied and faint harted, as hauing the worst: or else that he was vnwilling to renue the fight: and that he had no great desire to meddle any more with the enemie. For I

Sebalius his want of courage in not pursuing the victory against the Albanois.

make

make no doubt: if *Sebalias* had had the corage to haue preſſed hard and roundly vpon the *Albanois*, he might that day haue ended the warre of *Epire*: by reaſon that there was litle or no diſadauantage to the one more then to the other: either in reſpect of their extreame wearineſſe, or of the diſcommodity of the time: but rather if any were, the *Barbarians* had the aduantage by the great ods of their numbers, which being all horſemen far exceeded and ſurpaſſed the power of the *Epirots*, who if they could haue found any benefite or hope of ſafety by flying, there is no doubt but they would haue fled away roundly at the firſt. But becauſe the Infantery of the *Albanois* found that by fighting valiantly, they had moſt certainety and hope to eſcape, and they were loath to acknowledge or make ſhew in what extremity and miſchiefe they were, eſpecially to ſuch an enemy whom they knew to be moſt inſolent, and would be puffed vp with proſperity: therefore their corages began to be reuiued and encreaſed, and the Turkes contrariwiſe grew to be abated, till at length the benefite and oportunity of the night did ſtay the courſe of their proceedings, and did helpe forward the preſeruation and eſtate of their affaires, which was earſt in a caſe ſo vnfortunate and deſperate. And it may be that the goodneſſe of God had prouided and ordained that matters ſhould ſo fall out in that manner: to the intent the honor and reputation of ſo many faire exploits ſhould not be obſcured, nor the ſubiect of their future glory ſhould not be cutte off nor preuented, nor that the Scepter of *Epire* ſhould come to decay and confuſion, before ſuch time (in a manner) as it were fully raiſed and eſtabliſhed.

Turkes their barbarous cruelty vpon the dead bodies of the Chriſtians.

The *Barbarians* finding their enemies to be departed, & that all places round about were eleare and free from them, and that the country remained at their diſpoſition, who were now maiſters of the field, moſt inſolently they laied hands vppon the dead bodies of the Chriſtians, and conuerted the reſidue of their choller and deſpite againſt their ſenſleſſe members, which they were not able to execute vpon them during their liues. Many were found yet breathing and gaſping for life, eſpecially thoſe who being trodden vnder foote by the horſes, and hauing their legs and limbs bruiſed and broken, did lie vpon the ground in pitifull plight, not able to helpe themſelues either by flying or fighting: of whom ſome of them, hauing their handes cut off were left languiſhing moſt miſerably. The report is, that many of them being grieuouſly wounded, torne, and mangled, and hauing bin beaten downe with the maces of the Turkes, and left for dead, did afterwards in the night ſecretly conuey themſelues out of the field into other places neare adioyning of more ſurety: frō whence after that the danger was paſt, they came ſafe to *Croy*. There were ſlaine in that fight of the Chriſtians, about 5000. men, 3000. foot, and the reſt horſemen: of the *Neapolitan* ſuccors, there were few or none that eſcaped: for the greateſt part of thē being with *Mateſche*, incurred the ſame fortune and aduenture that he had, only ſome few ſquadrons of them had *Scanderbeg* kept and reſerued with himſelf in the mountain, whoſe harquebuſſes & other weapons in that ſodainneſſe of the charge were to ſmall purpoſe, and did in a maner litle or no ſeruice: and ſome alſo of the *Albanois* which were found diſarmed or ſadling of their horſes, were oppreſſed by the Infidels: of priſoners they had about foureſcore. But the moſt hideous & horrible ſight of al the reſt, was to ſee theſe bruit beaſts the *Barbarians* who had nothing in them appertaining to men but the ſhape only, vpon a deſire which they had to reſerue ſome marke of their prouſe vertue and valour, they went vp and downe amongſt the dead bodies yet panting & breathing, and after they had deſpoiled them, & left them ſtarke naked, they cut off their heads according to their accuſtomed guiſe and faſhion. And in as much as the length of their iourney, & the intemperatnes of the heat, did make them to putrifie and ſtinke, when they found the cariage of them to be loathſome, they did flea them, and reſeruing the skins onely, which retained the ſhew

Number of Chriſtians ſlain at the battell of Belgrade.

Number of Chriſtians taken priſoners at Belgrade.

Turkes cut off the heads of the ſlaine Chriſtians to carry with them in triumphe.

and forme of their visage, they stuffed them with straw and so carried them. This barbarous & inhumain cruelty was executed vpon many of them, especially those whose countenance & aspect, or their names hauing made the better known then others, did cause them to be held worthy of this outrage and odious visage: and not onely was the head of *Mansache* appointed to all ignominy and dishonor, but his body also being dismembred and cut in quarters, was dispersed in diuerse places ouer the countrey, as if they had bene the quarters of some notable theeues or infamous traitors. The trunks likewise of the residue were drawen aside into the vallies and places adioyning, being left for a prey to beasts and birds: to the intent their stench should not infect the inhabitants. To make short, they might do what they listed and without contradiction of any person, for that *Castriot* was farre enough from them.

Scanderbeg remueth his army with new supplies.

Scanderbeg being more perplexed and afflicted with the griefe of this misfortune, the destitute of hope to be reuenged, had filled vp the reliques of his army with a new supply of fresh souldiers, and had shut vp and fortified certaine passages in the woods and thickets of the mountaines, for feare least the Turke, pursuing the victory, should enter farther into the country. He was often in the mind, & gladly would he haue vndertaken some new and desperat aduenture to haue auenged himselfe vpon the enemy and to make further proofe of his fortune, which commonly doth smile & fawne againe

Sentence.

» vpon them, whom she hath cast downe headlong from the top of her wheele, & hath
» made to taste the extremity of her wrath and anger: so forwardare we sometimes to hasten our owne chiunger: but partly the vnmeasurable forces and fiercenesse of the enemy, and the confidence of his late victory, and partly the length of the iourney, and the woundes of his souldiours yet grieuing them, did detaine him from attempting any such action. The bruite of this discomfiture did speedily fill all the countrey neare adioyning, and all *Epire* with the fame thereof: and proceeding on more and more, it caused great griefe and infinit plaints in all places. For some reported that all the army was discomfited, & the king himselfe slaine: whether it were that they so coniectured,

Diuers reports and rumors of the battell of Belgrade.

» or that the common sort did of themselues so report, as it is the nature of the popular
» and vulgar sort, willingly to cary newes of some notable leasings, though it be neuer
» so dolorous: others building belike vpon the same reason, did giue out, that the whole army was defeated, but that *Scanderbeg* himselfe alone, after long and wonderfull fight, was escaped safe by the fauor & swiftnes of his horse. The most likely report, and that which came nighest to the truth was: that a great number of the *Epirots* were slaine, & that *Scanderbeg* had shewed such incredible proofe of a rare and diuine body, and of an inuincible valour, that by the vertue of his owne prowesse onely, he had broken the forces of the enemies, and abated their corages, and had wholly bereft them of the honor of the battell, and that he was retired safe and sound neare to *Croy* with the remainder of his army. Notwithstanding in all places was to be heard nothing but lamentations, cries, and exclamations: the ancient matrones and all their families continuing in teares and extreame sorrow: and albeit they had not as yet any certainety, why they should be discomforted or dismaied, yet did they in griefe and mourning, attend and expect their funerals, as if they had seene them euen then before their eies.

Hitherto and till this present, the happy and continuall good successe of the affaires of *Scanderbeg*, had held in suspence the infidelity of *Moses*, and the rebellion earst conceiued and concealed in his mind: but now vpon this misfortune of the battell of *Belgrade*, and assoone as the calamity of the Christians was knowen and published, his disloialty became also to be disclosed: for then taking hold on that occasion so long & so greatly desired, most impiously he conuerted his armes against his native country, friends and kindred: beginning euen then to breake in peeces, and to scatter the rem-

Moses his reuolt from Scanderbeg.

nants

nants of the shipwracke, to the repairing whereof, himselfe before time had put to his helping hand, and which many times he had defended & preserued. And because the fact being odious in it selfe would seeme much the more dishoneſt, if he should rebell alone without any cõpanions, he thought he would procure some to ioine with him, as his complices and copartners, perswading himselfe, that the more there were found guilty & partakers of his treason, the more should he both lessen his own disgrace and infamy, & it would be a mean also that he should present him self to the *Ottoman* with the greater countenance, credit and authority, who perhaps would disdaine him, and not make any great account of him, if he should come alone as a meane fugitiue and ill accompanied. For this cause he plotted with him self how to seduce some of his most inward and neareſt friends and familiars, such as he thought fitteſt for that purpose. To thẽ he began with a good countenance first to deplore the estate of *Scanderbeg* and the desolation of *Epire*, then cunningly did he insinuat and make known vnto them how the Turkish monark did beare him great good loue & liking, what offers he had made him to draw him to reuolt: and with great store of good words did he entise them to take his part, & to embarke themselues in this conspiracy. He layd open vnto them by the discourse of diuers matters, that the fortune of *Epire* being now altered and changed, they should be constrained, if they did reiect the benefit of the time present, to submit themselues ere long to all miseries and indignities. And what reason haue we (q he) to continue and liue euer vnder the fortune of *Scanderbeg*? to what purpose should we employ our labor and spend our liues to amplifie and enlarge the glory of another? seeing the great Monarke of the *Ottoman* Empire, will elsewhere bestow vppon vs great honor, and will giue vs good assurance to make vs great, and to aduaunce vs to high authority. In the end with many false and slaunderous accusations inueighing against *Scanderbeg*, he alienated them from their allegeance, and allured them to beare a part with him in his rebellion. It may be that he would haue sollicited many more to reuolt with him, and that he would haue drawen the common people also to the deuotion of the *Sultan*: but the name of *Castriot*, and the gracious manner of the gouernment was so deeply fixed in the hearts and mindes of all men, that it would haue bene more easie for him (as the saying is) to separat the shadow frõ the body, then to abolish or to extirpat the loue and good liking of *Scanderbeg*, which was so rooted in the affections of the communalty: for he well knew that their faith was not subiect to any change or variation of fortune, and that their loyalty would neuer faile nor perish, but with the losse & end of their bodies & liues. And therfore the *Dibrian* being in doubt that he should not onely lose his labour, but he might also endanger his owne life and safety, he durst not attempt any such matter: but holding himself contented with those conspirators which he had already gained: after he had prouided all things in a readinesse, & appointed the houre for their departure, in the dead of the night he lead them to *Sfetigrade* there to take letters and a safe conduct from the gouernor, to the intent he might passe free throughout the dominions of the Paynims, and so trauell forwards to the Court of the *Ottoman*. The Gouernor receiued him louingly, granting him whatsoeuer he asked, both letters and armed souldiers to conney him safely on his iourney.

« Speeches of « Moſes to « some of his « friends per- « swading him « to comfort « with him in « his reuolt frõ « Scanderbeg.

Moſes his departure to the enemy.

Sebalias remained a few daies at *Belgraide*, till such time as he had repaired certaine bulwarkes, and had fortified the wals with earth and fagots, in such places as the enemies ordinance had battered them. The shortnes of the time would not permit him to fortifie with stone and such solid matter, because he had not leisure enough to prouide them, yet did he take order for it before his departure, and amongst other prouisions, he procured the place to be furnished with great store and quantity of graine, victuals and other prouisions, for that he had added to the old garrison more then 700. men all

Belgrade repaired and reuictualled by Sebalias.

approued and expert ſouldiers. The artillery that was won from the Chriſtians was left to the towne, except certaine litle peeces, as harquebuſſes and croſſebowes, which he reſerued with the other ſpoiles of the dead bodies to beautifie the pompe of his triumph, and to preſent them to the king. *Belgrade* being abundantly prouided & defended, the Chriſtian hoſtages redeliuered to the citizens, and they alſo highly praiſed & commended: he tooke his leaue of them (who were both fearefull & ſorrowfull for his departure) and with great ioy & contentment he tooke his iorney to *Andrinople*: yet had he alſo iuſt occaſion of griefe & ſorrow to moderat & abate his exceeding ioy (albeit to men who were not accuſtomed to be victorious, nothing ſeemed ſo excellent and glorious as this victorie.) For on his part alſo there feli litle leſſe then 3000. at the battell before *Belgrade*: and thoſe two gallants, whoſe bloud made ſome amends for the funerals of *Muſaches*, might be well reckoned for a good recompence of their ioy conceiued by ſo bloudie a victorie. Before their departure the Turkes cauſed diuerſe pits to be digged (as is the manner amongſt ſouldiers) wherein all thoſe that had bene ſlaine of their ſide were interred: for feare leaſt the Chriſtians (returning to take the number of thoſe which they had loſt, and to burie them which were ſlaine) ſhould ſeeke in ſome ſort to be reuenged, by tearing and deforming the dead carcaſſes of their enemies. But now I come againe to our fugitiue.

Number of Turkes ſlaine at the battell of Belgrade.

The morning after the departure of the *Dibrian*, aſſoone as he was found lacking, you may eaſily coniecture, what tumult, ſtirre and aſtoniſhment did ariſe amongſt the companies of the garriſon: and how greatly they were grieued, eſpecially thoſe that were his neareſt and moſt familiar friends. They ſought him vp and downe here and there in great care and perplexitie. Some thought that he was ſecretly gone to eſpy & diſcouer vpon the enemie, and that he was either dead or taken: or if not ſo, that then he would returne ſpeedily. But many being of a deepe conceit and iudgement, and giuing a coniecture by the former conſultations & ſecret aſſemblies of the day laſt paſt, wherein he and others had drawen themſelues aſide in counſell, they did miſtruſt that which was indeed: and their opinion was reputed the more likely and probable, becauſe they which were ſuſpected with him, were not to be ſeene at all. This was the occaſion that the *Dibrians*, but aboue all the ſouldiours of the garriſon were in great feare and aſtoniſhment, becauſe they ſaw the enemies to be victorious and yet remaining in *Epire*, and themſelues deſtitute of a head and commander. And their griefe was exceeding great, to ſee that their Prince ſhould be deceiued by them, whom he would leaſt of all haue miſtruſted. Neuertheleſſe, according to the time, by publique conſent, and moſt voyces of the ſouldiours, they prouided themſelues of a Chiefetaine, and of all things elſe that ſeemed requiſite for the time preſent.

Garriſon of Dibria troubled at the departure of Moſes.

Amongſt the moſt noble and chiefeſt young men of the countrey, there were two bretheren *Demetrius* and *Nicholas*, highly commended and honored for the greatnes of their ancient houſe and family of the *Beriſſians*, and they had bene much and often noted to haue done the king of *Epire* good and faithfull ſeruice, by many valiant deeds of armes, and in diuerſe notable aduentures. Theſe two vnderſtanding the misfortune of their army, and the hard iſſue of the ſiege of *Belgrade*, and hauing notice likewiſe of the reuolt of *Moſes*, made with all ſpeede towardes the garriſon in the frontiers of the kingdom, doubting leaſt that either the feare of that ſodaine accident, or the licentiouſneſſe of the ſouldiers, ſhould cauſe them to disband themſelues: and ſo the paſſages of the Prouince might be left naked without any defence or cuſtody, eſpecially for that the report went: that *Sebalias Mahomet* his lieutenaunt was yet abiding in the countrey. Firſt of all therefore with good aduiſe and ready debiberation, and with no leſſe diligence, they made a leauy of ſome new forces, and ſtrengthened the garriſon,

Demetrius and Nicholas bretheren of the family of the Beriſſians.

heartening

heartening and animating them both by words and by deeds, willing them to be of a good courage, and to testifie their good affections towardes *Scanderbeg*, by shewing themselues his good friends, and their willing deuotion to doe him seruice, and with a singular compassion of their Prince his misfortune, they detested and abhorred the infidelity of *Moses*, telling them, that they doubted greatly, and it was likely he had conueied himselfe from thence to helpe to bring in the Infidell, and that it would not be long ere he would come thither. All this was easily beleeued, & therefore the souldiers were retired into a place of more strength, and all things were setled well and in good order, as if they had expected the enemy presently. These matters being thus established, *Demetrius* leauing his brother with the garrison, & being accompanied with certaine Gentlemen *Dibrians*, tooke his way towards *Scanderbeg*, making very long and painefull iourneis to aduertise him of the estate of the *Dibrians*.

In the meane time, certaine spies (which had bene purposely sent abroad, and dispersed ouer the plaine countrey) did bring certaine newes, that *Sebalias* was departed from *Belgrade*, and gone away quite out of *Epire*: Howbeit for all that, the Prince of *Epire* either for shame or for griefe of his late calamity, being vnwilling to behold so vnpleasing a spectacle, had no minde at all to visite that place so odious vnto him, by meanes of that vnfortunate battell, and where he should come but to the fresh view of his misfortunes, and to the renuing of his griefe and sorrow: neither had he any care or desire to see those who were now dead, whom he could not preserue and saue when they were aliue. Yet because his souldiers, and the kinsmen of those which were slaine, did murmure and exclaime, saying: That there was no reason their bodies being so lately slaine, should be defrauded of their sepulture, nor be left to the sauage and bruit beasts to prey and tire vppon: and for that he would not seeme to giue them any iust cause of offence or discontentment, he condiscended vnto their demand, telling them: that it was a vaine and friuolous kind of honour (though very gratefull and acceptable) to stand so precisely vpon the buriall and funerals of the dead. So notably doth the exceeding vehemency of mens passions make them many times to forget themselues, and to decline frō al reason and vnderstanding. Neuertheles because that those which should be sent to performe that duty of Christian charity vnto others, might not draw on a farther mischiefe and dammage vpon themselues, and by their owne destruction encrease rather then solemnize their obsequies, if they should go thither either weake in number or in confusion, and without order: he made choise therefore of 7000. the best & most able men of all his bands, that they might be the better able to assure themselues in their voyage against all the enterprises of the miscreants, and to oppose themselues against any sallies of the *Belgradians*. *Tamisee* made great suite and entreaty to haue the conduct and charge of this company, which being granted him accordingly, he tooke great care for all things that concerned this iourney, and especially for the body of his good friend *Musache*. Wherefore with great speed he tooke his leaue of the king, and without any colours, standards, or other warlike ornamentes, he made hast away towardes *Belgrade*.

a Speech of the a souldiers of a Scanderbeg a desiring that a their followers a slain at Bel- a grade may be a buried.

a Sentence.

Tamisee sent with an army to bury the Christians slain at Belgrade.

Scanderbeg being now returned towardes *Croy*, the multitude came forth to meete him without the gate: and albeit they had many times before, and by diuerse messengers hard the newes of the misfortune of *Belgrade*: especially by those souldiers whom (being wounded in the fight) *Scanderbeg* had sent away presently vpon the losse of the battell: yet neuertheless it was some comfort vnto these poore and vnhappy soules, to enquire more fully & at large of all things in particular, by such as were last returned from the Campe: and the rather for that many false tales and contrary reports had bin giuen out (as is vsuall): or they had an imagination belike, that the presence of their

Prince ſhould haue reuiued, and redeliuered vnto them thoſe which were dead and gone. The wiues, the men, the old and young all alike would pull the Captaines and the ſouldiours, without any reſpect of perſons, ſome by the hand, others by the caſſocks: and with a pitifull complaining voice would redemaund of them their bretheren, their husbands, and their children: whom they accounted and held as their moſt precious and deareſt pledges. Others would in a maner conſtraine and compell them, euen againſt their wils, to tell them that which in the end cauſed their griefe, and their greater ſorrow and diſcontentment. Some there were alſo who hauing heard comfortable newes which they neither hoped nor looked for: yet fearing leaſt they ſhould offend the troubled minds of others with their new ioy, they concealed their contentment, and conformed themſelues in outward ſhew to do as others did, deploring the common and particular misfortune of euery one both in publique & in priuate. And there was not any of them (excepting ſuch as ſaw their friendes there preſent and in ſight, that had any full and hearty contentment: by reaſon that this ſecond iourney to *Belgrade* made for the buriall of the dead, did keepe them in continuall feare, yeelding new cauſe of care and griefe.

Demetrius with the reſt of the Gentlemen of *Dibria* his companions, hauing ouertaken *Scanderbeg* vpon the way in his retrait from *Belgrade*, and euen as he was vpon entring into *Croy*, at their comming to his preſence, did firſt begin (as it were) condoling his misfortune, to complaine vppon the vnchangeableneſſe and vncertainety of worldly matters, and the variation of Fortune: which (ſayd they) is ſo variable and inconſtant, that ſhee will not ſuffer the proſperous and happy eſtate, eſpecially of great men, to be perpetuall or of any long continuance, but that ordinarily ſhee doth interrupt the courſe of their beſt and nobleſt enterpriſes which they think to put in execution: and though by the law of her inſtability, ſhee doth ſubiect euen the greateſt Monarchs and conquerors to the trial & experience of her croſſes and trauerſes, eſpecially in deeds of armes, and in the warres: yet he for his part was greatly bounden to praiſe the diuine clemency, that he was ſo well quit and diſcharged of ſo dangerous a miſchiefe: and that he ought to take this alteration valiauntly and courageiouſly, not as ſent vnto him by fortune (which in trueth is nothing but a meere fancy) but from God himſelfe for the good and wellfare of *Epire*, as being needefull and neceſſary to arme and harden the *Epirots* againſt the daunger, or rather inſolency of their continuall proſperity. The which for the moſt part doth make the noble and generous ſpirites to grow in contempt of their enemies, to neglect all care of diſcipline of armes, and in the end bringeth them to ruine & deſtruction. In this maner did they frame and hold on their diſcourſe, their ſpeeches being ſomtimes intermingled with teares, and ſo fitted to ſorrow & mourning, that it ſeemed they alone did beare the griefe of his miſfortune. After all this they fell to comforting of him, and carying their countenance with a ſingular aſſurance, they came at length to the fact of *Moſes*, and concluding their talke with that matter, they did principally inſiſt vpno this point, that it was to be feared leaſt he were gone to *Sebalias*, to certify him of the eſtate of the realm, & to draw him to *Epire*.

Speeches of Demetrius and others to Scanderbeg comforting him vpon his misfortune.

Fortune is nothing but a fancy.

Sentence.

Departure of Moſes made known vnto Scanderbeg.

At the firſt *Scanderbeg* ſtood as one aſtoniſhed, and was in a maner beſide himſelfe, remaining a good while without ſence or perſeueraunce. After a while as one that did more deſire to enquire further of matters, then to beleeue any thing that was told him, he ſpent ſome time in queſtioning with them. How mightely this good Prince was afflicted, and how deepely he found himſelfe offended by this iniury, they may eaſily imagine who haue receiued an vnkindnes of their friend, from whom any wrong is more intollerable and more hard to be endured, then from one of whom a man expecteth not any gracious nor good vſage: & ſo did *Scanderbeg* conceiue more

Sentence.

griefe

griefe at this fault and trecherie of his friend, then at the discomfiture and calamitie sustained at *Belgrade*. Notwithstanding with a princely voyce (as he was accustomed) he said openly and aloud, so as he might easily be heard: That he did pardon *Moses* with all his heart, because such was the misfortune which had alienated him frō him, as might haue made the most constant man liuing, to haue varied in his faith, and to haue fallen away from him. In so much also, that when the messengers and other the standers by did accuse him, that he had long since forethought and conceiued this rebellion in his mind, saying and alledging, that that onely was the reason why he dissuaded the iourney of *Sfetigrade*, and did absent him selfe from the siege of *Belgrade*, the better to put his mischieuous practise in execution (so prone are men to iudge & interpret all things by their euents.) *Scanderbeg* (as growing in choler) commanded them to leaue those speeches: and speaking out aloud, he vsed these words; O that it were the good will and pleasure of God, that all treason & sinister fortune were gone with *Moses* out of *Epire*. As for that suspition which was conceiued with some likelihood, that he should bring in the Turkes into the countrey, that point did not much trouble him, because he was credibly informed, that he was departed out of all the frontiers of *Albany*, & was posting on with all speed towards *Andrinople*. Neuertheles because the matter was of importance, & it behoued him to take away this terror out of the timerous minds of his subiects: & it was needful to cōfirme the prouince which stood in some doubt by reason of this vnaccustomed accident & vnusuall calamity: he wold scarce tary at *Croy* that night, but the next morning by the breake of day, he took his iourny into *Dibria*, being accompanied with *Amese* & a good troup of horsemen.

" Speech of
" Scanderbeg
" of the reuolt
" of Moses.

" Sentence.
"

Scanderbeg visiteth the garrison of Dibria.

By this time was *Tanusee* come to *Belgrade*, where being discouered by the citizēs, they begā to be in as great a feare as before, & they ran speedily to the wals, euery man hasting to his charge, & to his place that was appointed him: for many thought that he was come to begin a new siege, & they did not imagin the true occasion of his comming: but the smalnesse of his numbers, & the confused maner of his marching being more nearly discouered and perceiued, they were soone freed from that sudden feare. The *Epirots* coming to the place where the bodies of the Christians their companiōs lay so mangled and deformed, they could not refraine from many grieuous and bitter teares, at the sight of so horrible and piteous a spectacle. And that (which more augmented their griefe and sorow) was by reason of certaine women, who dwelling not far off, followed thither after *Tanusee* (as the report goeth) to search for some of their friends. But it was almost impossible or very difficult for them to bestow their teares vpon the right bodies, or to honor the corpses of those which they intended. For they were a compānie of disguised trunks and carkasses, all naked, many without heads, others disfigured, and their faces so corrupted, that they had not only lost their peculiar shape and figure, and were impossible to be knowne: but they retained in a maner no shew nor resemblance of humane creatures. Besides that many of them had their flesh gnawen to the bones by the wilde beastes and rauens. Yet poore soules, did they bemoane euerie bodie which they found, taking them for their friends, and neither could the stench, nor the corruption separat these people from the bodies which they so ardently desired. But to make short: their eyes hauing had their fill of looking, and their griefe being somewhat eased and satisfied by the abundance of their teares, they were enforced by *Tanusee* to digge vp manie little pits, and therein to burie them, the earth whereof being againe cast vppon them, did make a shewe of so manie little hilles, or mountainets. Wherefore the earth being put to earth, and the funerals fully ended, their sorow and lamentation likewise ceased and had an ende. *Scanderbeg* could not haue made choise of a fitter man to see this office executed, then

Tanusee before Belgrade.

Christians slain at Belgrade buried by Tanusee and the Epirots.

Tanuſce Thopie: for when he had performed the obſequies with as great affection as was poſſible, and had diſcharged the deuoire of his amitie & friendſhip to his friends and companions: becauſe he would not haue it thought, that he was come thither to that onely intent, and ſo ſhould returne mocked and ſcorned by the enemie, he ſought out ſome fit matter whereupon to diſplay his rage and choler, and to leaue them ſome ſubiect and occaſion likewiſe of griefe and lamentation. For this cauſe he ſent abrode his ſoldiers ouer all the fields lying within view and ſight of *Belgrade*, who made notable hauocke of all things with ſword and fire: not ſparing either trees, vines, or any thing elſe: and giuing the citizens a moſt lamentable ſpectacle through the ſpoile and deſolation of all the countrey round about them. And not content therewithall, he proceeded yet further: for paſſing on euen cloſe to the wals (which he might well do without any great danger) he omitted not to do them any dammage, miſchiefe, and diſpleaſure, which his wrath and furie could inflict vpon them. Some haue affirmed, and many do confirme no leſſe, that the garriſon iſſued out, & made a braue ſally forth vpon them: and partly with their ordinance, and partly with the aduenture of their perſons, did ſeeke to beate them from the walles, hauing firſt ſet fire on their ſuburbs, and that after a long, ſharpe, and bloudie skirmiſh (wherein the Chriſtians had the better) they were beaten backe within their gates. Whereupon becauſe *Tanuſce* ſtood in doubt leſt the next garriſons of the Turkiſh frontiers might come vpon him, and ſuddenly oppreſſe him, he would not giue anie further attempt againſt them: but with a million of curſes and execrations, he left and abandoned thoſe vnfortunat places, which were ſo infamous by the ruine and ſlaughter of the Chriſtians.

Tanuſce ſpoyleth & burneth all the countrey about Belgrade

Sally made by the Belgradois vpon Tanuſce & the Epirots, who repulſed them.

Scanderbeg at his being in *Dibria* held many counſels & great aſſemblies, wherein he conſulted with the moſt graue and auncient perſons of that countrey: endeuoring aboue all things to ſift and ſearch out if there were any other conſpirators or conſorts of *Moſes* yet remaining in the prouince, or any ſecret ſparks or tract of his treaſon left behind him. And beſides all priuie and ſecret meanes vſed to enquire of it, there was publike proclamation made with ſound of trumpet, promiſing a great ſumme of money to thoſe that could and ſhould detect any ſuch conſpirators. But there was not found ſo much as any ſhew of ſuſpition of any ſuch matter. And therfore the *Dibrians* were highly commended for their loyaltie, and the aſſured conſtancie of their faith. Beſides that, he beſtowed great & bountiful rewards amongſt them, to continue them in their good deuoire and dutie. *Moſes* his goods, and ſuch penſions & offices wherewith *Scanderbeg* had before honored and aduanced him, were confiſcated and ſeized to the kings coffers, and reſumed into his hands: many of which he beſtowed vpon particular perſons. The Gouernorſhip of the countrey and garriſon of *Dibria* was retained ſtill in the kings hands, and beſtowed vpon no man, but was kept voyd for a ſeaſon by the good liking and conſent of all men, eſpecially of the ſouldiers. The affaires of the *Dibrians* being thus ordered and put in good aſſurance with a good and ſtrong garriſon, he returned thence to *Croy*, where *Tanuſce* was alſo then atiued with his armie, the which he hauing reſigned into the hands of the Prince, he retired himſelfe in extreme griefe and ſorow to his owne houſe, where at his returne, the lamentations, ſighes, and ſorowes began afreſh to be renewed amongſt the friends and kinſmen of *Muſache*, euery body grieuing and mourning for his miſchance. And *Mamiſa* the widow of the deceaſed, hauing called together (according to the cuſtome of that natiō) many Ladies, Gentlewomē & graue matrons, did celebrate the obſequies of her husband: long time mourning & bewailing his death, & neuer ceaſing day nor night with abūdance of tears, to lamēt the loſſe of him which ſhe held moſt deare vnto her.

Moſes his goods and liuings ſeized and confiſcated.

Mamiſa the wife of Muſache celebrateth the obſequies of her husband.

Scanderbeg hauing diſmiſſed his owne army, did determine alſo to ſend away thoſe

Neapo-

Neapolitans which were left aliue after the battel of *Belgrade*: and together with them an Ambassade to the king *Alphonsus*, to certifie him of the truth of his misfortune, and to excuse himselfe. Accordingly assoone as they were in case to trauell, he courteously thanked them of their paines and companie, and so embarked them for *Italie*: which done, he tooke his iourney into the countrey appertaining to *Musache*, towards his sister, both to mitigate their publicke and priuate sorrowe, and in this time of affliction and discouragement, to aduise vpon the affaires of his estate. *Tanusee* was appointed to be Tutour and Gardian of the person and goods of his nephewes: who did continually carrie himselfe with such loue, sincerities, care, and diligence, that greater could not haue bene found in a kind and naturall father. The honour, title, and dignitie, with the Signiorie of the countrey, did remaine in the mother, who mannaged that Estate, and gouerned the people with such moderation and dexteritie of spirite, that there was neuer seene greater concord and vnitie among the inhabitants of the Prouince, then was during the time of her gouernement: which is a thing seldome seene, by reason that the common sort ordinarily being mutinous and disobedient, are hardly restrained within the limits of their duety and allegeance. But herein especially was the soueraigne prudence and singular iudgement of this Lady to be admired: that (as it is generally confessed) *Standerbeg* did oftentimes vse her as a most faithfull consort, and associat in the manadging of the affaires of the estate, and was much and vsually aduised and counselled by her. Shee would neuer yeeld to any second mariage, but euen to the last gaspe of her life, shee honoured the memory of her beloued spouse, not without a singular commendation of her continency and chastity: wherein shee continued and persewered most deuoutly, induced thereunto (it may be) not onely in regard of her owne naturall grauity and modesty, but because shee being a woman of an excellent and noble minde, did esteeme the losse of her husband to be irreparable. For (not to speake any thing of his other vertues, which are most ordinary and proper to men, and whereof he gaue sufficient testimony by his glorious end) he was euen by nature so louely and amiable, of so fine and pleasing a behauiour, and of so sweete a conuersation, that no creature liuing knew better, nor with greater facility then he, how to insinuat himselfe into the affections of men, and to purchase their good loue and liking. Besides the beauty and comelinesse of his person wherewith he was notably graced, and which is the proper obiect that women doe affect, and the eleganey of his goodly and tall stature, did fit singularly well to the perfections of his minde. But whilest we haue our eyes thus fastened, and our minds too too carefully busied in contemplation of our Christians, and doe tediously pursue the plaintes and griefes of them in particular: we doe not listen to the sound of *Sebalias* his trumpets, which doe summon vs to hearken vnto him, and who is now complaining that we haue ouer long delayd to giue him the merite of his due and deserued triumph.

Ambassade sent to Alphonsus king of Naples: and the Italian succours returned home.

Mamisa her praises & perfections.

" "

" Sentence.

"

Musache his praises and vertues.

The newes of his good successe in *Epire* was gotten before him to *Andrinople*, and the manifold reports which ran of his victory did in some sort draw the Turkish monarke to beleeue I know not what. For this vnexpected good fortune, till then vnusuall & vnaccustomed, did withhold him from beleeuing the full truth of that which was reported. The comming of *Moses* was the first obiect of the others triumph, & an accident that made them all breake forth into an exceeding ioy: for he arriued at the *Sultans* Court certaine dayes before the other, for that the way frō *Belgrade* was more difficult to him that drew an armie after him, and who was enforced to march more leasurely and easily. The *Sultan* learned by him the estate of all things more fully and certainly, giuing credit to his speeches, and taking more pleasure and contentment in

Moses cometh to Andrinople.

his presence, & to see him alienated from his Prince, then by the report of any victory that could be brought vnto him. He did not remember nor consider, that as the aduersity and mishap of *Epire* had drawne him thither: so the same being ceased, & the fortune of *Albanie* restored, might in like manet carie him away againe. *Sebalias* at his returne was receiued with the singular ioy and publicke acclamations of all the people: who shewed thēselues more ioyous of this iourney, then of all the noble conquests erst obtained by their soueraigne. The captiues with their hands bound behind them, and the ensignes of the Christians were first presented vnto the *Ottoman*. After that the rest of the spoiles, with the other warlike instruments were brought in sight, together with the heads of those that were slain: the which being sold with the straw within thē for their weight in gold, were throwne vp and downe the streets, the children playing with them as at footbal. The poore *Italians* which were prisoners, were set to sale, and many of them sold to such as would giue most. Some few of them, who were very old & aged, together with all the *Epirots*, were either fastened vpon sharpe piles or posts, & so gored to death, or else were lifted vp aloft into the aire with hooks of iron, and so in the midst of their torments, had this only comfort left them, that they died Martyrs for the name of him that died for vs, praising and commending the glorious end of their companions slaine at *Belgrade*, and detesting (but all too late) their owne base cowardice and infamous desire of life, that could endure to see themselues reserued to be thus tormented and scorned by such miscreants. But the cruelty & hatefull villany which they shewed vpon the *Albanians*, did farre exceed that which was vsed to the others: and there was scarce any one of them saued from the barbarous handling of the enemy. And they did it, either in respect of the hatred & despite which they bate to that nation, or else for that the Turks do seldome or neuer vse to sell any *Epirots* for slaues. For they are of opinion, that there is no nation, nor any slaues of what qualitie soeuer, so vnfit to be sold as the *Epirots* and the *Hungarians*, for that they are held to be men vnmeete for seruice, as being proud, lofty and imperious, and such as will neuer come to be good Turkes or * Musulmans.

Sebalias his triumph and returne to Andrinople.

Christians prisoners to the Turkes put to extreme torments.

Turkes their opinion of the Epirots.

** Musulmans in the Arabian tong signifieth, faithfull towards God.*

When *Mahomet* heard the report of the chiualry and haughty exploits of *Scanderbeg*, shewed in the battell of *Belgrade*, he was striken with so incredible an admiration and extreme grief, that he went away, saying, that his host was vanquished, and that the *Epirots* were the vanquishers: and that the reputation & name of *Scanderbeg* wold be more augmēted and renowmed by this only battell, then by any other thing done all his life time. For in very truth all men did attribute vnto him a kind of supernaturall excellencie, saying: that his bodie was euen by a fatall kind of destiny inuiolable, and not subiect to the sword, nor to any other humane force or violence.

Speech and censure of Mahomet touching the battell of Belgrade.

Scanderbeg his body reputed inuiolable.

Notwithstanding the vertue of *Sebalias* had his due & deserued honor. And being largely rewarded, he was for a long time the onely man, that was talked of amongst the common people: as being the first that had made it knowne that *Scanderbeg* was not inuincible. *Moses* also was not left behind, but was much made of, & highly commended, and a great and honorable pension was assigned him for his entertainment. True it is, that when he demanded certaine forces of the *Sultan* to inuade *Scanderbeg*, *Mahomet* would not condescend vnto it, but excused him selfe vpon the neerenesse of winter then approching. And that might very well be the cause of his refusall: but I beleeue he did it also vpon a conceipt, as wise Iudges vse to do amongst the Christians, who will not willingly beleeue a *Iewe* that is newly baptized: and therefore neither would he enterprise any thing vnder the conduct of *Moses*, nor yet would he employ any other man, but was resolued for a time to set aside all care, and wholly to abstaine from the warre of *Epire*.

Moses honorably entertained by the Turke.

The

The Ambassadours *Albanois* returning from *Naples* laden with rich giftes after the accustomed maner, were accompanied with other Ambassadours from the king *Alphonsus*: who being admitted to the presence of *Scanderbeg*, with a long and eloquent oration, did endeuor to mitigate the bitternesse of his griefe and passion, couering his losse vnder the common estimaty and chance of warre, & with the ebbing and flowing of worldly affaires: saying, that the continuall traine of armes did ofte bring with it such like accidents. And in conclusion, they offered him in the name of their Prince, full and ample succours and supplies of whatsoeuer he should need. The king of *Epire*, hauing rewarded them with great presents, as one that did euen contend to surmount the magnificence of the *Spaniard*, did honorably send them away with this answer: That he neuer had any doubt of his good loue and singular affection, both in regard of the publicke cause of religion, as also for his owne particulars the same hauing bene testified by infinit acts of his bountie and magnificence worthie of perpetuall remembrance: for the which he did giue most harty thanks, with protestation to vse his aide and succours as his owne, when soeuer and as often as occasion should require. The like messages came vnto him also from other Princes and States of *Italie*, and from diuerse great Seigniors and peoples his next neighbours, with the like offers and demonstrations of loue & friendship: and they perswaded him, that his late losse ought not any way to abate his courage, nor cause him to exceed in sorow & discontentment: and they assured him, that most of the Princes & States of Christendome would not make spare of any labour and trauell, of any costs and expences, nor of any dangers or hazards whatsoeuer for his safety, and for the maintenance of his crowne and dignity. It was a strange matter to *Scanderbeg* to see the newes of his discomfiture so published and spred abroad, and then did he begin to haue a more cleare and perfect knowledge of his disgrace, and the blemish of his reputation, then he had before, whilest the wounds of his souldiours and the losse of his men, were yet greene and fresh in remembrance. Wherefore with an vndanted corage, he did openly make knowen vnto them, that they should not thinke the estate of *Epire* to be such as they imagined, or that they wanted sufficient forces to recouer their good fortune: but rather that they were able to surmount their formet exploites, and to purchase themselues now greater honour vpon the enemy then euer: and with this answer they departed, highly contented and well satisfied.

Ambassadours sent to Scanderbeg from the king of Naples and others to comfort him for his losse before Belgrade.

Answer of Scanderbeg to the Neapolitan Ambassadours.

Speech of the other Ambassadours to Scanderbeg, touching his losse at Belgrade.

Answer of Scanderbeg to the other Ambassadours.

The winter following he spent partly at *Croy*, and partly in *Dibria* and other places of the prouince: the garrison of *Dibria* he diminished, & reduced to the ancient nũbers of 1000. horse, and 1000. foot: setting good and strong watches, and ordaining many spies purposely dispersed abroad to discouer the attempts of the Infidels, who al this dead time of the yeare were not any way molested with the roades or inuasions of the Christians. For all the countrey for a good way round about had bene harried and wasted, so that to giue in any further vppon the enemies countrey, neither the quality of the time and dicommodity of the cold weather would permit: nor was *Scanderbeg* willing to suffer them: for his mind deuised vpon greater matters and of more importance, and he reserued the mortall hatred of his minde to some more notable kinde of vengeaunce: by meanes whereof the coldnesse of that season did passe away in great tranquillity and quietnesse.

Now was the newe Spring come on, and both the earth began to be embellished and beautified with the greene grasse, and all things growing fresh and gay, and the sweetnesse of the aire made euery thing pleasant and delightfull. Then *Moses*, as a continuall spurre in the eyes and eares of the Turkish Emperour, did importune and egge him on without ceasing, and was instant and vrgent vpon him to begin the warre, and 1453.

Moses vrgeth Mahomet to employ him against Scanderbeg.

to bend his forces against his owne nation. *Mahomet* who had his chiefe hope and expectation vpon him, and the time also seruing him very well, did not in any thing gainsay his desire: for his mind did long before tend to the same end. And you must imagine, that all that dead time of the winter season (which was about sixe moneths) whilest *Moses* remained with him in Court, he did most carefully sound and examine euery particular of his actions and behauiour: in such sort, that he had noted in him great signes and euident demonstrations of constancie and fidelitie, and of a minde wholly alienated from *Scanderbeg*. Besides, the better to put himself in the good grace and liking of the *Sultan*, he had by many euident testimonies and tokens, giuen him proofe of his sufficiencie and vertue, as much as was possible in that time of peace and intermission of armes, and he made great shew of his strength, valour, and resolution: insomuch (as it is reported, and as afterwards *Moses* affirmed it openly) that *Mahomet* demanded of him, whether *Scanderbeg* had many such men about him as himself: and he answered most modestly, that he had infinite such: And thereupon the *Sultan* highly commended the modestie of his speech. Then *Moses* (as it is commonly seene, that when shame keepeth vs from praising our selues openly, we do secretly and indirectly as it were, by circumstance attribute to our selues that which we detract from the reputation and honor of another) descending by litle and litle & by degrees from talking of others to *Scanderbeg*, did seeke to diminishe his reputation, and to lessen the opinion of his deserts: and after a long discourse, he made a promise vnto *Mahomet*, that if it pleased him to repose that trust in him onely, he would proue himself in that warre bodie to bodie against *Scanderbeg*, and would aduenture the hazard of a particular combat: and that he would not desire any greater numbers to worke his ouerthrow and confusion, then an armie of fifteene thousand horsemen onely: so that himself might haue the chusing, the ordering and disposing of them.

Speeches betweene Mahomet and Moses.

Sentence.

Moses sent with an armie of 15. thousand horse against Scanderbeg.

The *Ottoman* as he was soone and easily intreated to graunt him the charge and commaund of this armie: so did he referre the whole care thereof to his iudgement and discretion, and gaue him the reines to do as he thought best. The souldiers which were prest to go in that voyage for *Albanie*, did infinitely misdoubt the weakenesse and feeble strength of so small a companie: neuertheless the wonderfull confidence and braue resolution of their new Generall did enforce them to hope well, and to conceiue some good opinion touching the happie successe of that iourney. Besides the great credit and authoritie of *Moses* with his owne nation, and his strong alliance within the countrey, was a matter worthie to be thought vpon, and did greatly encorage all of them, and did put them in hope, that they should find great ayde by them of the countrey, which the *Dibrian* also had assured to the *Sultan*. And it may be, that he himselfe was perswaded no lesse: for he gaue out, that he had had conference with some of the most auncient and principall persons of the prouince, and that many of his confederates and intelligencers did keepe themselues close and in secret, and did rest at his deuotion: and that suddenly, assoone as they should see his troupes within the countrey, they would be readie to come and ioyne with him: and bringing a good number of lustie and able youths, they would take armes, and bend their force against *Scanderbeg*. Thus all things being throughly prepared, and he in a readinesse to take his iourney, about the three and twentieth of Februarie, in the yeare 1453. he departed from *Andrinople*, displaying his vnhappie ensignes in the sight, and within the proper bowels of his owne native countrey.

We will leaue the ingrate and vnkind *Moses* bending his traiterous armes against *Epire*, and in the meane time altering our discourse, to yeeld you the more contentment by this history, let me intreate you to giue me leaue to dwell a while with that fierce

fierce and haughty minded Prince young *Mahomet*, who calleth vpon me to accompanie him in his iourney to *Constantinople*, which he hauing for a long time delayed and deferred, yet meant not to breake off nor to giue ouer for altogether. You haue read (if you remember it) in the beginning of this booke with what egernesse and vehemencie his aspyring and his ambitious heart, did affect to see the Imperiall Diademe of *Greece* set vpon his owne head: neuertheless, the iealousie which he had to defende and rescue one litle place in *Epyre*, had made a stay of his goodly progresse and glorious enterprise. But now vppon the notable victorie of *Sebalias*, thinking that his mortall enemie was so ouerthrowen as he should neuer be able to rise againe, he grewe into such a confidence of his prosperitie, that he doubted not to proceede with his former voyage, and with full sayles to followe his good fortune, which now seemed to fawne on him with a merrie and pleasant gale of winde: as we see it is an ordinarie thing, that if some one of our actions be seconded with good happe, it hardeneth and encourageth vs to vndertake other matters farre more difficult.

Mahomet inuaye against Constantinople

" Sentence.
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The Turkish Monarche, hauing commaunded a generall and speedie leauie of souldiers both horse and foote throughout all his Dominions, and that in more extraordinarie and excessiue numbers then had beene heard of in many ages, vsed an extreame kinde of diligence, and all possible celeritie in the raising of that armie, pretending that those preparations were for an other warre, because the Princes of Christendome should not haue him in anie mistrust or suspition. Moreouer hauing prepared an infinite number of vessels and shippes both for fight and for carriage of necessarie prouisions (for this man of all the *Ottomans* was the first that vsed shipping or men of warre at sea) he departed from *Andrinople* neere about the same time that *Moses* tooke his iourney for *Epyre*: and with long and continuall iourneyes both day and night he tooke the way of *Romania* both by sea and by lande, with an incredible traine of artilletie, engines, and other prouisions of assault. He made but a iest at those auncient ceremonies and solemne obseruations vsed by his predecessors and other Princes to denounce and proclaime warres before they made anie inuasion vpon their neighbors. For violating the faith and promise which he had formerly sworne, and breaking the oath and peace which he had vowed most religiously to obserue, with the Emperour of *Constantinople*: he suddenly ouerranne and inuaded all the plaine countrie, and vpon the nineteenth day of Aprill, he planted his campe before that noble and famous citie, hauing in lesse then three dayes streightly girt it in, and besieged it rounde on all sides. His armie exceeded foure hundreth thousand men, most part of which were collected and gathered out of the Nations neere adioyning, such as yet retayned and helde the name and profession of Christians: namely, from *Greece*, *Sclauony* and *Valachia*, and from amongst the *Dardanians* or *Rascians*: the *Triballians* or *Seruians*, and the *Misians* or *Bulgarians*. There were verie fewe of them naturall Turkes, but with those former Nations out of *Europe* were mingled other troupes out of *Asia*, both from *Bithinia* called *Natolia*, and from *Gallatia*, *Lidia*, or *Briquia*, and *Cilicia* which is the countrie of the King of *Caramania*. In this manner did these Miscreants, Infidels, and Barbarians serue themselues with our owne forces, and the peoples of our owne profession and alliance: augmenting and encreasing their estate with the aide and helpe of them onely who were the most warrelike and stoutest Nations of all their campe, and by whom they did principally worke the ruine of that Empire, and the destruction of the Christians.

Mahomet marcheth to the siege of Constantinople.

Mahomet violateth the peace with the Emperor of Greece and inuadeth his Empire without proclamation or denouncing of warre.

Constantinople besieged with an armie of 400000 men.

Diuersitie of Nations both Christians and others serving vnder the Turke at the siege of Constantinople.

Concerning the citie it selfe, and the meanes of their defence: the whole forces

Numbers of the garrison in Constantinople against the Turkes.

of the garrison (setting aside the multitude which ordinarily is more hurtfull then fit or apt to beare armes) did not amount to aboue 9000. souldiers, of which 6000. were *Greekes* of all sorts both good and bad. And the other 3000. were partly *Venetians* and partly *Genowayes*. True it is, that for the better strength and suertie of the citie (if the maiestie and reuerence of the sacred Imperiall name, could haue done any thing to the furtherance thereof) the Emperour himselfe *Constantine Paleologus* was there in person. But ouer and aboue this outward glorie, and externall shewe of his presence, I doe not finde (and the subiect of this discourse will declare it) that his being there did anie great good, to the preseruation of the place. The great scarcitie and want of munition, powder, armes, corne, treasure to pay the souldiers, and such like prouisions did sufficiently testifie, and make proofe of no lesse then I speake. For he did of a long time before discerne and knowe of the great preparations of the Turke, and he foresawe the terrour of this tempest that menaced the state of *Greece*, yet did he proceede but very coldly in making his prouisions. Onely he had recourse by Ambassadours to Pope *Nicholas* the fifth, to the Emperour *Fredericke* the third, to *Charles* the seuenth King of France, and to other Kings and Potentates of Christendome, to induce and perswade with them to sende him succours, and to shew them the imminent perill and approching decay and ruine of so noble and auncient an Empire, the losse whereof could not but redound to the perpetuall shame and infamie of the whole name of the Christians: and finally he acquainted them with the extreame miserie which they were like to encurre, falling into the cruell and vnmercifull handes of a Nation most fierce and Barbarous, and more thirsting after the bloud of humaine creatures and Christians, then after wine or any other liquor whatsoeuer: and in conclusion with aboundance of teares and lamentations did his Ambassadours labour to moue them to some compassion and commiseration of their pitifull estate. But all their trauels were in vaine, and (which I abhorre to speake) they found the eares of all those Princes to be so deafe, and their eyes so blinded, nay rather their minds so senseleſse, as they could not foresee, that if the Empire of *Greece* came once to decay and confusion, it would cause all the residue of *Europe* in time to come to be buried and ouerwhelmed in the like ruine and destruction, to the manifest and inuitable abolishing of the Christian religion. But shall we thinke that they were ignorant hereof? nay rather I am of the opinion that they knew it sufficiently: but being occupied and distracted with their priuate hatreds and quarrels, and with the care of their owne particular commodities, their hearts were obdurate and hardened, and they did neglect the vniuersall good and publique welfare of all in generall. For behold and marke what was the occasion that withheld them. *Italie* was drawen drie of money and treasure, by meanes of the Schisme in the Papacie, and by the factions of the two famelies of the *Vrsins* and the *Colonnezes*: *Almaine* was vexed and rent with ciuill warres, and the greatest part of *France* was in the subiection and welneere wholly possessed by the *English*: and in briefe, all *Europe* (according to their accustomed manner) was deuided into sects and partialities.

Negligence of the Emperor of Constantinople

Emperour of Constantinople craueth aide of Christian Princes but in vaine.

Carelessnesse of Christian Princes of the danger and losse of Constantinople

But that you may the better perceiue both with what diligence and industrie the Turkes laboured to carrie and conquer this goodly Citie, and to reduce it vnder the Dominion of the *Ottoman* Empire: and howe the defendants also did diuersly demeane themselues, who laboured and endeuoured still to retaine it in the power and deuotion of the Christians, I hold it expedient here to deliuer and represent vnto you the true description and situation of the place.

The description & situation of Constantinople

Constantinople (which the auncients called *Byzance*) is situated vpon the mouth

or

or entrie of the ſtreight of *Gallipoly*, on that part where *Aſia* is adioyning to *Europe*, eche of them being ſeparated from other by a very ſtreight arme of the ſea of *Helleſpont*, which (extending it ſelfe into a gulfe opening with two pointes or hornes) lyeth full East and West, and ſo maketh a goodly hauen of two leagues and a halfe in length, and about a mile in breadth, where it is largeſt, and not aboue halfe ſo brode where it is narroweſt. On the ſides thereof it is full of nookes, ſecret turnings, and by places, in regarde whereof it is called the horne: for that the ſeuen hilles which doe aduance themſelues within the towne, doe make the gulfe to runne with manie braunches, as it were the head of a Hart. Betweene this gulfe and the ſea of *Propontide*, there runneth out into the ſea a mountaine not very high, like vnto a Cherroneſſe or halfe Iſle, the length whereof lying East and West is litle leſſe then two ſhort leagues. The ridge of this mountaine holdeth ſtill on bending towards, and oppoſite againſt the mouth of the ſea *Propontide*: but to the North it hath ſeuen other ſmall mountaines or litle hilles adioyning, of which foure of them doe ſtrike into this gulf, and the greateſt of the foure is waſhed with the waues of the ſea of *Boſphore*, and repreſenteth the baſe of a triangle. For the towne and the demie Iſle are in forme and faſhion triangular. The two points or promontories of this mountaine (the one of them towards the Occident regarding the ſea of *Propontide*, & called *Hebdomi*: the other called *Chriſoceras* bending to the Northwards) do gard the entry and mouth of the harbor from the violence of the windes. From the which entry, if you draw a direct line to the ſeuenth mountainet lying more hidden & not ſo open as the others, & which doth likewiſe couer the Port againſt the Weſterne windes, you ſhall include the moorish playne of *Pera* within the boſome (as it were) of that winding circuite which maketh that continuall ridge or backe of the demy Iſle afore mentioned. The length of the hauen (as we haue ſayed) is about two leagues and a halfe, within the moſt inward recuyle whereof the riuers of *Cidrus* and *Barbiſa* do diſcharge thẽſelues. The entry of the hauen is very ſtreight & narrow, for that on the ſide of *Barbiſa* (where is ſeated the towne of *Pera*, ſomtimes founded by the *Genowayes*, & now by the Turks named *Galata*) there is a promontorie called *Metopique* & *Cyglobia*, lying againſt the South, & another promontorie alſo towards *Aſia*, which ietteth out euen to the midſt of the mouth of the ſtreight of *Gallipolis*, and is named *Damalique*. On the Occident where the demy Iſle or Cherroneſſe doth ioyne to the firme land of *Thrace*, there it doth deuide & ſeparate the hauen from the ſea of *Propontide* by meanes of a litle cut of land, which is ſome 50. pace in breadth, till it come to touch with the ſeuenth hill: which being the inmoſt angle of the towne towards the maine lande (as it goeth ſtill on) waxeth greater and greater, and encreaſeth more and more in largeneſſe & wideneſſe. Vpon this demy Iſle or Cherroneſſe, is ſeated the noble and famous city of *Conſtantine*, and right againſt it vpon the other ſide of the banke of the gulfe is the towne of *Galatha* or *Pera*: the length whereof alſo butteth vppon foure points of the lande within the turnings and windings of the hauen. The cloſeſt and narroweſt part of the Port is cloſed with a great, ſtrong, and maſſye chaine of yron running from a high tower on the promontorie of *Chriſoceras* called *Phare*, to the promontorie of *Metopique*, where is likewiſe an other tower. Towards the firme land the citie is enuironed with a great and ſtrong wall, and with a vawmure, whereunto is adioyned a very wide and deepe ditch. All the reſt of the towne being waſhed with the ſaltwater, hath but one onely wall, yet verie ſtrong, and flanked with infinite towers againſt all aſſaults and forces, that may be addreſſed againſt them by ſea-wards. The middle part of the citie is a little mountaynous and hilly, the circuit of it (accounting three miles to a French league) containeth about foure leagues and a halfe. In this forme

Gulfe of Helleſpont deſcribed

The ſea of Propontide.

Sea of Boſphore or of Thrace.

Hebdomi.

Chriſoceras.

The moorish plaine of Pera.

Riuers of Cydrus and Barbiſa.

Pera or Galata.

Promontory of Metopique & Cyglobia.

Promontory of Damalique.

Thrace.

Conſtantinople ſeated vpon the demy Iſle or point of land lying betweene the gulfe and the ſea of Propontide.

Phare a tower or lanterne at the entrie of the hauen.

Circuit of Conſtantinople 4. leagues and a halfe which is 13. miles and a halfe.

and largeneſſe it was in times paſt builded and reedified by the great *Conſtantine* Emperor of the Romaine Monarchie, of whom alſo it had the name of *Conſtantinople*.

Now that I haue laide downe and giuen you a view of the ſituation of the citie, whoſe ſinnes and offences (as it is to be thought) made a ſeparation betwene God and it: It followeth that I now diſcouer vnto you, what order the Turke obſerued in the ſiege thereof both by ſea and land: how he diſpoſed his bandes and companies about it: in what manner he planted his Ordinance and placed his batterie, and how he ordered his Nauie and ſea forces.

The manner of the ſiege of Conſtantinople.

After the place had beene well viewed, the Turkes did ſoone make their approches to the walles, by reaſon the defendants, made but meane reſiſtance, and the aſſailants being couered with baskets of Oſier, with long plankes and boordes, with targets, pauizes, and ſuch like did march in ſafetie againſt the rampiers with ſo good order and diſcretion, that they would haue made euen the moſt reſolute and expert ſouldiers to be abaſhed and appalled. The Ordinance and ſuch like engines of batterie being planted in three ſeuerall places, did beginne to batter the wals as furiouſly as was poſſible: eſpecially towards *Calegarie*, where was placed a Cannon of ſuch vnmeaſurable greatneſſe, that for the remouing thereof from place to place ſcant 50. yoke of Oxen did ſuffice: and the bullet thereof did containe eleuen handbreathes in compaſſe. Through the violence & diueliſh force of this horrible engine, the wall (though it were very large and ſtrongly builded) yet was not able to make reſiſtance: but it fell out that this peece brake, and *Mahomet* commaunded that another ſhould be caſt greater then the former. But it was not ſo ſoone ended by meanes of the fauour and policie of *Calybaſſa*, who was a great friende to a Nobleman a Chriſtian Baron within the citie, and one of the Counſellors to the Emperour. Neuertheleſſe the batterie was continued with great ſtore of other artillerie, and they ceaſed not to wearie the defendantes day and night: and dayly did they kill ſome, either more or leſſe with harguebuſſes, arrowes, ſlings, and diuerſe other kindes of ſhot. For the Infidels did imagine, that the defendants were but fewe in number, and that they could not long continue and holde out, nor be able to endure the labour and trauell of the ſiege. And the better to preſſe them to extremitie, and to haue his will of them by force of armes, he laboured with all diligence to digge and caſt vp trenches, to the intent the ſouldiers might with leſſe paines and daunger ſafegarde themſelues from the enemie, and haue the freer acceſſe to the foote of the wall. Moreouer becauſe he would by the aduantage of the higher place or ground, more eaſily preſent the ladders to the walles, and be able to carrie the towne, he cauſed a long and high banke of earth, equall to the towne wall to be caſt vp round about that part of the citie: and this was not all, for he cauſed alſo many towers of wood to be raiſed vp neere to the rampiers, from the which (hauing cauſed them to be couered with cowhides) he filled the ditch with earth and other ſtuffe, thinking to leauell and make plaine the way, and to haue the more eaſie acceſſe into the towne. And beſides he had an innumerable companie of logges of wood, of ladders mounted vpon wheeles, and chariots raiſed in forme of caſtels, and ſuch like engines as the *Romaines* themſelues could ſcarce haue found and made the like againſt the *Carthaginians*: and becauſe that monſtrous peece of Ordinance which was newly caſt, could do litle or no hurt at all againſt *Calegarie*, by reaſon of the notable and ſtrong fortification of the place, it was planted neere the port *S. Roman* againſt the tower *Battatines*, which being beaten downe to the ground, did with his ruines fill vp the ditch, and made it euen with the height of the plaine ground, inſomuch that the breach was plaine & euen for the Infidels to haue entred it, but that there was ſpeedie order taken for repairing the ſame, &

Calegarie.

Conſtantinople battered.

Calybaſſa a friend to the Chriſtians.

The Port S. Roman.

The tower Battatines.

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it was made stronger then before. Whereat the great Turke greatly maruelling, said: That it was not the worke nor inuention of the *Greekes* but of the *Latines*, who were better practised, and more expert and industrious in pointes of fortification then the *Greekes*. Thus you see what was done towards the firme land.

Towardes the Sea on that side which regardeth *Pera*, the *Sultan* besieged it with a fleete of 250. sayle, whereof the greatest part were Foistes, and some part gallyes, of which some were with two, some with three oares on a banke. Besides there were a great number of Frigats loaden with men and shot, rather for a shew and terrour vnto them then otherwise. These lay at ancker in the maine a good way off, on one side of the hauen towards the sea of Propontide: for they durst not come neere for feare of the Christians, but lying dispersed, and sometimes sayling vp and downe the sea, they did still furnish their campe at land with wood, stones, & such like necessaries. The port (as I haue told you) was shut vp with a great chaine: and besides it was garded with 7. great ships or carracks of the *Genowayes*, and three of *Creete* or *Candia*, all of them strongly bound & well chained together the one close to the other, so as the Turkish Nauie could not possibly enter into the harbor. But what did the *Sultan* (thinke you) to get into the hauen? by the counsell & aduise of a trayterous wretch a Christian *Renegado*, he cõmanded that a certaine number of his gallies should be drawen vp out of the sea to the mountaine, and then let downe againe on the other side into the hauen. The Pyoners and other labourers of the campe being set about the worke, and hauing farre and wide on all sides made plaine the descent of the mountaine, both on the one side & the other of the promontory of *Metopique*, with strength & force of hands they drew vp the gallies, conueying thẽ vpon rollers more thẽ 8. miles in length, & hauing brought them to the top of the mountaine, by litle & litle they let them slide faire and easily downe into the hauen. Now imagine you whether this new & strange spectacle, did not astonish and amaze the Christians. They sought by all meanes possible to sinke them with force of great stones, or to set them on fire, but in vaine did they attempt it, and those vessels were the occasion of great care and trouble vnto them: for that they being enforced by that meanes to quit the defence of the port, necessitie did constraine them to looke to the defence of the wals towards the sea side, and to diminish their gardes on the other side towards the land. For the town was daily assaulted on that side to the seaward with a power of 70000. men, by the helpe also of another deuise which the Turkes inuented as ingeniously & with no lesse hardines, the same more terrifying the Christians then the former: the maner whereof you shal heare also.

A stratagem or wonderfull enterprise of the Turkes at Constantinople (by the counsel of a Christian traitour Renegado) to get into the hauen.

Turkes get into the hauen of Constantinople

He builded a bridge more then 3. miles in length, from the banke or shore besides *Pera* right against the towne, the which trauersing or running ouer the sea was supported with hogsheads, pypes, and other wine vessels being fastened & held together vnderneath with great beames and posts of timber chained together, to the intent his army might march freely, and approch neere to the wall. Imitating therein the greatnesse of *Xerxes* who passed his armie in like manner ouer the sea of *Bosphore* out of *Asia* into *Thrace*. He raised vp also innumerable towers surmounting the height of the walles, from the tops of the which, being well furnished with all kinds of armes and prouisions for assault, the citie was incessantly trauelled and sore wearied.

Stratagems of the Turkes in building a miraculous bridge ouer the sea of Pera at Constantinople.

I haue figured foorth vnto you the terrible appresta and preparations of the Turkish Monarch, by which he sought the ruine and destruction of this imperiall citie. It now resteth that I shew you the order and prouision of them within the towne, for the defence of the place against the assaylants.

Constantinople ill furnished with prouision

The Christians growing daily more prouident & expert, did helpe thẽselues with such peeces of artillerie as they had, hauing but small store allowed them, neither had

they any great prouision of pouder and saltpeeter: as litle also was their store of armes and weapons, and much lesse were they prouided of victuals. That side which they had was with muskets and such like small shot, with which they could not much greeue nor annoy the enemie, by reason of the discommoditie of the place, the same being couered with trenches, and litle walles drie made, and cast vp of purpose. Of their great Ordinance (as the report goeth) they could haue little or no vse at all, for feare of shaking downe their owne walles: yet sometimes now and then, they did discharge some of them vpon the enemie, and did beate downe both men, tents, & pauilions, together with their Pauisados, Gabions, and other muniments and defences. The braue and furious sallyes of the youth of the citie, did cause the Turks often both to feare and to admire them: and euer the assailants had the worst and sustained great losse in all encounters. For the walles being kept well, garded and assured with valiant and resolute souldiers: euerie one striued to doe his best, and to giue some notable proofe and testimonie of his valure and prowes.

Courage and valure of the garrison within Constantinople.

It happened about that time, that a certaine *Genoway* named *Iohn Iustinian*, one of the chiefe of *Genoway*, both for his nobilitie and great account, as also for his wealth and riches, did scoure the seas, and did roaue vp and downe seeking his fortune vpon that coast with two good and strong shippes of warre, and about 400. fighting men. This man (as it fell out) lying at an anchor in the port of *Constantinople*, when the towne was vpon the point to be besieged, and considering with himselfe (as became a man of courage) that he was in one and the same estate with the meanest of the inhabitants: and that the preseruation of the citie did import him no lesse, then the residue of the citizens: he vndertooke together with them the defence thereof with singular courage and magnanimitie, with so notable and euident a proofe and shew of his sufficiencie & valure, both in repulsing of the enemie, and for his notable promptnesse and expedition in repayring the breaches and ruines made by the Canon, that he caried away without any contradiction the honour and praise for a while, of the safetie and preseruation of the Grecian Empire. In regard whereof he had this prerogatiue, to be chosen and allowed for the chiefe commaunder within the towne, and he had the title and name of Lieutenant Generall vnder the Emperour. Assoone as he had this authority committed vnto him, he caused the souldiers to be disposed and to be distributed here & there in diuerse places according to the seuerall occurrences of the time, and as the attempts of the Barbarians did require. He was assisted by the Emperour himselfe followed with a traine of 300. *Genowayes*, and a great number of *Greeke* souldiers purposely chosen to defend that part of the wals and rampiers which lay neere *S. Roman*, where the perill and danger was most likely and apparant. *Maurice Catanee* a *Genoway* also, being a braue and valiant Chieftaine, was placed betwene the Port of the fountaine and the golden gate, with 200. crosbowes *Italians*, & some *Greekes* intermixt with them: who with great furie did maintaine the fight against a castle made of wood, which being couered ouer with Oxe hides, the Turkes had raised against that side of the towne. *Paulus Troilus*, and *Antonie* his brother surnamed *Bouchardes*, did sustaine the assault on the side of *Miliandre*, where the towne began first of all to wauer. In that place did they continue in armes day and night, and making no spare of their bloud, they shewed themselues hardie and courageous, sometimes with pykes, one while with fire workes, and another while with their crosbowes, demeaning themselues with such stoutnesse, strength, and brauery, that their very enemies did admire them. With no lesse valure did *Theodore Caristin* behaue himselfe, who being a *Greeke* borne, and growen verie aged, was a notable good archer. Likewise *Theophilus Paleologus* an honourable Gentleman of *Greece*, excellent-

Iohn Iustinian a Genoway made Lieutenant Generall for the Emperour within Constantinople.

The order and forces of the Christians in the defence of Constantinople.

Port S. Roman defended by Iustinian.

Maurice Catanee at the Port Fountain

The golden gate.

Paulus Troilus and Antony de Bouchardes.

Miliandre.

Theodore Caristin.

Theophilus Paleologus.

excellently well seene both in letters and in armes, and a neare kinseman vnto the Emperour: and with them *Iohn le Grand* or the great, a *Germaine* borne, (of whom more shalbe sayed hereafter:) these three did defend and reenforce the breach of *Calegarie*, after it had bene battered and beaten downe by the Turkish artillerie. *Contaren* a noble and famous gentleman descended of the *Contarens*, one of the most noble families amongst the *Venetians*, was lodged betweene the golden gate and the towers, neare adioyning euen as farre as to the sea: and did with singular resolution, endure and sustaine the force of the infidels on that side. The other *Greeks* in like maner which were placed here and there on other parts of the towne walles, did brauely aduenture and hazard their liues, to the intent they might shew some worthie token and testimonie, that they were nothing inferiour to the *Latines*. The care and custodie of the imperiall pallace was committed vnto *Ierome Minot*, Baily of the *Venetians*. The tower seated before the Hippodrome towardes the East, was giuen in charge to the Consull of the *Catalans*. *Chirluc* had the defence of the port towards the sea and of al the sea coast. *Ierome* the *Italian*, *Leonard Langask* a *Genoway*, and many others had the keeping of the Chsiliport, and of the towers which they call *Aueniades*. The Priests, Muncks, and other religious persons, being likewise distributed throughout the walles, did make shew by their hardie and setled lookes that they could doe something else besides praying vpon their beades, and singing and saying of masse. *Gabriell Trenisan* Gouernour of the *Venetian* foistes being accompanied with * 40. other *Venetians* did manfully defend the tower of *Farrasin* by the port Imperiall. *Anthonie Diede* Generall of the gallies seeming to be faint harted and but badly resolued, did shew himselfe more carefull to keepe aboord, and to saue his vessels, then to defend the hauen which he had in charge.

Iohn le Grand.

Breach of Calegarie.

Contaren.

The palace imperiall.

Hieronie Minot.

The tower of Hippodrome.

The sea port.

Chirluc.

Hieronie the Italian.

Leonard Langask.

Chsil port.

The towers Aueniades.

Gabriell Trenisan Gouernour of the venetian foistes.

* Some say 400

Demetrius the father in lawe of *N. Paleologus*, and *Nicolas* the sonne in law of *Gullelle* had the charge of a conduct and great squadron of armed men being alwaies in a readinesse for the succours and relefe of them vpon the walles, vppon any accident or occasion that should be requisite. To make short, all of them did shewe themselues so cheerefull and couragious, as though they would first haue bene torne in peeces rather then they would haue fallen into the hands of the circumcized Infidels. And forasmuch as neither the breach, nor the ruines of the walles, nor the thundering noise nor violence of the ordinance, nor the strength, force, nor huge puissance of the enemie could nowe terrifie nor astonish them: it seemed that they were fully resolued to abide all extreamities, as if this had bene the day and time, wherein they should purchase vnto themselues eternall renowme and immortall fame. But what auaileth it for men that are besieged to be couragious and resolute, if they want good order and prouision for victuals, money and munition? Neuertheless, because all colour of excuse should be taken from the inhabitants, by which they might pretend the neglect of their duties: & least they should be discomforted more by feare of famin in time to come, then by the terrour of the present danger: there was commaundement giuen, that the bread and other victuals should be distributed, and shared by equall proportion amongst the seuerall housholdes and families. But there were some of the inhabitants so greedily addicted to the infamous desire of gaine, or rather of the blood of their Christian brethren, that they concealed their corne: and others againe raised the prises of their graine. This villanous and wretched humor of auarice, was the occasion not only of many great mischiefes, but also of the confusion of the whole estate and policie. The Emperour shewed himselfe too remisse and gentle, and did not with sufficient seueritie chastise and punish their disobedience: by meanes whereof, euerie man did as he listed: and (as the prouerbe is) they were like a company of

The tower of Farrasin.

The port imperiall.

Anthonie Diede Generall of the Gallies.

Demetrius.

Nicolas Gullelle.

" *Sentence.*
" *Courage*
" *boasteth*
" *without*
" *good meanes*
" *of defence.*

Couetousnesse of the Greekes in Constantinople.

rattes in the corne-ſtacke. If the Emperour were at any time angred and diſcontented, he was ſoone appeaſed with the flattering words and ſmooth ſpeeches of his Courtiers, who did not ſticke in a manner to mocke and ſcorne him to his face, whilſt himſelfe in the meane time made ſemblance, as if he did not ſee it.

A litle before this time it happened that fortune preſented vnto the beſieged ſome ſhew and apparance, that ſhe would ſupply them with reliefe and ſuccours. For ſuch is her vnconſtant and diſſembling nature, that ſhe faigneth ſometimes to fauour them whom ſhe purpoſeth to ruinate and caſt downe headlong into extreame miſerie. So fell it out with the inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*: Three great ſhippes of *Genoway* loaden with armour, ſouldiers and corne, were come from *Chios* in the company of one other ſhip which belonged to the Emperour, and was loaden with wheat of *Sicilia*. Theſe being diſcouered to be neare the citie by the armie of the Infidels which kept watch towardes the ſea: and the allarme being giuen with ſound of trumpets and other inſtruments, they were preſently aſſayled by the Turkes, eſpecially the veſſell imperiall, as being more notable then the others: both the townes-men from the citie on the one ſide, and the Monarch of the Turkes from the toppe of the mountaine of *Galatha* on the other ſide beholding the fight and combat betwene them. The gallies bearing vp cloſe vnto them did firſt ſet vpon that ſhippe which belonged to the Emperour, inſomuch as there grew a hot and cruell fight both on the one ſide and the other. *Maurice Catanee* (before named) was generall Commaunder of thoſe veſſelles, who in that battell ſhewed his excellent skil and experience in ſea ſeruice, and did giue euident teſtimonie of his ſingular valour and prowes. He was ſeconded by *Dominick* of *Nonara*, and *Baptiſta Fellizan* a *Genoway* alſo: both of which ſhewed themſelues no leſſe expert pilots then well practiſed in deeds of armes. On the other ſide the infidelles hauing in hope and conceit alreadie deuoured this notable prey and booty, and accounting it ſure their owne, did enforce themſelues to carrie away the victorie, beating ſtill and furiouſly with their Ordinance and with great ſtore of ſmall ſhot, vpon the imperiall veſſell, which defended her ſelfe very brauely by the courageous deuoire of *Flectanella* her patron. The oares of the Gallies flew in ſhiuers, and it was a horrour to heare the ratling of the hatches, and other great peeces of the ſhipbordes which flew about, beſides the wofull cries and howlings of the Turkes as they gaue vp the ghoſt. Their Soueraigne perceiuing from the mountaine, how his armie was ill beſtead, was in ſuch rage and paſſion as if he would haue runne madde for anger: he curſed and blaſphemed, hee rent his clothes and tore his garmentes, the Pagans they lamented, and all his hoaſt was in amazement and confuſion. What ſhould we ſay more? The broyle was renued, and the fight grew more fierce and terrible, ſtill the Infidels had the worſt, and ſuch was the ſucceſſe of the fight, that a great number of Turkes being ſlaine and drowned, they were ſcant able for want of men to recouer the ſhore with their ſhipping. The beſieged did learne by ſome of thoſe which fled whom they tooke priſoners, and by their owne eſpials, that the Turkes had receiued a griuous ouerthrow and diſcomfiture, and that they had loſt more then 10000. of their men. The fleete wherewith they aſſayled the Chriſtian veſſels was very neere of 200. ſayles, part of them being of two, & part of three oares on a banke. The Turkiſh king was greatly confounded, and his forces were reputed of litle or ſmall puiſſance: for that ſo many gallies vnited and conſorted together, were not able to take nor ouercome onely three veſſels of the Chriſtians. Thus the next night following, did the ſhippes enter into the harbour without any hurt or dammage, hauing not ſo much as one man ſlaine, but only ſome of them hurt and wounded.

Sentence. „ „ „

Chios an Iland in the mediterranean ſea.

A fight at ſea betwene the Turkes and the Chriſtians.

Dominicke de Nonara. Baptiſta Fellizan.

Flectanella.

Victorie of the Chriſtians in a ſea fight againſt the Turkes before Conſtantinople

Mahomet being highly diſpleaſed, and grieuouſly incenſed againſt *Baltogle* his Admirall

Admirall, did depose him from his charge and office, confiscated all his goods, and would scarce haue pardoned him his life, had not his Baslaes and chiefe Siegniours vehemently entreated for him. In this his choller and rage he determined with cannon shot from the top of the mountaine of *Pera* towards the East, to sinke those vessels that lay in the roade or mouth of the harbour: or at least wise to make them leaue and forgoe the chaine. Wherefore hauing caused his artillerie to be bracht, he did endeuor to breake and to batter them in peeces, being aided thereunto by a Cannonier a Christian, who for that he had bene denied a certaine pension which he demanded, was of late reuolted to the Turks. It chaunced (I know not with what destiny) that at the verie first shotte he sunke the shippe wherein the Captaine himselfe was, which was an occasion that the others for feare of the like misfortune did retire themselues vnder the couert of the walles of *Pera*. Besides those vessels there lying in the port, there were also three galleyasses of *Venice* and two galliots for their securitie: which the Emperour by earnest entreatie, and for a great summe of money, had caused to stay for the defence of *Constantinople* during the space of sixe monethes. Within a while after, there fell some debate and difference betweene the *Genowaies* and the *Venetians*: the one reproaching the other, that they had made default at this last seruice and expedition: but the *Venetians* hauing libertie granted them to depart, was a cause that this discord was soone appeased.

Baiazet Admirall to Mahomet in disgrace for losse of the battell at sea.

Contemptible and treachery of a Christian Cannonier.

Discord betweene the Genowayes and the Venetians at Constantinople.

The extremities and difficulties of the *Greekes* daily encreasing, and the *Paynims* growing more and more audacious and obstinate: the defendants tooke counsell, and determined vpon some course, to fire those Turkish foistes which had bene conueyed into the hauen. Order being giuen by *Iustinian* how the matter should be put in execution: *Ieames Cocque* a *Venetian* being too couetous of glorie, did rashly goe in hand with the action, & preuented the time wherein the matter was to be wrought: by meanes whereof, the Barbarians perceiuing their intent, did anticipate the enterprize, sinking with their ordinaunce certaine vessells of the *Greekes*, and drowning many of the Christians: some of them also being taken prisoners, as they thought to saue themselues by swimming to the shore, were the next daye beheaded by the Turkes in the sight of the Citizens. The defendants being mightely incensed, and waxing more cruell with this Turkish inhumanitie, did giue them drinke (as the saying is) of the same cuppe. For, causing certaine Turkes their prisoners to be brought foorth, they put them to death openly vpon the rampiers of the citie: and so the desire of vengeaunce pricked on with wrath and crueltie, did exasperate the hearts of both parties.

Ieames Cocque a venetian & other Christians drowned.

Prisoners Christians beheaded by Mahomet. a Seuere.

But this mortall enemie of the Crosse of Christ, to the intent he might not leaue any martiall deuise vnattempted that might make him Maister of the towne, did now bend all his endeuours to winne it secretly by stealth and subtiltie, and by mines conueyed closely vnder the ground, continuing neuertheless daily and hourely the vnpleasant harmonie and roaring noise of his cannons and bombards. By this time had they vndermined with great silence and secrecie the rampier of the vawmure, and now began to make their preparations for blowing vp of the mine. But *Iohn le Grand* an *Almaine* souldier, well practised and experienced in that arte (whom *Iustinian* had made Captaine of a companie, and who did him great seruice, aide and comfort during the siege) by his singular industrie and prouident foresight, did discouer the danger: whereupon suddenly was there made a strong and braue sally out of the towne, purposely to make proofe and tryall of the matter: which being found to be most sure and certaine, did greatly trouble them within, till such time as they saw themselues exempted and freed from this feare, by the remedie of counter-mines which

Mynes made by the Turkes against Constantinople, & disappointed by the countermynes of the defendants. Iohn le Grand

they made to disappoint the purpose of the enemie.

Dissimulation of Mahomet purposing to deceiue the Christians vnder colour of a peace.

The *Sultan* perceiuing that the vertue and forwardnesse of the Christians did cause all his attempts to turne to smoke, beganne now to fall to his wonted byas of cunning and dissembling. He feigned him to repent that he had vndertaken this enterprise, falsely giuing out, that he had done it by the perswasion of the *Hungarians*: he sent therefore an Herauld of armes to the Emperor to treat with him vpon some appointment of peace. But his fraude was soone perceiued, in that he would not condiscend, that a fortresse which he had raised towards the sea of *Propontide*, should be razed and throwen downe, nor that they should quietly repaire the ruines and breaches of their walles, and of the towers and bulwarkes about the citie. But that which most troubled the defendants was, that they could not haue any trust nor affiance in the worde nor faith of the *Sultan*, who was neuer knowen at any time to haue obserued his faith or othe with any creature liuing; much lesse was it likely, that he would holde it to his enemie. The worst of all, was the small number of the defendants which gaue them cause of extreame griefe and sorrow, for they were in all about a 9000. men or litle aboue, as I haue tolde you. But what is one in comparison of a 1000. For when the defendants were disposed and ordered in their places vpon the walles eche beside other, they did scant suffice to furnish the walles where the enemie had enuironned them both by sea and by land. The poore Emperour in great confusion and perplexitie, with the teares standing in his eyes, did goe from doore to doore, and from house to house, imploring and entreating the citizens with his hands ioyned together, that they would aide him with their treasure and wealth, onely for the waging of more souldiers, and for the hyring of strange and forreigne succours. But (ô monstrous impietie, ô wretched auarice of the *Greeke* Nation!) they protested and swore with most execrable othes, that they had not wherewithall to hire any, that they were drawen dry of money by reason of the scarcetie and miserie of the time: and yet afterwardes there was found such abundance of treasure within the citie, that it seemed they reserued it to enrich their enemies, who were euen glutted with the exceeding riches which they found hidden there by the citizens. Howbeit some few of them of their voluntarie motion did contribute somewhat vnto him: but these were verie few, and it did him litle pleasure: yea more then this what did the *Greeke* Emperour? He had recourse from the citizens, to his Barons, the great Seigniours and chiefest nobles of the Empire: but they gaue him counsell in any case not to molest any man in this publicke extreamitie and combustion: but rather to take the reliques and other sacred things and iewelles of the churches, and so serue his neede with them. Whereupon he commaunded that the vessels and vtensiles of gold and siluer which had bene consecrated to the vse of the holy temples, should be coyned into currant and ready money, to be deuided among the souldiers, pyoners, and other persons appointed for the repairing of the fortifications of the towne. For the also being wholly attentiue to their priuate profit and commoditie, and not to the good and welfare of the estate publike, would not labour nor do any seruice, except they were satisfied & contented of their pay.

Periurie and singular infidelitie of Mahomet.

Auarice and impietie of the Greekes incredible and cause of their owne ruine.

Constantinople newly battered and three breaches made.

An assault proclaimed by Mahomet to Constantinople

Mahomet seeing that his offers of peace were refused, and being without hope of carying the place, by any other meanes then by the blood and slaughter of his people: reenforced the siege and fight on all sides, causing the batterie to be recontinued with more furie then before, till such time as he had made three faire and large breaches, by which he might with ease enter with his troupes, and free the walles of the defendants. Then he caused it to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet throughout his campe, that euery man should be in a readines with his armes the next morning very early.

early, to giue a generall assault: and he abandoned the towne to the pillage and discretion of the souldiers for three dayes together, vpon condition that they did within that terme enter it, and make themselues Maisters of the place. It was the sixe and twentieth day of Aprill when this crie was published, the feare whereof caused many of the *Greeks* to withdraw and conuey themselues away: faigning that either they had some necessarie businesse to be done in the fieldes, or some other occasion to absent themselues. Some pretended that they were vnable and vnfit to serue, others alleadged their pouertie, saying: that it stood them vpon to goe get some bread to relieue themselues, and whē some more zelous then others, did reproue them for their cowardize, and did shew them that now not onely their priuate estate was endangered, but that the estate of all Christendome, and the common defence of all the Christians in *Europe* did depend vpon their valour, manhood and resolution, they made this answer: What haue we to do (sayed they) with the warres whilest our families are readie to starue and to die with pure hunger and famine? so that it was a very hard matter to get them to the walles, or to make them to abide there in defence of the place. This was the occasion that the assailants taking heart and courage when they sawe the small resistaunce that was made in some places, durst aduenture to approach neare the walles, and with crookes to pull downe the hogsheades, pipes, and other vessels which the defendants had prouided there in a readinesse to make them barricadoes for the more suretie of their walles: but by howe much the more the townes-men were discomforted by that proclamation, so much the greater was the ioy and triumph made by these miscreants throughout all the quarters of their camp. Euery man made prouision of necessaries to furnish himselfe against the next dayes seruice, which they desired and expected with such greedinesse and deuotion, that he was not held for a good man, who did not by his verie countenaunce, and by his gesture, bewray the heate and forwardnesse of a braue mind and courageous. Of their whole armie, there was not a man who of all that day would either eate or drinke. Such is the nature and disposition of men, that when matters do fall out to their desire and contentment, their bodies are fully satisfied, and their appetite or stomach is quite taken from them. But some say, that this their abstinence was enioyned them by the ceremonie of their religion. The day being spent, and the night come on, assoone as it was starre-light, they fell to feasting one another with great cheere and notable banquets: drinking and carousing together for the most part of the night. This done they retired themselues euery man to his quarter to take their rest, with many louing embracements, kisses and mutuall fare-welles giuen to ech other, as if they should neuer haue met againe. You see now how the aduersaries prepared themselues to the ruine and desolation of the most noble and proud citie of the Orient.

Cowardize of the Greekes of Constantinople

Courage and audacitie of the Turkes preparing themselues to the assault of Constantinople.

Scarce.

In the meane while, they within the towne hauing heard of this publique cry and proclamation of the great Turke, and considering the great preparations that were made for the assault, ordained a publique and solemne procession: the Priestes and religious persons with all reuerence and deuotion had recourse vnto their reliques, to the image of the crucifixe and of the blessed virgin, with deuout prayers, himnes, and songs: their eyes sheading abundance of teares: their hearts sighing and groaning for the miseries and mischiefes both present and imminent vpon them. The common people both rich and poore, men and women, young and olde, followed after the Clergie, imploring the fauour and protection of the diuine maiestie. Thus did they goe about the towne, enuironning it on all quarters, visiting all the holy places, and afflicting their bodies with fasting, discipline and continuall orizons: and when night was come they retired euery man to their seuerall places assigned for their defence.

Citizens of Constantinople their discomfortable and miserable estate.

Catholique deuotion of the Constantinopolitans.

During these passions of publique sorrow and lamentation, the Gouernour of the towne *Iohn Iustinian* (hauing a watchfull eye and good care to all matters as one that did diligently obserue all fortunes) tooke order for the speedy repairing of the breaches and other places of least assurance, and for the furnishing of them with artillerie: demaunding of *Chirlus* (who was of chiefest authoritie amongst the citizens) that he should deliuer him out of the common store of the citie certaine ordinance to be employed against the Infidelles, which *Chirlus* hauing refused and denied him, *Iustinian* enflamed with extreme wrath & anger vsed these words vnto him. Traitor that thou art: what should hinder me that I run thee not through with my sword? From that time forward *Chirlus* disdaining, that he should be so outraged and reproached by a *Latine*, did beare himselfe verie coldly in the discharge of his dutie. And the *Greekes* in generall had secretly conceiued a great disdaine and enuie, that the *Italians* should haue the chiefe commaund of them, and should haue the chiefe honour of the preseruation of the citie. Neuertheless the Generall by the aduise and counsell of *Maurice Catanee*, *Iohn de Carret*, *Paul de Bouchardes*, *Iohn de Formares*, *Thomas des Sammages*, *Ladisse Gattaluse*, *Iohn Illyric*, and many other *Greekes* (who shewed themselues true seruitours to God & their countrie, did take order for the strengthening of the companies, and the fortifying of the tampiers: in such sort, that the *Sultan* himselfe greatly commending his prouidence and diligence, vsed these words of him. O that I had that Captaine neare about me, that I might honor him according to his worthines & sufficiency: and he did by many meanes & deuises assay to allure him vnto his seruice. But that loyall and generous heart of his, would neuer be corrupted nor drawen to yeeld vnto his enticements.

Grudge & hatred betweene Iustinian and Chirlus: and the Greeks and Latines.

Ambition of the Greekes.

Speech of Mahomet in commendation of Iohn Iustinian.

The walls of *Constantinople* were of as wonderfull great height and thicknes, as of any towne whatsoeuer: but partly by the antiquitie of the time which had in a manner wasted, them being old and ruinous, and partly by the negligence of the *Greekes* which made no great account and reckoning of it, they were for the most part empaired and disfurnished of their battlements, bulwarks & other defences. As touching the vawmure, it was verie strong and in good estate as might be, and it was well fortified with all things requisite for the guarding and keeping of it: and accordingly the *Greeks* founding all the suertie of their fortresse vpon the strength thereof, had lodged all their fighting men betweene the chiefe wall and the vawmure. It was a worke and enterprize of no small importance to couer and furnish the vawmure with men sufficient: and therefore many wise and expert men of good and sound iudgement, finding fault and blaming them, did tell them, that they ought not to quit and abandon the chiefe and maine wall which was high & strong made: for that by the fauor & benefit of the same being duely regarded and furnished, they might very well haue maintained and defended the other wall, and so haue drawen out the siege at length. But if the Emperour for his part did make any default by reason of his negligence and pusillanimitie which I will not speake of: much more were they to be blamed, who had the chiefe managing and gouernment of the estate, namely, *Emanuell Gregare* (who was a litle before but a very begger and base fellow,) and one *Neophit* a Monke of *Rhodes*: two most notable pillers and not pillours of the common wealth. These two being ordained as tutors or protectours of the estate, and hauing receiued huge summes of money, either of such as died intestate, and whose goods were to come to the publique treasurie, or by the testaments of diuerse particular persons (who bequeathed great summes of mony to be employed to the reparations & maintenance of the walles and fortifications: they did defraud the common wealth of the same and conuerted it to their priuate profite and commoditie. Leauing within a while af-

Negligence of the Greeks in furnishing, fortifying and defending the walles of Constantinople.

Emanuell Gregare, Neophit a monke, two pillers and pullers of the state of Constantinople.

ter

ter to the Infidels and *Barbarians*, the inheritance and possession of all their infamous and ill gotten treasure, which amounted to more then 70000. crownes. By the mischieuous and wicked couetousnesse therefore of these theeues and sacrilegious traitours, did that noble city come to ruine and destruction. Seeing then that all the actions and deedes of the *Greekes*, were continually fooliſh and blameworthy, it is no maruell if so worthy a monument and famous a bulwarke of the estate of Christendome, founded by so many good Emperours, did now fall to be the prey and reward of theeues and robbers. Faine would they haue remedied this mischiefe afterwardes, but then it was all too late: for they wanted two of the most necessary and principall things to effect it; to wit, time and money, both which they might haue remedied with great ease and facility, if they had intended it either with oportunity or any importunity at such time as they saw the burthen of the warres euen readie to fall and light vpon their shoulders. But the malice or the negligence of that people, did put off and deferre all things from time to time, and from day to day, till it came to ruine and destruction. Now by reason that the *Greekes* did put their whole trust and confidence in their vtter ditches and the vawmure: when those were once lost, and that they were forced to retire within the maine wall, which before they neglected, they were not able in the end neither to man it nor to defend it. Much more wisely and prouidently did the Iewes, who did not employ nor aduenture their whole strength and forces vpon the vtter walles of *Ierusalem* when it was besieged by *Titus* and *Vespasian*: but they made the one wall still to maintaine the other, and the first being lost they retired to the second, and from the second to the third: and so by meanes of their fortifications, they prolonged the siege foure yeares against the *Romaines*.

Constantinople lost by the couetousnes of theeues and traitors her owne citizens.

Two yeares by Iosephus.

But returne we to our History. Whilest the Turkes were preparing themselues so busily to a generall assault, there sprang a rumor in their Campe, vppon the report of some espials, that there was on the one side an army and fleete of the Christians at sea comming to the aide and relieſe of *Constantinople*: and that on the other side, that tempest of warre *Iohn Huniades* was marching downe towardes the riuer of * *Danowe* to giue battell vnto the *Sultan*, or to make him raise his siege. This rumour troubled and terrified the *Mahometists*, causing them to murmure against their chiefe and soueraigne: saying, that it was but rashly and vainely done to continue and make any longer abode vnder those inuincible and impregnable wals (for it was now two and fifty dayes since the siege began) and they were in great distrust of their owne forces, albeit they were inestimable, and they dispaired vtterly of all good fortune and of victory. Vppon these difficulties, *Caly Bassa* the most auncient and sagest counsellour of the *Sultan*, a man of notable experience in the warres, and one that greatly fauoured the Christians (though in secrete) and had continually dissuaded the *Ottoman* from persisting in this enterprise: in a solemne assembly which was now called purposely to consult vppon this point, he told the *Sultan*: That it could not but be very perillous and daungerous for him to vrge the city of *Constantinople* any longer, the same being of notable strength and aboundantly prouided of all things for the warre, and furnished with good store of souldiers hardy and resolute either by death or life to defend their liberty: That his auncesters in times past had often, but in vaine assaied to conquer it, and were euer repulsed: And which was most worthye to be considered, that he was not to make any doubt, but that all the Princes and Potentates of *Europe*, especially the *Venetians* and the *Genowayes* his next neighbours, being aduertised of the necessity and extremity of the towne, would presently come with a braue and strong power to succour it: That he ought to beware how he did incense them and make those his enemies, who were able in other places eyther

Or Dambiu.

Turks murmur against Mahomet for continuing so long at the siege of Constantinople.

Caly Bassa counselleth Mahomet to raise the siege from Constantinople.

greatly to endammage them, or greatly to profit and pleasure them. Thy puissaunce (most redoubted Prince q͞p he) is incomparable, and thou shalt better augment and enlarge it by the peace then by the warre, whereof the euents and successe are alwaies doubtfull and vncertaine, and full of inconstancie and mutabilitie. *Calybassa* had scarce ended his perswasions, but *Zagan* second Councellour of the Turke: a man that was both younger in yeares, of a more hotte and fierie courage, and one that was emulous of *Calybassa*, and the mortall enemie of the Christians, interrupting his speeches, thus alleadged to the contrary.

Sentence.

The Oration of Zagan calling Mahomet to continue the siege and to assault Constantinople.

The *Ottoman* forces (quoth he) are so mighty, and are so seconded with good fortune, and they are generally in so good estimate and reputation, that all the worlde standeth in awe and is afraied of their power and greatnesse: so that to doubt of any impediments from *Europe*, or to hope for any other then a fortunate and glorious issue, were in a manner a crime of manifest treason against the maiesty of the *Ottoman* Empire. Why then should the *Sultan* leaue this siege vppon any vncertaine newes and reports? or vppon fained tales and surmizes of vaine possibilities? who knoweth not that the *Latines* are farre vnable to furnishe them with any succours? The *Genowayes* are in discord and ciuill garboiles: the *Venetians* haue enough to doe to defend them selues against the Duke of *Milan*: as for other Princes farther off, it is well knowen they are all by the eares amongst them selues, each consuming other with their ciuill warres.

Thurca Saniacke of Romania.

The Eunuch, who was the third vizir to the *Sultan* confirmed the speeches vsed by *Zagan*: and *Thurca* the *Saniacke* of *Romania* durst not take part with *Caly Bassa*, but encouraged *Mahomet* more and more to continue the siege, whereunto of himselfe he was vehemently enclined: in so much that the inferiour Chiefetaines and leaders did all with one consent and voice exclaime, saying: It behoueth the Monarch and soueraigne of the Turkes both to purpose and to put in execution things high, hard, and difficult: for by such actions onely doe men purchase honour and immortall glory. *Mahomet* being greatly animated and egged on by their perswasions, answered thus vnto them: Well then my friends (quoth he) you will that we shall trie our fortune, and it liketh me exceedingly wel. For what was the puissance of the great *Alexander*? was it incomparable? nay was it not farre inferiour to our forces? was that army of his (wherewith he conquered the whole world) more to be feared and redoubted then this of ours here before *Constantinople*? Which of our predecessors, either father, grand-father, or great-grandfather, did euer besiege this place so well accompanied with armed forces, so well prouided with warlike weapons, engines, or other preparations, as we now are? Go to then *Zagan*, make ready our companies, let our troups be set in order for the assaulting of the towne, and to the intent that they of *Pera* may not (during the assault) either hinder vs behind at our backes, or giue them of *Constantinople* any succours, let their towne be enclosed and beset on all sides.

Speache of the Turkes captaines calling for warre.

Answer of Mahomet to his counsellors and captains perswading him to hold on his siege.

Caly Bassa aduertiseth the Greeke Emperour of the purpose of the Turkes.

Caly the chiefe Bassa to the *Sultan* seeing this conclusion, did secretely aduertise the *Greeke* Emperour of the same, perswading him neuertheless not to be dismaied nor discomforted by the temerity and folly of this young Prince so insolent and so furious: that he should not feare their menaces, who were themselues fearefull and timerous, howsoeuer they made shew and semblance to the contrary. Only he wished them to keepe good and carefull watch, & to behaue themselues stoutly and constantly in sustaining the assault. The Emperour, whilest the Turkes were preparing against the morrow to assaile the town, did on his part also call an assembly of the Senate and principall Barons, and chiefe citizens, with all the Captaines and commaunders of the generall companies both Denizens and straungers, to whom being all together, he began

began to vſe theſe or ſuch like ſpeeches.

Moſt noble Lords, moſt worthy captains, and moſt chriſtian ſouldiers, you ſee the houre now approching, wherein the city is to be aſſaulted by our enemies: you know the dangers that do alwaies accompany an aſſault. Of all military actions and martiall ſeruices, either in field or forteſſe, there is none more terrible, none more fearefull, bloudy or cruell, then to maintaine a breach againſt reſolute and hardy aſſailantes, it being an ordinary thing in that caſe, for men to ſtand and fight vppe to the knees in bloud, death and wounds attending them on all ſides: yet muſt you not recule, nor be diſcouraged, when you ſhall ſee your Captaines, your kinſmen or your friends, dying and yeelding vp their ghoſts at your feet: but perſiſting reſolutely & with vndaunted hearts, you muſt hold out againſt the enemy as long as any one of you is left aliue. If any of you haue that miſtruſt of your ſelues, that you cannot finde in your hearts to abide the fight of the ſlaughter, withdraw your ſelues a Gods name to ſome other part of the walles, that you may be there emploied about ſome other needefull occaſions, wherein alſo your ſeruice ſhall be very acceptable: for all men cannot be equally and alike reſolute. You haue had ſufficient triall of the fury and forces of your aduerſaries for theſe 52. daies wherein you haue bene beſieged, and you haue no reaſon now at this preſent to be more terrified or aſtoniſhed, then you haue bin heretofore, for they are the ſame men ſtil that you haue found them in the former fights. You are not now to fight for a petty village: for ſome ſmall caſtell of litle price or reckoning, and wherein you haue litle or nothing to looſe: but you fight for the church of God & his holy religion: for the honor & ſafety of the ſacred Empire: for your own natiue townea nd countrey, the chiefe, principall, and Imperiall city of the world: wherein your wiues, your children, your parents, your friends, and all your chiefeſt and deareſt treaſures, do come running vnder the ſhelter of your armes both behind and before you, and on all ſides, imploring your vertue, your valour, and extreameſt reſolution for their defence and ſafety, which without your deuoire will be vtterly loſt and deſtroied, and euen in a moment come to ruine & confuſion. What a deſolation ſhould we ſe if theſe barbarous miſcreants, ſo couetous and thirſty of the bloud of Chriſtians, who haue ſworne to put all to the ſword, ſhould come and ſtrew your faire ſtreets, and fill vp your ſumptuous houſes with dead bodies and carkaſſes? how lamentable a ſpectacle would it be to ſee ſo many wiues, maidens, and yong infants violated? the beautifull temples builded by the piety and deuotion of the Chriſtians our fore-fathers now to be polluted, burned, and deſtroied? The only way to auoide theſe miſchiefes is to goe againſt theſe hell hounds reſolutely: to oppoſe our ſelues againſt them manfully, and to ſet aſide all feare of danger, and all care and reſpect of death, which though we could ſhun for the time preſent, yet in the end will it be fore to make an end of vs all without exception.

Oration of the Emperor of Conſtantinople to his nobles, captaines, and ſouldiers before the aſſault to encourage them.

Immediatly vpon this exhortation, the whole aſſembly with a ſetled & fierce countenance, did vow & promiſe that they would all die before they would do otherwiſe: and ſo encoraging ech other, they followed their Generall to the ſeuerall places where it pleaſed him to appoint them: and there with good deliberation did they attend the time of the aſſault. It was not long ere they heard the Infidels preparing their artillery and other engins, & drawing of their chariots with their caſtels or turrets vpon them with their ladders vpon wheeles, their towres of wood, and ſuch like inſtruments for the aſſault: and in an inſtant the Turkiſh army to the ſeaward did enuiron the Port & the wals on that ſide: for you muſt note that preſently after midnight, the Turks vpon a hope & greedines of the prey, being vnpatient to ſtay and attend the breaking of the day, did preſent them ſelues in armes before the walles, and began the fight whileſt it was yet darke, continuing the ſame euen till it was day: But they were ſo plied with

Aſſault to Conſtantinople by the Turkes.

ſtones & ſhot from aloft, that they were notable in the obſcurity of the night, to keepe themſelues out of the danger of the defendants, ſo that fighting ſtill with great diſaduantage, they caried away nothing but ſhame and infamy, with the loſſe of infinite of their braueſt and fierceſt ſouldiers. The light of the day hauing chaſed away the ſtarlight: *Mahomet* himſelfe came forth with the ſtrength of his army, and after he had giuen the ſignall to begin the aſſault, he commanded that *Conſtantinople* and *Pera* ſhould be attempted both together and at one inſtant, becauſe the *Greekes* ſhould not ſuccour ech other: himſelf alſo appointed euery Colonell with his regiment to a certaine ſpace and quantity of the wall, to the intent that euery one of them being to fight ſeuerally, and in the place particularly aſſigned vnto him, both the valour and proweſſe of them that deſerued and did beſt, ſhould be more apparant and manifeſt, and by the emulation of praiſe and glory they might the more animate each other in the conflict. With the like counſell and aduiſe were the companies of the ſea army diſtributed in order, with an expreſſe charge & commandement, that euery one ſhould make his approch in the quarter appointed vnto him at one and the ſame time. In this maner the ſouldiers being diſpoſed and marſhalled both on the one ſide and the other, the aire reſounding with the noiſe of trumpets, drums, and cornets, to incenſe them that fought, the fury of the aſſault began to encreaſe, and to be renued ſtill more and more, continuing with great aboundance of bloud and cruelty. The Pagans bending their bodies, and ſhrinking in their heads, did couer them ſelues with their targets and pauiſhes, and ſo marching on roundly preſented their ladders to the walles, and with an exceeding audacity ſtriued to get vp, and to mount vpon the rampiers which had bene newly mended & repaired. The defendants receiued them as coragiouſly, beſtowing vpon them great heapes and plenty of ſtones, pots, bals, and launces of wilde fire, ſcalding oile, ſcething water, and ſuch like: powring downe alſo vpon them a whole ſhower of ſhotte, darts, and arrowes, and neuer ceaſing to ouerturne the ladders, and to tumble thē from the top downe to the bottome. In the meane time they which preſented themſelues to the breach with the pikes in their hands, were likewiſe valiauntly reſiſted by others, who preſsing brauely forward & ruſhing vpon them, did not ſtrike in vaine: but beating downe innumerable Infidels, ſome ſlaine, ſome maimed, they ſcattered that battalion: hauing giuen them ſuch entertainment, that many being left dead vpon the place were made ſure for euer aduenturing themſelues againe in the like hazard: and the reſidue of the Turkes (as men that could do no good, and whoſe former heate was well cooled) did now ſeeme to deſire to be diſpenſed withall, that they might not for that day returne any more to ſo bad a banques, and they began to retire themſelues the ſame way they came. Then *Mahomet* enraged with ire and madnes went to meete and to encourage them, and he called ſometimes to one, ſomtimes to another by their names, eſpecially ſuch as were men of marke and chiefeſt eſtimate. Some he conſtrained by menaces, others he perſwaded by promiſes, and did ſo much preuaile, that he made them to take part againe, and thereuppon they reenforced the aſſault: then might you haue ſeene ſome climing vpon their fellowes backes, other creeping vp like cats, and making themſelues way vp to the wals: againſt the pikes of their enemies, many alſo marching cloſe together and in troups vnder the couerture of their targets, & bearing downe their heads, hauing gained the foote of the wall, did mount to the tops of their ladders: & then with the one hand they labored to lay hold vpō the enemies weapons, & with the other graſping cloſe by the battlements, they ſtriued to get aloft vpon the wals, & there to haue raiſed the Turkiſh enſignes. But the promptnes, vigor, & hardines of the defendants, did far exceed the attēpts of the aſſailants, ſtil beating them down and ouerthrowing them in infinite numbers with pikes, ſtones, and other weapons,

Turks repulſed from the aſſault.

Aſſault renued at Conſtantinople by perſwaſions of Mahomet to the Turkes.

and

and with casting of boyling pitch vppon them. It was a braue sight to see how *Iohn Iustinian* with his sword in his hand, & accompanied with a squadron of armed men, now here, now there, did with might and maine beare in vpon the enemy, where as he saw them thickest, still ouerthrowing and dispersing them where soeuer he came. One while would he redresse and confirme the rancks where he saw them to faile or to moue: another while with a watchfull eie and speedy pace, would he giue and send succours where they needed, and both with the valour of his hand, aswell as with the eloquence of his speech, he encouraged them on all parts both to do well and to hope well. The presence of the Turkish Monarch did no lesse further the obstinacy & resolution of his people, both by often exhortations and continuall supplies of newe and fresh troops who succeded chearfully in the places of those which were either slaine or repulsed, not suffering the defendants to haue any leisure to rest or to breath thēselues, although they performed their deuoire & duty beyond all reason & humaine power: yet by reason that their nūbers were so small, it could not be but they should at length be driuen to the last point and exigent of all extremity. Neuertheless they still shewed them selues in countenance and outward appearance resolute and deliberate, and that they feared no perill whatsoeuer. In this estate did they mainetaine themselues continually stout and vnuanquished, not suffering the assailantes to glory or to boast themselues of any aduantage against the towne, vntill such time as their Chieftaine and gouernour *Iustinian* (by the permission of the cruell destinies which nowe beganne to contrary this miserable and wretched city) in the heate and fury of the fight, & where the wall was most endangered, whilest he opposed him selfe most stoutly against the enemy, with a company of braue and gallant men, prodigall & careless of their liues, most vnhappily receiued a wound behinde vnder the arme hole, being shotte with an arrow by one of the defendants standing within vpon the walles.

Industry and vertue of Iohn Iustinian.

Behold now a strange case and a wonderful: He which of late by the only terror of his name did appall his enemies, and did adde a corage and confidence vnto the Christians: he which shewed himselfe as a second *Mars*, and with his arme all bloudy euen to the elbow, did flie like a tempest amongst the Turkish squadrons, preparing the victory for the *Greekes*, now alas onely 3. or 4. drops of bloud distilling from his owne body, did put him quite out of heart, and as one vtterly forlorne he fainted and gaue ouer, forgetting al his former glory, the remembrance of his duty, and the safety both of himselfe & his countrey. For perceiuing his wound to bleed much, he withdrew him selfe secretly out of the presse, & remoued frō the place without speaking euer a word, going into the towne to haue his wound dresst, being vnwilling (as himself afterwards confessed) to haue a surgeon called thither: for feare least his souldiers, who were then fighting with great fury in that place, should be partakers of his feare, & so be discoraged by his mishap. Thus whilest he thought to auoide one inconuenience he tumbled into a greater mischiefe. The Emperour hearing of his departure, and supposing that his absence would be the losse of the towne, as his presence had bene the preseruation of the same, did commit a second disorder worse then the former: for without leauing any man of marke or reckoning to supply his office, or to commaund in his place, he went himselfe in person and followed after him to cal him backe againe, endeuouring to cause him to returne. But *Iustinian* more deafe then a Haddocke, and obstinate beyond all reason, or rather transported with extreame feare, coulde not be entreated by any prayers or perswasions to tarry and abide: but causing the gate of the city to be opened for him, he promised that as soone as his wound was dressed he woulde returne incontinent. All the gates and portes of the city by which men should passe through from the vawmure into the towne, were closed and barred vppe, because

Iohn Iustinian wounded and fainteth, for saking his charge.

Emperour of Greece his ouersight.

all waies, and hope of retrait being taken from the ſouldiours, euery man ſhould determine either to vanquiſh the enemy or to die with honour. But what followed vpon this accident? The Chriſtians which were at the breach, as ſoone as they had loſt the ſight of their Generall, began to looſe courage likewiſe and to be out of heart. Then might you haue ſeene ſome of them make haſt to retire, and to withdrawe them ſelues out of the preſſe: others began to fight more ſlowly and laſily, and at laſt all in generall beginning to faint and to deſpaire, betooke them ſelues to a ſhamefull and ignominious flight. Whither do you flie you poore and ſenſleſſe wretches? doth your ſafety now conſiſt in your heeles? what, doth your reſolution depend only vppon one man ſo fraile and mortall? If your walles be loſt haue you any other by which you may be couered and protected? or will you returne againe into the wombes of your mothers there to hide you from your enemies? Are you ignorant, or haue you forgotten it, that theſe barbarous miſcreants are ſo mercileſſe and cruell, that they haue no reſpect of ſexe nor age: and that their faſhion is to deuour and ſwallow vp all ſortes and degrees of perſons in one and the ſame gulfe of vnſpeakeable miſchiefe without all pity and compaſſion.

The Chriſtians diſcomforted and out of hart vpon the departure of their Generall.

The Colonels and Captaines of the Turkes ſeeing the countenance of the Chriſtians; as ſoone as they perceiued them to faint and wauer, they encouraged their ſouldiours, and with high clamours animated them on to ſcale the walles, which were in a manner quite forſaken and abandonned. Then the Infidelles (who had already deuoured in hope the rich promiſes of the *Sultan*, and were greedy of reuenge for the loſſe of their bretheren, friendes and fellowes, that lay ſlaine before their eies in the ditches of the towne:) they began to preſſe forward in good and cloſe array, and with greater fetuency and violence then at any time before. Some of them forced through the breaches, others by their ſcaling ladders got ſpeedily to the toppe of the rampiers, and in a moment made them ſelues maiſters both of the ſecond or vttermoſt wall, and of the rampiers and bulwarkes thereof, chaſing thence the *Greeke* ſouldiours: who being now quite diſcomfited ſought to ſaue them ſelues by flying into the towne, through that gate which was lately opened to *Iuſtinian*.

Conſtantinople taken by the Turkes.

In this diſarray and foule confuſion, the Emperour alſo forgot him ſelfe and his duety, which was to haue held good, and to haue died with his armes in his handes. But he becauſe he would not fall aliue into the handes of the Infidelles, turned his backe likewiſe moſt ſhamefully, and holding company with the reſt that fled, as he ſtriued to enter in at the city gate in the middeſt of the preſſe and throng, being regarded no more then a priuate perſon, hee was borne downe forcibly to the ground, troden and trampled vnder foote, and ſo moſt miſerably ſmoothered. It is a ſtrange thing and worthy to be obſerued, that in ſo great a feare and confuſion, amongeſt ſo great a multitude of ſouldiers and valiant men, onely two were found and no more, who contemning the preſent perill and all feare of death, did ſtoutly oppoſe their bodies as a bulwarke for the defence and for the ſafety of their countrey: and preferring religion before life, and an honourable renowme before their priuate ſafety, did euen vow and conſecrate them ſelues to the death, fighting valiantly euen to the laſt gaſpe. The one of them was *Theophilus Paleologus* the Emperours kinſeman: the other was *Iohn* of *Sclauony*, a man otherwiſe of a meane and ſeruile condition, but in his end noble and honourable. Theſe two reputing it an extreame ſhame and diſgrace to flie away, did for a great while all alone ſuſtaine the fury and violence of the Barbarians, and hauing ſlaine many with their owne hands, in the end being oppreſſed with the multitude, and rather tired then vanquiſhed, they did yeeld vp their glorious ſoules vnto God, amongſt the heapes of the dead bodies of their enemies. *Iuſtinian* who during

Emperour of Conſtantinople ſmothered in a throng by his owne ſubiects, flying from the Turkes.

The death and honourable end of Theophilus Paleologus and Iohn of Sclauony.

during this time had conueyed himselfe to *Pera*, went from thence by sea to the Isle of *Chios*, where falling sicke, either by meanes of his wound, or for griefe and sorrowe, within fewe dayes after departed out of this life, hauing most shamefully lost the fruite and benefite of that incomparable glorie, which he might easily haue purchased. For without all doubt most happy and fortunate had he bene, if he had continued his first resolution to die valiantly and honorably vpon the walles of *Constantinople*. *Death of Iohn Iustinian.*

The Turkes hauing wonne the Vawmure, chased the Christians towardes the towne: and entring the port, pell mell together with them, they slue of *Greekes* and *Latines* about an eight hundreth within the gate. From the body of the Emperor (being found and knowen by of his coate armour) they did cut off the head, and fastened it vpon a pike, carying and shewing it vp and downe for a token and signe of victorie, whilest others in the meane time hauing gotten to the top, and gayned the chiefe and maine wall of the Citie, with shot, arrowes, stones, and such like, chased thence the citizens: who hearing the alarme at the gate ranne thitherwards, thinking to haue shut it, and to haue made a Barricado to keepe the enemie from entring. But the gate being alreadie wonne, and the walles now voyde of defence, the infidels became maisters of the towne, exceedingly triumphing, both for the conquest of the place, and for the infinite riches and treasures which they found there inestimable. The furie and the victorie of the souldiers was soone and easily to be discerned by the cryes and howlings of those whom at the first entrie they beat downe to the ground, killing and cutting in peeces all those whom they encountred with armes on their backes or weapon in hand. After the furie and heate of the slaughter was somewhat appeased, they gaue them selues on all parts to prey and pillage, ransacking the towne of all things with extreme rapine and greedinesse: and after the sack was ended what Iliads are able to recount the particulars of the infinite disorders, excesse, villanies, and enormities, which that barbarous, impious, and infamous people, addicted to all voluptuousnesse, auarice and crueltie, did dare to exercise vpon the wretched and miserable inhabitants? O how pitifully and horribly were they forced and violated, no sexe nor age being spared or pardoned! they confounded and intermingled murthers with whoredomes, and whoredomes with murthers, greedily seeking to satisfie their brutish and vnsatiable humour of lecherie, whereunto that nation of all others is extremely and mightily giuen ouer and enclined. They shamed not to put in irons as well the old men who were decrepit for age, as the young lads and tender maidens whom the fortune of the towne had reserued aliue: whom also being coupled and chained together, they draue before them with great despite and derision. And if by chaunce there happened any maiden, woman, or young boy, any thing beautifull and comely to looke on: euerie man striued who should haue them to abuse them in most villanous and shamefull maner: which was an occasion also, that many times they would like brute beastes one kill another. The like also would they do when they lighted vpon any bootie that was of great value, were it either sacred or prophane: for so many would set hand on it together, that oftentimes they would murther each other for the same. And by reason that their armie was compound of diuerse nations, differing in language and in manners, there was no kinde of villanie or impietie (how hatefull and enormious soeuer it were) but it was suffered to the ruine and extreme desolation of this miserable citie. The Temple of Saint *Sophie* (whose like was neuer seene, builded by the Emperour *Iustinian*) being spoyled of all her ornaments and sumptuous riches, which were innumerable, both of gold, siluer, and other precious vessels: and being contaminated and polluted with all kind of filthinesse and villanie possible to be imagined, became nowe an infamous Burdella or *Constantinople sacked with all horrible excesse of villanie for three dayes together.*

ſtewes, for vncleane perſons and Sodomites, and a ſtable for horſes, as other churches and holy places in like maner were conuerted to like prophane vſes. The bones and honored reliques of the Saints, were caſt foorth, and throwne about the ſtreetes and publike places, to be troden vnder foote, not by men onely, but euen by the dogs, hogges, and ſuch like. The images of the crucifixe and of the Saints, were either trailed through the dirt, or broken in peeces with axes and hatchets. The rare and exquiſite libraries how litle were they reſpected and regarded by thoſe brute and vnreaſonable beaſtes the enemies of all ſciences and good learning? What notable and extreme torments did they inflict vpon the ſeruants of priuate particular men, to conſtraine them to reueale and diſcloſe their maiſters goods and hidden treaſures? The report is, that they drewe foorth from vnder the earth in diuerſe places an ineſtimable quantitie of gold and ſiluer, and other iewels of exceeding great price, which the vnfortunate and vnhappie citizens, for feare of the ſiege, had hidden vnder ground: which abundance and ſuperfluitie of wealth, had it pleaſed God, that they had beſtowed and employed in munitions, and vpon other neceſſities for the defence of the towne, they might perhaps haue ſaued both their liues and goods, and the libertie of their countrey. But in them was that ſaying then verified: That couetous men do not poſſeſſe their owne gold and riches, but their gold and riches doth poſſeſſe them.

Sentence.

The ſacke of the citie hauing continued for three whole dayes together, there was nothing nowe left, nor remaining in the towne (which of late was moſt fortunate, happie and rich) but a moſt hideous ſhewe and ſight of all barbarouſneſſe and inhumanitie, ſuffering an indigne and lamentable ſeruitude of her citizens: who to the number of three ſcore thouſand, being bound and manacled, were drawen and caried out of the citie, into the campe and tentes of the Barbarians. It is reported for a certaintie, that *Mahomet* hauing made a magnificall and ſumptuous banquet to his Baſſaes and Captaines, euery man being full of wine and dainties, and him ſelfe (it may be) litle better then drunken, cauſed all the priſoners to be brought before him, and as if he had a deſire to glut the hearts and eyes of his gueſtes with the innocent bloud of the Chriſtians, and as a man may ſay, to mixe his wine with bloud, he commaunded, that the principall and chiefeſt perſons, who were of greateſt eſtimate and calling, ſhould haue their bodies deuided and ſawed a ſunder in the middeſt whileſt they were yet aliue, taking a ſingular delight and pleaſure at this inhumane ſpectacle and extreme crueltie. Some of the chiefe Officers and ſpeciall friendes of the Emperour *Conſtantine* (which remained yet aliue) being called alſo before him, he reproued and blamed very ſharply, for that they did not perſwade their Maiſter either to demaund peace, or to deliuer the towne into his handes: and thereupon he put them likewiſe to the ſword, as he had done the others. *Chirluck* aboue mentioned, hauing determined to currie fauour with the tyrant, did impute all the fault, and layed the whole blame thereof vpon the *Peratines* and the *Venetians*, who (as he ſayd) did ayde and furniſh the Emperour *Conſtantine* with men, money, munition, and counſell: and that *Conſtantine* for the loue of them did maintaine the warre againſt him. Moreouer, the wicked wretch, who had euer ſought aduauncement by lyes and ſiniſter practiſes, did accuſe *Caly* Baſſa to be a friend to the *Greekes*, and that he had often written to the Emperour, comforting him, and encouraging him to hold out: and to proue his wordes true, he ſhewed foorth the letters vnto the *Sultan*, which he had reſerued expreſſely and of purpoſe. The Emperour of the Turkes being more felonioufly incenſed then before, did reſolue vtterly to deſtroy *Pera*: and ordained that *Caly* Baſſa, being depriued of his authoritie, and of all his goods, and being faſt bound and fettered, ſhould for a while be put in ſafe keeping, and ſhut vp within

Number of chriſtians priſoners taken at the loſſe of Conſtantinople.

Crueltyof Mahomet more then barbarous

Chirluck his notable infidelitie and trecherie.

The death of Caly Baſſa betrayed and bewrayed by Chirluck, and executed by Mahomet.

within a certaine tower at *Constantinople*: from whence within fewe dayes after he was conueyed to *Andrinople*, and there executed, to the publike griefe and sorowe of all the Turkish hoast. But the disloyall and trayterous *Greeke* did not escape the due punishment of his malice and infidelitie: for hauing first lost his two eldest sonnes in the warre, the third being slaine before his eyes by the commaund of *Mahomet*, and the fourth being reserued to the abhominable lustes of the prophane tyrant, the father was enioyned and enforced to hang and strangle him selfe with his owne handes.

The death and deserued punishment of Chirlutig.

With no lesse cruelty did the Turkish *Sultan* vse the forainers and strangers which were taken vpon the losse of the citie. The * Bailiffe or Gouernour of the *Venetians* with his sonne and other Nobles of his company were beheaded. Likewise the Consull of the *Caraconenſians* or *Catalans* with his two sonnes had the like end: and *Contarin* a *Venetian* Gentleman, of the familie of the *Contarines*, with sixe other Gentlemen *Venetians* besides him, who had before agreed and payed their ransome, yet had drunke also of the same cup, if they had not payd seuen thousand Duckets more once againe for their redemption. *Isidore Ruthenian* Cardinall of the sea of *Rome*, who had before bene sent Legate *à Latere* from the *Pope Nicholas* the fift, hauing disguised him selfe, fell into the hands of a simple souldier, and by meanes of a great summe of aspres which he payd him, he escaped and got him libertie.

The death of many noblemen prisoners to the Turke and executed.

Hieronim Minot.

Contarin and other Gentlemen of Venice twise ransomed.

Cardinall of Rome the popes Legat prisoner and ransomed.

The inhabitants of *Pera* seeing the desolation of *Constantinople*, layed aside their armes, and without attending any summons from the *Sultan*, they came foorth of the towne, and bringing their keyes with them, they layed them downe at the tyrants feete: who hauing receiued them to mercie, with sufficient shewes of grace and fauour: and shortly after hauing caused his armie to enter the towne, against all faith and publicke honestie, he caused it to be sacked, the rampiers to be dismanteled and broken downe: and afflicting them with a thousand mischiefes and calamities, he caused their children to be sold for slaues, their matrones to be defloured, the olde men to be enchained, the yong men to be murthred without any regard or difference had of age, sexe or condition: not sparing their temples, pallaces, nor other edifices and buildings. Thus we see that the very same happened to the noble city of *Constantinople*, which was once foretold and propheeied by the oracle to the *Macedonians*: namely: That the name of *Constantyn* was fatall to that towne, and that during the raigne of *Constantyn*, it should finde her best and worst fortune. For as *Constantyn* the great the son of * *Helen*, was the first that founded that Empire, and did adorne and enrich that Imperiall city: so this *Constantyn* the sonne of another *Helen*, also was the last Emperour, after that this Empire had endured eleuen hundreth twenty and one yeares.

Pera voluntarily yeeldeth to the Turke.

Periurie and infidelitie of Mahomet to the Peraines.

The wordes of the oracle are Κωνσταντίνε ἡ τύχη Name of Constantine fatall to Constantinople.

Helen the mother of Great Constantine daughter of Coilus king of great Britain.

This citie that was the Queene and Lady of all the townes in the world, hauing receiued and endured so many mischiefes and calamities by the cruell and villainous handes of these theeues and brigandes, it standeth vs vppon to be moued by their examples: to the intent we may mote narrowly aduise our selues of the plagues that doe hang ouer the heades of other peoples and cities, and that standing in awe of the rigorous and seuere iudgementes of God, we be the more allured and stirred vp to his seruice and obedience: and hauing our recourse vnto him with continuall praiers, and daily sighes and gronings of our soules, we should entreat his diuine clemency, that it would please him to preserue his Church and his people, and to moderate the paines and punishmentes inflicted vppon them. And let vs not onely meditate vppon the example of their punishment, but let vs remember also what were

Exhortation of the Author to all Christians.

the sinnes and crimes of the *Greeke* nation, and of their Emperours in those daies. Let vs consider their great excesse and vsurpations, their hatefull discordes and ciuill warres, wherewith they rent and tore in sunder that famous Monarchy: so shall we be incited by the sorrowfull and lamentable end of that Empire, to liue more modestly and soberly, to nourish and entertaine concord and amity: chasing and repelling farre from vs, all distrust, ambition, couetousnesse, and the desire of vengeance, or any other thing vnlawfull, whereby the common peace and tranquillity should be troubled or disturbed: for feare least that either being dismembred or consumed by a mutuall & intestine butchery amongst our selues, we fall into the same misfortune and calamity which is befalne and happened vnto the *Greekes*.

The end of the eight Books.

THE

THE NINTH BOOKE
OF THE FAMOVS ACTES OF GEORGE CASTRIOT, SVRNAMED *SCANDERBEG.*

THE ARGVMENT.

Moses with an armie of Turkes entreth into Epire, and is encountred by Scanderbeg. The prinat combat of Ahimaz a Turke with Zachary Groppe an Epirot. Moses hauing challenged Scanderbeg to a particular combate dareth not abide him. The battell of Oronichea between Moses and Scanderbeg, wherein the Turks are ouerthrowen and Moses put to flight, who at his returne to Constantinople being in great disgrace with Mahomet, posteth secretlie into Epire, and submitting himselfe to Scanderbeg, is freelie pardoned. Ameses the nephew of Scanderbeg reuolteth from his vncle and flieth to Mahomet with his wife and children. Isaac Bassa accompanied with Ameses, is sent by Mahomet with an armie against Scanderbeg, who hauing leanied a power to receiue them, retireth with his forces and giueth place vnto them. Isaac marching freelie ouer the countrey, proclaimeth Ameses king of Epire. Scanderbeg hauing by his fained flight brought the Turkes into security, sodainly setteth vpon their Campe. The famous battell of Pharsalia: wherein Isaac Bassa is put to flight, with a notable slaughter of the Turkes, and Ameses is taken prisoner, being sent to Naples by his vncle, there to be kept in prison. Mahomet being encombred with great warres seeketh to haue peace with Scanderbeg, which being refused, he sendeth Hamur and Synam with two strong armies to defend his frontiers. And Scanderbeg likewise fortifieth the borders of Epire. The frontier war betweene the Turks and the Epirots. Hamur maketh a new motion of peace vnto Scanderbeg. Alphonsus king of Naples dieth, and Ferdinand his base son succeedeth him in that kingdome, vnto whom Scanderbeg sendeth an Ambassade. Ameses is brought backe into Epire, and is restored to the grace and fauour of his vncle, by whom being licenced to goe againe to Mahomet to practise the deliuery of his wife and children, at his returne to Constantinople, he is there poysoned by the Turke.

IN the sacred Scriptures it is written, that *Zedechias* and the other *Iewes* caried away captiue vnto *Babilon*, did mock and deride the Prophet *Ieremy* when he fortold them of the captiuitie and destruction of *Ierusalem*. We reade also that if *Cassandra* had bin beleeued by *Priam* hir father, *Troy* had not bene burned by the *Greekes*, nor reduced so miserably into dust and ashes. If the *Romans* had giuen credit to the propheties of the *Sibils*, their monarchie had not bene ruinated & troden vnder foot. But in very truth, this is an infallible rule, and vndoubtedly to be beleeued: that Empires, Realmes and Kingdomes haue their vndoubted age limited, neither more nor lesse, then as mortall men haue their birth &

Prophecies foretelling the ruine of Empires and estates.

Empires and kingdoms haue their time and age limited.

beginning, their increaſe, their continuance, and their declining. For albeit ſuch prophecies, admonitions and diuine reuelations haue and do ordinarily forerun & preceed the ruine of Monarchies and Empires: yet ſo it is, that when their prefixed time is come, it behoueth them to fall and come to nothing, maugre all the counſels & endeuors which humane wiſdome can deuiſe. The *Greeks* do affirme, that diuerſe perſonages & men famous for the holineſſe of their conuerſation & learning, did for many ages long before diuine & prophecy of this horrible tempeſt, which ſhould ſwallow vp and conſume the Empire of the Orient. Amongſt others, one *Leon* ſurnamed *the ſage* (as they ſay) made a certen table, which being hidden in ancient times, was found within the Monaſterie of *S. George* in *Conſtantinople*, containing therein certen litle ſquadrons or ſcutcheons, within the which were ſeuerall letters, that diſtinguiſhed the order and ſucceſſion of the Emperours of *Conſtantinople*: and ſo many quadrants only were contained in the table, as would comprehend all the Emperours from *Conſtantine* the great the firſt founder of that Empire, til the laſt end & deſolation of the ſame: & that all the ſaid quadrangles were filled with ſeueral caracters, but only that wherein the laſt Emperour was to be placed. They deliuer alſo that there was another, a deuout man called *Morſena*, who prophecied, that a certain people or nation, being excellent archers ſhould ariſe againſt *Conſtantinople*, who ſeizing vpon her noble port or hauen, ſhould vtterly exterminate and expell the *Greeks* out of that imperiall Citie. And laſt of all, they adde the prophecies of *Sibilla Erithrea*, who foreſhewed likewiſe the ruine of the *Greeks*. But howſoeuer it be, the finall iſſue and euent of that vnfortunate Citie hath made it manifeſt, that the Great *Conſtantine* was ill aduiſed, when he tranſported and tranſlated the Imperiall ſeate, and all the ornaments thereof, from the citie of *Rome* to that place. For albeit it cannot be denied, but that *Conſtantinople* was a place very fit and agreeable for the greatneſſe of that Empire, yet neuertheleſſe the Heauens and the deſtinies would not permit, that the ſame ſhould continue ſtill to be the ſiege of the *Romaine* Empire. For as euery region and all particular townes, haue their fatall and ineuitable neceſsity and their particular maners, rites and conditions: ſo cannot thoſe things be tranſlated elſewhere from their naturall ſeate without notable inconuenience: notwithſtanding that they be the ſame perſons, and though they doe retaine their wonted lawes and cuſtomes. For that the inſtruments and celeſtiall conſtellations of another climate do ordinarily change and alter the humors and affections of the perſons that doe there dwell and inhabite: whoſe manners iointly with the deſtinies, doe in the end cauſe the alterations which happen in them, which was manifeſtly ſeene by the tranſportation of the *Romaine* Monarchy to the *Greekes*, and *Aſiatickes*. For from thenceforth their Emperours, their ſouldiers, their legions, and armed forces being choſen and furniſhed out of thoſe countreis, it came to paſſe that being deuided into factions and partiallities, by the naturall ambition and inconſtancy of that nation: and being growen effeminate by the ſoft, nice, and tender delicacies of the Orient, they were not able after a while to repulſe the incurſions and often inuaſions of the *Barbarians*. And *Rome* it ſelfe in the meane time and all *Italie* (whom God had determined to puniſh) wanting a chiefe head and ſupreame commander amongſt them, and not retaining, but by litle and litle neglecting and looſing their auncient military diſcipline, and that martiall rigour and ſeuerity, which was neceſſarily to be obſerued amongſt ſouldiers & men profeſsing armes, they became a prey vnto ſtrange nations. Wherefore we may well ſay, that it is happened vnto this Empire, as vnto a beautifull and goodly tree, which in hir own naturall ſoile doth bring fourth pleaſant and good fruite, but being remoued and planted in a ſtrange ground, in the end by litle and litle it becommeth barren and withered.

Predictions of the ruine and deſtruction of Conſtantinople.

Leon the ſage his table of the Emperours of Conſtantinople.

Morſena his prophecie of Conſtantinople.

Sibilla Erithrea.

Conſtantine the Great ill aduiſed in tranſlating the ſeat of the Empire frō Rome to Conſtantinople.

It

I doubt not Gentlemen, but both your eyes and your eares haue bene wearied and cloyed to see and vnderstand the large discourse and recitall which I haue made of those dolourous and lamentable misfortunes befallen to your Christian brethren. I will cease therefore to speake anie further of this sorrowfull subiect, and will followe the tract of our *Moses*, whom (me thinkes) I heare calling to me and complayning himselfe worthily, for that I haue suffered him to stay so long in the heate and ardour of his rebellion, which leadeth him on against his naturall Prince and native countrie, to the intent we may see what will be the end and fortune of that his iourney.

Scanderbeg prepareth to receiue Moses in Epire.

The season and time of the yeare, which now beganne to grow more milde and temperate, the frequent and often renued aduertisements, and the rumour published and spread abroad concerning the approch of *Moses* into *Epyre* did perwade the king to haue his forces in a readinesse. Wherefore with a notable good courage and resolution, he attended the comming of this new enemie, howbeit with a more milde affection and lesse hatred, then he vsed towards others that came in armes against him. He could not yet let it sinke into his minde, that the *Dybrian* did beare him any hatred, or did carrie the minde of an enemie towardes him, or that so slight, or rather no occasion, should cause so suddaine and great a chaunge of his faith and fidelitie, which had bene notably tryed and approued in so manie battelles and for so manie yeares. He thought rather that it might be, he vsed this as a cunning stratageme and policie, to leaue some testimonie to the posteritie of his great renowme, and for the confusion and grieuous ruine of the Miscreants. And although it were so that he marched as an open and apparant enemie against his countrie, yet was he in good hope, that the sight of his natiue soyle, and the presence of his auncient friendes and fellow citizens would by litle and litle drawe him to a more charitable and friendly respect, and so abolish all his enmitie and sinister affections earst conceiued against his Prince or countrie. But howsoeuer it was he had his army in good order, and in a readinesse against all hazards and euents: being fully resolued, either with armes in hand to vnderstand the mind and intention of his friende, or with a most sharpe and setled courage and indignation to fight with him as his open enemie. Neither did he greatly care to proceed against him with any policies and stratagemes to surprise him vpon the way, because he knewe well that his troupes were not excessiue great, nor much exceeded his owne forces, but that both in number and valure they were sufficient to receiue him, and to hazard the fortune of the field with him. And it may be also that he held it no easie matter, nor of small daunger to allure or drawe him into his snares, who was an old and expert arts master in such sleights and subtilties, and such an enemie as had bene familiarly acquainted with his manner of gouernement and proceedings in martiall seruices.

Moses entreth into the lower Dibria to Oronichea or the fields of Pharsalia.

This then was the occasion, that *Moses* entred free and without any disturbance into the lower *Dybria* and encamped in *Epyre* neere to the plaine of *Oronichea*, which hath beene so famous for so manie great and notable victories, especially through the defaite of *Mustapha*: yet did not he attempt anie thing eyther by procuring the inhabitantes to reuolt vnto him, or to spoyle and waste the countrie in anie cruell and hostile manner. For he was aduertised, that the King of *Epyre* did approach, and hauing a desire and determination to beginne the warre with a priuate and single combat betweene himselfe and *Scanderbeg* bodie to bodie: he thought it more meete and conuenient to proceede with open force in plaine and set battell, then by trifling skirmishes, or by roades and inuasions to waste, spoyle, and sacke the Prouince. *Scanderbeg* made no long delay, but meeting with him euen in the

open and plaine champion, he made readie his forces to the conflict. Immediatly beganne a great murmuring in the army, and the ſouldiers in a certaine diſdaine and deſpight to ſee him, could hardly be reſtrayned vnder their enſignes, but that they would forthwith haue charged vppon the enemie. Euen as a kinde and naturall father when he ſeeth his owne ſonne ſtanding and behauing him ſelfe inſolently before him (whom a damnable deſire of rule, and a wilde youthfull diſpoſition, impatient of the yoake hath drawen into armes againſt him) is then loaden and surcharged with care and griefe, and euerie moment doth temporize and ſeeke delayes, marching forwarde but ſlowly, and ſeeketh firſt (though in vaine) by ſweete wordes and perſwaſions to conuert and diſſwade him from his obſtinate and diſobedient courſe, deferring as long as he can, the puniſhment of him whom he loueth ſo dearely, and is loath to triumph in the lamentable victorie of his owne bloud and bowels: euen ſo the King of *Epyre* preſſed on with loue and pietie, did looke vppon *Moſes* then in armes, and furiouſly raging againſt him, did iudge diuerſely of his minde and affection. Willingly he would haue demaunded a word, and haue had ſome ſpeech with him, and he would gladly haue ſounded the nature and diſpoſition of his olde friend, wherewith he had beene ſo familiarly acquainted: or elſe he would haue treated with him by Ambaſſadours and friendly counſels: But neither the Maieſtie of his royall eſtate and dignitie, nor the rigour and ſeueritie of armes, nor the furie and inſolencie of the ſouldiers (who were now readie to skirmiſh and to beginne the fight) would permit and ſuffer him to doe any of theſe thinges, whileſt they were more deſirous, that his fault ſhould reſt betweene God and his owne conſcience, rather then the enemy ſhould thinke they ſtood in any doubt or feare of him. But *Moſes* his mind ranne on no ſuch matter: his thoughts tended to another end: for he preparing himſelfe to put that in performance, which he had earſt promiſed to the Turkiſh Monarche, was in a mind preſently to haue giuen the onſet vpon the enemie, had not the prompt audacitie and hardineſſe of *Ahimaz* a priuate ſouldier, interrupted and deferred for a while that his purpoſe and enterpriſe: for this Turke addreſſing him ſelfe towardes the *Dybrian* ſayd,

A elegant comparison.

Ahimaz.

Speech of Ahimaz to Moſes, deſiring leaue to fight a combat.

„ Giue me leaue worthie Generall, firſt to lead thee the waye, which the Goddes themſelues haue layed open for thee to attaine vnto this preſent glorie. It ſeemeth „ vnto me (I know not how) an vnfit thing, and nothing agreeable vnto the right „ vſe of armes, that we ſhould come abruptly to trye the fortune of all our forces in „ a pitched and maine battell, and not to beginne the fight by ſome ſmall and light „ attempt.

The deſire of this ſouldier was ſoone approued, and he was permitted to arme himſelfe for the combat, and withall to ſend a trumpet to the King of *Epyre*, to vnderſtand his pleaſure, if he would conſent that before the beginning of the fight, both the one part and the other ſhould make tryall in this manner of their valure and good fortune. The trumpet being ſeene to approach, *Scanderbeg* did imagine (according as he wiſhed) that the *Dybrian* would haue drunke water with his wine: but when he vnderſtoode the ſumme of his meſſage, the name and regard of *Moſes* beganne by litle and litle to vaniſh out of his remembrance: neuertheleſſe that which he demaunded was accorded vnto him. But ſome of the *Epyrots* (as the report goeth) made this anſwere: That if the Turkes would, they were and would be readie by a priuate and particular combat of fewe perſons, to exempt the two armies from the perill and hazard of a ſet fielde. Thus at the ſame time, that the Trumpet on the one ſide did retyre with his anſwere to the Turkiſh armie, on the other ſide one of the Epirot horſemen, *Zacharie Greppe* being followed with the clamours of thoſe of his owne

owne companie came forth very courageiously and in very great haste presented him selfe to his Prince, desiring him to giue him the honour and preferment of this combat. *Scanderbeg* receiued him very courteously, and with very good speeches highly commended and magnified his vertue. His companions that helped to arme him prayed vnto God to giue him, not more strength and valure, nor more hardinesse or courage, but onely the fortune and good happe of *Manessey*. He made choise of no other then his ordinarie and vsuall weapons: onely he wore vpon his armour certaine rich ornaments as is the guise of souldiers. The *Paynim* who was in nothing inferiour to his aduersarie, was the first that tooke the fielde, imagining that there scant durst anie man come to encounter him: but assoone as he sawe the partie (with whom he should haue to deale) to come into the fielde throughly armed, and with his launce vpon his thigh marching right towardes him, he addressed him selfe vnto him, and cryed all aloft: Soft and faire, soft and faire (quoth he) noble Knight, we shall haue time enough to seeke our owne misfortune. And therewithall he entreated him, that they might talke together, and hauing enquired the name and the degree or estate of the *Epyrot*, he beganne to propound certaine conditions not much vnlike those which once were propounded and scorned by *Paul Manessey*, in the like action. Whereunto *Zacharie*, interrupting his speeches as vaine and friuolous, replyed, That he could wish with all his heart, that he had more and better meanes to content his desire: and (if it were his fortune) to make his victorie the more glorious. This saide, ech of them turned about and withdrewe themselues apart, and being gone so farre, that the full course of their horses might make their stroakes the more violent, setting spurres to their horses, and giuing them the reynes, they tooke their carreer eche against other with their launces in the rest. Neither of them fayled in their course, notwithstanding their strokes were in vaine, for that their launces piercing into their targets, which were couered with barres of steele, did flie in peeces without any hurt done vnto their bodies: yet they holding on their carreer, encountred together with their bodies so rudely, that both horse and men tumbled to the ground. The two champions yet whole and vnwounded, speedily got vp vppon their feete, and leauing their horses, with their swords drawen did affront ech other, and beganne a fierce and cruell conflict. Fortune would that the sight of this combat should be diuersely enriched and beautified, imparting her fauour equally vnto them. For hauing continued a long time in fight, and no bloud drawen on neither side, their swordes fell out of both their handes: it might be long of the crookednesse and heauinesse of their Cimitaries, which are fittest for horsemen, and lesse easie for them that fight on foot: or peraduenture it was by reason of wearinesse, or for lacke of aduisement, and through their ouermuch heat and hastinesse in fighting. Hauing lost their swords, they did cast away their targets also, and (as two strong and mightie wrastlers vnarmed) with their bare handes, they fastened eche on others bodie, doing their best and worst by wrastling to ouerthrowe ech other. The two hoastes stood and behelde them, with equall and like measure both of hope and feare. After they had thus a long time wrastled and tugged together, resting themselues nowe and then among: and neither of them able to moue or to force, and throw ech other to the ground, they came at length to the last proofe of their force and strength, and lifting vp one the other from the earth, they tumbled and fell both of them together, the Turke vnderneath with his belly vpwardes, and the Epirot full vpon him, who very quickly and nimbly setting hande on his dagger, stabbed him with it into the throate. *Abimaz* by little and little beganne to waxe faint, and his handes leauing their holde, the vanquisher (hauing

Zachary Groppe desireth leaue to fight the combat with Abimaz.

Speeches betweene Abimaz and Zacharie Groppe before their combat.

Combat betweene Abimaz and Zachary Groppe.

Victorie of Zachary Greppe against Ahmaz who is slaine.

freed himselfe from him) with great ioy and triumph and with infinite acclamations of the *Albanians*, got vp vpon his feete, and laying hold vpon his sworde which lay neere him, he did cut off the head of his enemie, yet gasping and drawing of breath. And being thus loaden with that and his other spoyles, he went his way faire and easily towardes his fellowes who were comming to meete him. For you must vnderstand that both their horses at the beginning of the combat, were gotten and fled to the campe of the Christians, which the common sort interpreted as a good token of their victory and good fortune. *Zacharie* had no lesse recompence and rewards giuen him by *Scanderbeg*, then *Manessey* had before for the like desert; but the praises and commendations giuen him by the whole army farre exceeded, because both the difficulty and the variety of the combat did seeme to amplifie the merit of the champion, and did more adorne and beautifie the honour of the victorie.

This good happe hauing giuen vnto the Christians an assurance and entry to the entier fauour of fortune, and hauing put *Moses* in a maruellous anguish and griefe of heart (notwithstanding that his troupes being terrified with the ill successe of their companion did dissuade him by all meanes possible) yet he giuing the spurres to his horse, & galopping ouer the field (as yet smoaking with the bloud of the Turks) went apart towards *Scanderbeg*, and with a high voice challenged him to the combat. The suddennesse and strangenesse of the act did astonish and amaze all the *Epyrots*, and they did with a kind of horror, detest the noueltie and rarenesse of so wicked and insolent an action: insomuch as they stood still as men stricken mute or dumbe with that accident. As yet was not all loue and pietie quite banished & exiled out of the heart of the king of *Albany*: but standing for a time in doubt and mammering with himselfe, he was loth to defile his hands with the bloud of his old friend & familiar: but the other perseuering in his importunate defiance, and withall vpbraiding him in most iniurious and despightfull manner, it made him to forget all right and equitie, insomuch as being filled with wrath and anger, though his Nobles did enforce themselues to haue retayned him, and would haue taken vpon them this reuenge, yet would he not be perswaded, but made towards the *Dibrian* who staied for him. *Moses* as soone as he saw him comming, suddenly turning about, gallopped towards his companie, and was so ashamed that he durst not abide nor speake a word vnto him, but causing his whole army presently to set forward, he made them ready to the battell. The Prince of *Albany* in the meane time returned to his forces, who were nothing discontented with this adieu betweene them: and especially the Turkes for their partes were very glad of it, knowing well the great and manifest inequality that was betweene the two parties. He that should compare the brauerie of the challenge made by the defiant with the shamefulnesse of his flight, would thinke that either *Moses* being ashamed of his promise made to the *Sultan*, was willing to be acquitted of it as of an ill debt, and that being terrified with the present daunger, it made him to turne his backe: or else that he did it of a foolish and rash presumption, thinking that *Scanderbeg* would not haue stirred out of his place to meete him, and himselfe confessed no lesse afterwardes at such time as he returned into *Albany*. But for my part I am rather of this minde,

Moses challengeth Scanderbeg to the combat.

Moses flieth from the presence of Scanderbeg comming to combat with him.

Sentence. „ that God, euen that great God which hath established the kings of the earth in their
„ thrones, hath imprinted in their countenances certaine characters of his diuinitie,
„ which maketh them venerable and terrible aboue other men. And so *Moses* who had neuer seene his King in choller and displeasure with him, could not then beare nor endure the maiestie of his angrie visage: so that herein he verified the olde and
A Prouerbe. „ common prouerbe: namely, when the eye seeth that it neuer saw, the heart thinketh
„ that which it neuer thought.

Immedi-

Immediatly vpon this retrait, the *Albanois* beganne to make forwardes, ſending forth on all parts ſuch cries and clamors as are vſually heard in armies that are victorious. *Scanderbeg* albeit both the ſtrength and reſolution of his forces (which were to the number of 6000. horſe and 4000. foote) and ſo many good ſignes and augu- *Number of Scanderbeg his forces againſt Moſes.* ries did manifeſtly foreſhew his certaine and aſſured victorie: yet did he not omit any thing notwithſtanding, that might ſerue to the obtayning of the ſame: were it either for his perfect and exquiſite arte and cunning in ſetting and ordering of his battels, or in encouraging of his ſouldiers: for being returned from that vaine defie giuen him by *Moſes*, he vſed theſe ſpeeches vnto them.

You haue great reaſon (my good ſouldiers) to aſſure your ſelues this day of the victorie ouer your enemies, in that God hath ſent you theſe manifeſt preſages of his aſſiſtaunce in theſe their two Champions: of whome the one with the loſſe of his head, and the other by his moſt ſhamefull flight, hath giuen you an aſſured pledge of your good and happie ſucceſſe. For my part I could haue bene content to haue employed the ſtrength and furie of my armes elſe where, if the inſolencie and infidelitie of this rebell would haue permitted mee. But ſeing he (as one tranſported from all reaſon and honeſtie) doth ſeeme to contemne and deſpiſe the friendſhippe and kindneſſe which hath beene ſhewed him, and doth confound all rightes both diuine and humaine: what charitie reſteth now to be extended vnto him, but that you fight valiantly for your countrie, for your wiues, for your children, and for your Prince, who is borne and dedicated onely for your libertie and tranquilitie: of the which this wretch and miſerable fugitiue ſeeketh to depriue you: endeuouring to bring you into the bondage and thrauldome which you haue heretofore endured? Many other ſpeeches and perſwaſions did he vſe vnto them, which were both begunne and ended with a great noiſe and crie amongſt the ſouldiers, and they went on preſently againſt the enemie, who made no leſſe haſte to encounter with them.

"Oration of "Scanderbeg "to his ſould- "diers encou- "raging them "in the battell "againſt "Moſes.

The hoaſt of the *Albanois* was deuided into two wings, wherof *Muſache de Angeline* had the charge of the one, and *Giurize de Vladienne*, had the leading of the other. *Scanderbeg* left not his wonted and ordinarie place in the middle battell betwene the winges, which was reenforced and ſtrengthened with a good ſquadron of pykes and holbards, and certaine *Italian* horſemen. In the head of the wings had he diſtributed his archers, crosbowes, and ſuch of his people as ſerued with ſhot. And thus was both the Cauallerie and the Infanterie diſpoſed as well in the battallions of the vauntgard ordained for the firſt charge and onſet, as alſo in the rerewarde, and laſt ſupplies, which were ordained for the ſeconding of the fight. *Moſes* made one onely front of his horſemen, of whom he placed in the head of the battell about a foure thouſande for the firſt charge and encounter of the enemie. The like number did he ordaine at their backes, in which place alſo he had beſtowed, with eſpeciall choiſe, manie of his ſtouteſt and moſt reſolute ſouldiers, both to ſtay the former, if they ſhould either be affraied, or happen to flie before their enemies, as alſo to aide them if they ſhould be harde beſtead, and to repreſſe the furie of the enemie: by meanes whereof the rerewarde (which him ſelfe commaunded, and helde neere at hande) might haue the more leaſure to prepare themſelues eyther to aſſayle and charge vppon the enemie, or elſe (if neede were) to remedie any diſorder: and if anie misfortune ſhould befall them, to prouide for himſelfe with more ſuertie and ſecuritie. The *Dybrian* was enuironned for the moſt part with *Epyrots*, and hee had purpoſely aſſured and flanked him ſelfe with them: both becauſe (the language and the manners of that Nation being moſt familiar vnto him) he might

Order of Scanderbeg his battels againſt Moſes.

Order of Moſes his battell againſt Scanderbeg.

the more commodiously be counselled by them, as also ayde them vppon any occasion. To many of them also he had giuen the charge of companies, and other degrees of commaund in this battell, without any dislike or contradiction of the Turkes, because he had absolute and full power from the *Sultan* to dispose of all matters to his owne liking.

The battell of Oronichea, betweene Moses and Scanderbeg.

The forefronts of both the armies being come with great furie to handystroakes, the Christians did presse and beare in vpon the Infidels with such strength and violence, that they in the forefront of the enemies vowarde were soone beaten backe and repulsed: insomuch that their Ensignes also being forced to retyre, many of them in the middle battell were so terrified with this chaunce, that (notwithstanding the cries of their fellowes who recalled them from their flight) yet for all that, quitting their rankes, they beganne to forsake the place, by meanes of a number of our harquebussiers: who being aduanced very aduenturously, had so stricken them, both horse and man, with feare and terrour, that diuerse of them were ouerthrowen and beaten downe, and the residue had litle list and lesse resolution to abide there any longer. The *Dibrian* stood not still at any time, but bestirring himselfe with notable industrie on all sides, sometimes here, sometimes there, with a braue courage, and without all regard of death or daunger, did animate and encourage his souldiers both by wordes and by deedes: and by his presence did reestablish and strengthen the battell in diuerse places. As yet was not the second battell fully ouerthrowen and disordered, by reason of those forces which (as we said before) were placed behind for a supply to second and support them. Notwithstanding the continuall and often charges giuen vppon them by the Prince of *Albanie*, did in the ende make them faint both in courage and in strength, and in despight of all their resistance the *Albanois* with their swords in their hands did make themselues way through them euen to the rereward, there to carrie away the honour and last consequence of the whole battell. *Moses* seeing that, did speedily set forwarde with his owne Cornet: and being attended with a strong battallion of all the brauest men and best mounted, he came to that same place, endeuouring to reenforce and to reassure them. And true it is, that by his comming, the Christians found the victory somwhat more bloudie, but of neuer the lesse assurance and certaintie: For that the other squadrons of the *Egyptes* following close after their fellowes, and euen at the backe of *Scanderbeg*, and the two wings (which stoode in a readinesse round about them) did in a manner besiege and hemme in the *Paynims* on all sides. As long as *Moses* held good, there was no regard had of them that fled, but for a while his abode made the Christians to keepe together, by reason that he endured their charge with great courage, and would not for a long time giue ouer, notwithstanding the great slaughter & butcherie that was made of his people. When he saw *Scanderbeg* comming against him, he durst not abide nor tarrie to encounter him, but shunned his presence with all his power, and would not come to the combat with him: onely he did hearten on and presse forwarde against him the strength of all his forces and troupes as many as he could possiblie, thinking without any hazard of his person to haue brought him to his last ende, by whose safetie the estate of *Albanie* could neuer come to ruine. On all sides did the Christians presse vpon the Infidels both in flanke and in front, and they neuer thought of comming to their generall, till such time as they had both wholly ouerthrowen the enemies vauntgard, and broken their maine battell, and gotten many of their colours and ensignes, together with the slaughter of diuerse Leaders and Captaines, whose heads being fastened vpon the points of launces and pikes by some of the souldiers, did wonderfully augment (as the fashion is) the feare and terrour of the rest. For all this was not *Mo-*

ses

ſes ſeene to make any ſhew, or to haue any minde of flight, notwithſtanding that both his ſides were left all open, being altogether diſarmed and diſfurniſhed of people, and that the fortune of the fight was nowe growen vtterly irreparable and deſperate. Yet neuertheleſſe ſtill rallying and gathering about him thoſe forces which were ſcattered and diſperſed, and with reproaches and rebukes obiecting their cowardize vnto them, he renued and continued the furie of the fight, giuing vnto his aduerſaries freſh occaſion both of trauell and of daunger, and making the iſſue of the battell to be long and doubtfull. The King of *Albanie* wondering at the obſtinacie, or rather furie of this warriour, did openly proteſt, that he thought that *Moſes* would not haue fought ſo egerly, neither for his countrie, in caſe he had ſeene it in danger to be ruinated, nor for his proper children, if he ſhould haue ſeene them before his eyes drawen into ſeruitude and bondage. But *Scanderbeg* being accompanied with *Ameſe*, *Tanuſee*, and the two *Streezes* his Nephewes, did againe make towards him with great furie and violence: and ſome of the *Epyrots* calling him by name, did will him to ſtay and expect the crowne of *Epyre* which was prepared for him: but neither the brauadoes, nor the force of them that charged him, could any thing daunt or aſtoniſh the noble courage of the *Dybrian*. For now at the laſt being ſtrengthened and backed with the reregarde of his armie which ſtoode neere him, he did with ſingular valure both receiue the charge and repulſe the violence of the *Albanois*. Here now it happened, that one of the Turkes (whoſe dexteritie was nothing inferiour to his hardineſſe and vertue) ſeeing *Scanderbeg* to preſſe directly forwards, and to make towards him, ſetting ſpurres to his horſe, and with his launce bearing full vpon him, he did encounter him ſo rudely, that he bare and ouerthrew him backwardes vpon the crouper of his horſe: and the Infidelles ſuppoſing he had bene dead, did with a huge crie and exclamation teſtifie the triumph and ioy they conceiued of that accident. It was an occaſion alſo, that both the flight of the Barbarians was deferred for a while, and that the butchery and ſlaughter of the others was farre greater then otherwiſe it would haue bene: for their courages now beginning to be reuiued, and they comming to take hart againe, the Barbarian whoſe hand had once bene fortunate againſt the perſon of *Scanderbeg*, did now once againe demaund and vrge him to the combat, as though it had bene a conqueſt onely due and allotted vnto him. But our peereleſſe Chieftaine being ſetled within his ſaddle, and hauing recouered his ſtirrups, and the conceipt of this vnwonted diſgrace making the bloud to ariſe in his face, he would not ſuffer that any other but himſelfe ſhould take the reuenge thereof: And therefore enraged with anger, he made towards his enemie, aſſailed him moſt furiouſly, and followed him ſo hard, that hauing giuen him many cruell and mortall wounds, & himſelf not hurt at all, in the end the Infidell fell downe dead at his feete. The Turke being thus ouerthrowen and ſlaine, *Scanderbeg* paſſed on, and with an high voice calling for *Moſes*, he addreſſed and bent all his furie againſt him, who (I doubt not) would haue abidden and ſtood to him, if not for any hope of the victorie, yet at leaſtwiſe for his honour and reputation: if both the daylight and his companie had not quite forſaken him whileſt himſelfe was earneſtly buſied in fighting. But his people flying, he was enforced to doe the like: and the ſoldiers which had followed him into *Epire* as their Generall, did now accompanie him in his flight alſo. The *Epirots*, eſpecially ſuch as were young and luſtie, left not to follow the chaſe, and to make after him for the ſpace of a mile and more, in hope to haue taken him either aliue or dead, whereof they knew *Scanderbeg* was very deſirous. Many of the enemies which were found hindmoſt were put to the ſword, but as for *Moſes* he eſcaped ſafe and ſound: and being verie skifull in the waies and paſſages, yet tired and ouerwearied with extreame

"Saying of "Scanderbeg "concerning "the obſtinacy "of Moſes in "the battell of "Oronchea.

Scanderbeg felled vpon his horſe crouppe by a Turke whom he killeth.

Victorie of Scanderbeg againſt Moſes and the Turks.

Moſes his flight.

trauell and hunger, he got to a place of ſuertie together with the infamous reliques of his armie which exceeded not aboue foure thouſand men at the moſt. There reſting and refreſhing himſelfe he attended the day-light. Of the *Epirots* there were not wanting fully one hundreth, and about a foure ſcore hurt: who notwithſtanding their wounds, and the darkneſſe of the night, did fall to ſacking of the Turkiſh tents, and to gather the ſpoiles of them which were ſlaine. Amongſt all the priſoners there was but one onely of any ſpeciall marke and reckoning, and he being grieuouſly wounded, had yeelded himſelfe to *Zacharie Groppe*: onely this Turke was ſaued from the ſword, and was afterwards ranſommed at a deare rate. As for the others (were it either without the knowledge, or with the command of *Scanderbeg*) they were all of them ordained to diuerſe torments, being made the ſubiect of reuenge, ſo to ſatisfie the fury of the ſouldiers, who were not yet appeaſed for the crueltie ſhewed by the Turkes at *Belgrade*, ſo that this execution of theſe Infidels, did in ſome ſort pay the intereſt of their former loſſes and iniuries.

Number of Turkes left aliue at the battell of Orniehea.

The victorie thus obtained, and the baggage, both their owne and that of the enemies, being gathered together and truſſed vp, the armie retyred to their firſt lodgings, where the ordinarie garriſon was eſtabliſhed: there did not they make any long ſtay, but *Scanderbeg* in great triumphe the fourth of Aprill, tooke his iourney towards *Croy*. Now beganne the olde dolour and griefe to be quite forgotten, and extinguiſhed by this new ioy and gladneſſe: the time it ſelfe (which is the beſt medicine for ſuch maladies) hauing by little and litle mitigated the violence and extremitie of that paſſion. Now were the ſpirits and mindes of all men refreſhed and recomforted, by reaſon of this happie and gladſome victorie, the celebration whereof was ſolemnized among the *Dibrians* with longer feaſtings, and with more vniuerſall ſports & games, then had bene vſed at any time for the triumph of any good ſucceſſe obtained againſt their enemies: for they did eſteeme the ignominie to be now purged and taken away, which the fault and offence of another might ſeeme to haue drawn vpon their whole countrie, and that they had now giuen certaine and euident gages and tokens of their faith and fidelitie, which was in ſome ſort ſuſpected to their Prince.

Triumph of Scanderbeg & the Epirots for the victory againſt Moſes and the Turks.

Sentence.

In like manner there was ſent a ſolemne Ambaſſade vnto *Naples* with many notable and worthie preſents, which were as ſignes and markes of their new proſperitie: and might teſtifie to the contentment and ioy of his friend the king *Alphonſus*, that the diſhonor of *Belgrade*, and the domeſticall treaſon of *Moſes* was now reuenged and recompenced. This Ambaſſade was honourably entertained, and within a while after returned home againe from the King of *Naples* loaden with moſt rich and honourable preſents: notwithſtanding that (by meanes of the late warre with the *Florentines* and by the ſiege of *Plombyn* which had bene in vaine attempted) *Alphonſus* himſelfe was in a manner drawen drie both of men and money.

Ambaſſadors from Scanderbeg to Alphonſus king of Naples.

Plombin in Thuſcane beſieged by Alphonſus in his warre with the Florentines.

In this meane ſeaſon, *Moſes* and his companions hauing wandred ſome few daies vp and downe vpon the marches of *Albanie*, knew not what way to take, nor what courſe to reſolue vppon. For the ſhame of his diſcomfiture did put him in feare to approach or to repayre to *Conſtantinople*, or to preſent him ſelfe vnto the *Sultan*: beſides to attempt or enterpriſe any thing further againſt the King of *Epyre*, either for the aboliſhing, or for the excuſing the blemiſh and diſgrace of his misfortune: the ſmall nnmbers of his men, & their abated courages would not permit him. Notwithſtanding as his own mind was haughty and couragious, ſo did he hope to gaine them alſo to condeſcend & agree to his deuiſe: and his concluſion was, that he wold proue all meanes to draw them to his mind, and to perſwade them to that courſe. The argument which he tooke to induce them vnto it was vpon this: That oftentimes things

which

which are moſt deſperate being hazarded with a ſetled reſolution, do come in the end to be more fortunate then thoſe that are done with beſt aduiſe & conſideration: that vnto men vanquiſhed there remaineth no other hope of ſafetie then by victorie: and that it is the dutie of martiall men, either by a triumphant and glorious life, or by a memorable death to ſeeke the aboliſhing of ſo great ignominie and diſhonour. And to this purpoſe did he vſe many ſpeeches to the like effect: promiſing them moreouer that by reaſon of his great practiſe and skill in the waies, places, and paſſages of the countrie, he would conduct and leade them without any danger both by day and by night (which themſelues ſhould thinke beſt) euen to the campe of their enemies: and the rather for that (as he gaue them to vnderſtand) the armie of the *Epirots* was retired backe to *Croy*, and that the garriſon left vppon the frontiers was not comparable vnto them neither in number nor yet in valure. But how is it poſſible to perſwade them who are in a maze and terror? By the cries which they made, and the claſhing of armes and weapons, they ſhewed how they did miſlike the counſell of *Moſes*, and immediatly they began to take their way towards *Greece*. Needfull it was for the *Dibrian* to hold his peace and to be ſilent, and to frame himſelfe to the will and pleaſure of them all: the conceipt whereof made him ſo ſad and penſiue, as one that had bene now drawen to puniſhment and execution. Thus this vnfortunate and vnhappy man was enforced once againe by his ill fortune (which did accompanie him) with many grieuous and ſecret ſighes and groanes, to abandon the ſweet ſoile of his natiue countrie, which he had once before forſaken by his ouer vaine and wilfull diſloialtie.

"Speeches of "Moſes perſwading the "Turke his "ſouldiers to "make ſome "new attempt "vpon the E-"pirots.

Betwene the time of the departure of *Moſes* from the *Sultan*, and his returne backe againe to *Conſtantinople*, there paſſed almoſt two Monethes, during which ſpace, for that there was no certain report nor tidings brought vnto the *Ottoman* of that which had happened: his long ſtay was an occaſion, that he thought things to be in another caſe then indeede they were. He was diſtracted into diuerſe and ſundrie opinions, ſometimes imagining that *Moſes* was beaten and diſcomfited: ſometimes that his armie was betrayed and ſold by him vnto *Scanderbeg*. One while he would imagine (as his deſire was) that *Moſes* was come to combat bodie to bodie with *Scanderbeg*: But then he doubted leaſt he being ſlaine by the Prince of *Albanie* his forces ſhould incurre the ſame misfortune, or at the leaſt be brought in bondage and thraldome to his enemie: another while he would thinke otherwiſe: and (as euerie man doth flatter himſelfe in beleeuing that which he either hopeth or feareth,) ſo would *Mahomet* perſwade and ſooth himſelfe in this conceipt, that *Moſes* was victorious in the combat: that the deſire of ſpoiling the countrie, and of reducing the prouince vnder his commaund and obedience, did draw him on to proſecute his victorie, to follow his good fortune, and to prepare vnto himſelfe the crowne and ſcepter of *Epyre*, which had bene promiſed him. But now the arriuall of *Moſes*, ſhewing all things to be farre otherwiſe then he pretended or expected, and the ſhamefull ſpectacle of thoſe reliques of his armie which were returned, did breede a moſt grieuous diſcontentment and offence both in the hart of the *Sultan* himſelfe, who was euen mad for anger, and in the eyes of euerie priuate and particular perſon: inſomuch that *Moſes* was generally condemned and reproued: all men reproaching and accuſing him, that he had either by his faithleſneſſe and infidelitie, or by his raſhneſſe and temeritie deſtroyed all the flower of *Greece*, and in a moment had erected and reſtored the courages of their enemies, who were earſt in diſmay and confuſion vpon the calamitie of *Belgrade*. The *Dibrian* himſelfe being both aſhamed and mindfull of his misfortune, as alſo of his flight, could not endure to come in the ſight of men, nor to heare the ſlaunders and reproaches which were ſpoken of him. Howbeit the good and fauorable reports of

Mahomet his imaginations of Moſes ſucceſſe in battaile.

"Sentence.

Moſes at his returne out of Epire to Conſtantinople is in publique diſgrace amongſt the Turkes.

Moſes iuſtified by his ſouldiers.

his ſouldiers, (who therein did ſhift the blame from themſelues alſo) did make him well thought of by verie many: for they did openly giue out and maintaine it, that he had done the dutie and deuoire, and had performed the part both of a wiſe and prudent Chieftaine, and of a valiant and hardie ſouldier, in the battell againſt *Scanderbeg*: and that there was neuer any man that did ſtriue with more obſtinacy and courage to renue and reſtore the fortune of the fight declining to the worſt. And whereas they reproched him for not performing his owne challenge and defie giuen to *Scanderbeg*, that they imputed to the inuincible vertue and valure of *Scanderbeg*, and to the daily hazard and chance of wars: ſuch and ſo great was the fauor and good opinion, which this worthie perſonage had gotten in the harts and minds of his ſouldiers the Turks, by reaſon of his exceeding courteſie, and the popular facilitie which was in him: but much more by meanes of his rare valour and vertue in the field, and by his excellent deſerts ſhewed in the wartes: the which kind of perfections and good qualities, the Turkes do vſually loue and cheriſh aboue all other things, euen in their very enemies: inſomuch that if the doubtfull chaunce and hazard of warre (as it oftentimes falleth out) do deliuer them any priſoner that is a man of valure and vertue, they doe commonly relent towardes him from their naturall and accuſtomed crueltie, and do intermit ſome parte of their furious and bloudie diſpoſition, which ordinarily doth reigne and abound in them: but to ſuch as are cowards and faint-hearted, they do alwaies ſhew themſelues moſt ſeuere and extreame: for they ſay that ſuch men, ſeeme to be borne onely for their bellies, and to conſume victuals: and therefore they hold them vnworthy to liue, affirming that it is expedient, that they ſhould be deſtroyed and made away.

Turkes vſe to honour vertue and valure euen in their enemies.

All the perſwaſions and excuſes vſed to the Turkiſh tirant, could not by any means mitigate and mollifie his hardened and obſtinat heart, but that he could and would by ſome meane or other haue wrought the reuenge of his loſſes, & of his anger vpon the poore *Dibrian*, whom the conſideration of his owne miſſortune did ſufficiently torment. He would neuer hat ken vnto his ſubmiſſion, and nothing could ſatisfie him but that the venim and malice of this furious and outrageous Prince, would haue lighted vpon the head, and ſeized vpon the life of *Moſes* (although there was nothing in him to be reprehended but his fortune) if ſo be that the interceſſion of ſome of the moſt ſpeciall and inward friends of the tirant, had not moderated the outrage of his paſſions: telling him, that the bad and ill vſage of this ſtranger, would alienat all others from his ſeruice, and detaine them from hauing refuge or recourſe to his Maieſtie. Thus *Moſes* hauing obtained pardon of the *Sultan* his diſpleaſure, though with much adoe, & all proces & proceedings againſt him being now diſanulled, yet did he neuertheleſſe continue in that contempt and baſe account and ſo much diſdained: that from thenceforth there was ſcarce any care or order taken for his maintenance. Notwithſtanding, wiſely and with a good countenance, he diſſembled all theſe indignities and diſgraces, caſting and diſcourſing diuerſe thoughts and imaginations in his heart: he tooke litle or no ſleepe or refreſhing: but being now come to be the iuſt & vnpartiall iudge of his owne errours, he began to conſider and meaſure, on the one ſide the greatnes of the danger and perill, and on the other the reproach and infamie which he had purchaſed, to be eſteemed as a rebell and a traitour. Thus was he diſtracted not knowing what to do, nor what counſel to take, nor what would become of him. For ſo is it commonly ſeene, that none is perfect in this world: and it behoueth for the moſt part, thoſe which are the moſt wiſe and ſageſt perſons, that once in their liues they do commit ſome one fault or other. In the end after many long and vnprofitable diſcourſes, this was his reſolution, and this laudable deſire entred into his

Moſes in the diſpleaſure of Mahomet and in danger to loſe his life.

Mahomet his Nobles and friends entreat him in the behalfe of Moſes.

Sentent.

his heart: to leaue and forsake the Infidell, who knew not how to esteeme nor iudge of the actions of men otherwise then by the issue and euent of things, and not by the intent of the parties that doe them. He determined therefore, to returne againe to his natiue countrie, to yeeld himselfe into the hands of his Prince, and to submit himselfe to the mercie of *Scanderbeg*, whom he had so highly offended: hoping that by this his repentance he should abolish, if not the note, yet at least the paine and punishment which he had most worthily deserued, and in so doing, he should auenge himselfe also of the vngratefull *Ottoman*: and a speciall reason that induced him thereunto was, that he was assured, that the clemencie and courtesie of his Prince did farre exceed the badnesse of his merits and misdeedes. By this conclusion hauing quieted and setled his mind, he did daily deuise with himselfe, how he might escape and get away. The night (as it fell out) was the fittest time for his purpose, and therefore dislodging in the edge of an euening, so as the watch could not perceiue his departure: he made one whole and continuall iourney both of that night and the next day following, not resting in any place, nor suffering his horses to breath themselues, till such time as being entred into that part of the countrie of *Thrace* which confineth vpon *Macedonie*, he passed on the rest of his way with more pleasure & ease both for his bodie and for his mind. Thus within few dayes being entred into *Epyre*, he tooke the next and shortest way possible to the garrison where he was wont to commaund, purposing to goe from thence and to prostrate himselfe at the feete of *Scanderbeg*. Assoone as the *Dibrians* perceiued him to be come, their harts seemed to relent euen at the verie sight of him: in such sort, that immediatelly there began to be reuiued in them the desire of their former conuersation with their auncient and wonted Captaine. They grew into vtter forgetfulnes and obliuion, how he had peruerted all rightes both diuine and humaine, in being disloiall to his countrie, to his citizens, and to his proper bloud and kindred. They could not welcome him without abundance of teares, and so with infinite salutations & embracements, they consumed and spent the greatest part of that day: and then being giuen to vnderstand by them, that the King was not farre from thence, he chaunged his determination of going to *Croy*, and went presently to seeke out his Soueraigne. A great number of the garrison did accompanie him, to the intent he might be the better graced in presenting himselfe before his presence, and might the more easily obtaine his pardon. The euening was now neere at hand, when as he (according to the vsage and fashion of that Nation) putting his girdle about his necke, did holde on his way till that he came where as *Scanderbeg* then was, whom he found walking before his tents. Presently vpon the sight of the King, in extreame griefe and sorrowe he fell vpon his knees, and prostrated himselfe at the feete of his Prince, the teares trickling downe his cheekes, and in most humble manner, he besought his Maiestie to forgiue him his offence, and to graunt him pardon, not for the respect of any his forepassed merits, but onely in regarde of his meere bountie and royall clemencie: protesting and vowing, that if it would please him to remit his fault, and to graunt him his life, he would most willingly consecrate and expose the same from henceforth for the encrease and honour of his Realme, and for the libertie of his countrie. They which accompanied him did not faile to entreat for him. *Scanderbeg* tooke him verie gratiously by the hand, and caused him to arise, and without any difficulty or delay did freely pardon him, and receiued him to his grace and mercie: and after many embracements and friendly salutations, he fell into speech with him, deuising and conferring most friendly of certaine particularities and enterprises of the Turke: testifying sufficiently by the manner of his behauiour, that his heart was throughly reconciled vnto him, and was free from all passion of

Mosis returneth into Epire

Mosis cometh to Scanderbeg and prostrat cravveth pardon of his rebellion.

Mosis reconciled to Scanderbeg.

rancour, malice and mistrust.

Clemencie and rare humanity of Scanderbeg.

I doe not thinke it any strange matter in *Scanderbeg*, that he receiued *Moses* to his mercie: but that he should so readily and with such facilitie be drawen to pardon him, who had shewed such notable hatred, had vomited foorth so many iniuries and had attempted so notorious a mischiefe against his Prince: that he should no sooner haue a sight of him or heare him speake: but he should so bountifully and with such assured commiseration and clemencie rather diuine then humaine, receiue him into his good liking and former amitie: and euen then also when the griefe conceiued for the death of those (who were lately slaine) was yet scarcely forgotten, nor the woundes of the hurt yet throughly cured: this is a matter so rare and strange that it cannot be thought nor imagined without great wonder and admiration. And besides all this: euen at that verie time, and within fewe dayes vpon his returne, he tooke speciall care and gaue order, that his goods, which had bene confiscated and deuided amongest particular persons, should be restored vnto him, together with all his lands and offices: whereat the people tooke great pleasure and contentment. Thus by this milde and moderate demeanour, this courteous Prince did purchase both vnto himselfe eternall praise and commendation, and to the other, a generall abolishment of his reproach and infamie: and all remembraunce of offence was quite and cleane extinguished out of the heartes of the people of *Albanie*. For the Prouince imitating the modestie of their King, did seeme as willing to burie all their griefes in oblioion, and they made shew thereof by bonfires, and such like tokens of triumphe which they publiquely demeaned for the restitution of their *Moses*: Whereunto the King also added a perpetuall edict and decree: enioyning and commaunding all his subiectes, that from thenceforwardes no man liuing should make any speeches or mention of that offence. Wherein he verified that saying of the Poet.

Moses restored to his former liuings, offices and dignitie.

Ioy and triumph of the Epirots for the returne and restitution of Moses.

It is often seene, that facile clemencie
of such as mildly vse their victorie,
Hath caused manie to finde commoditie,
by being vanquisht by their enemie.

Mahomet discontented at the departure of Moses.

Nowe if *Epyre* and the *Albanois* on the one side did triumphe for ioy of the reconciliation of their *Moses*, *Mahomet* on the other side had lost all patience, when he vnderstood that he was returned into his country. With notable inuectiues he accused him, not so much for the mishappe of his ouerthrowe, as of pure and manifest treason, imagining as a consequence of this accident, that his flight and rebellion which he had so simply beleeued, was euen from the beginning one of the stratagemes and policies of *Scanderbeg*. He tooke counsell therefore concerning his proceedings in the warre of *Epyre*, and how he might be reuenged. But amongst manie opinions there debated, that onely preuayled, by which he was aduised to abstaine altogether from armes for that yeare: supposing it necessarie to attende some fit occasion and opportunitie, or to employ all the forces and power of the *Ottoman* Empire for the reducing of this Nation to order and reason. Which opinion was receiued so much the more willingly, for that there was some rumour and report of troubles and tumultes towardes from out of *Asia*, and from the *Persians*. Neuertheless a garrison was sent to be vpon the borders, yet not such as was of sufficient strength and puissance, either to represse the roades or brauadoes of our men, which they made ordinarily vpon the countrie, or to serue the turne and needfull occasions of the *Sfetigradians* and other places neere adioyning. The King

of

of *Epire* likewise hauing learned the deliberation of the *Sultan*, both by the aduertisemences of *Moses*, and by his owne intelligencers, did for a time dismisse all thought and care of the warres, saue that vppon the newes of the comming of this garrison, he assembled a running Campe, and for some few daies kept himselfe close in ambushments vppon the borders. But the Barbarians passing no farther then *Alchria*, made all that expedition to turne to nothing: and therefore hauing prouided for diuerse affaires of consequence, and hauing left *Moses* in that place, he retired with the Queene to a countrey on the sea coasts commonly called *Redona*, there to recreat him selfe for the residue of the sommer, where he passed most part of the Autumne in hunting and such like exercises of pleasure. *Redona.*

I cannot but in this place acknowledge in him that which the famous captaine *Scipio* the *African* was wont to require in al excellent chieftaines and generals of armies, and that was his notable continency towards womankind, which was admirable, aswell in regard of his owne wife, as of others likewise: for he would commonly say: that nothing was a greater enemy, nor more pernicious to the strength & vigor both of the body & the mind, then the immoderat company of women, and that it behoued souldiers by continuall trauaile and labour, by daily watching, by sleeping vpon the ground to tame their bodies, and to subdue & keepe vnder those immoderat passions and whot affections of luxuriousnes: thus by such kind of speeches & by his owne example, he would vse to represse & restrain the souldiers from visiting their houses too often and with ouermuch curiosity. This one thing is most memorable also in *Scanderbeg*, that there was neuer seene in his Campe any whores, or such like baggage, or trugs (as they now terme them:) but he obserued amongst his souldiers a certaine and seuere kinde of discipline, according to the vsage and custome of the auncients, and he retained them in a wonderfull and reuerent regard of religion, both in words and in deedes. And it may be that this was it that encreased and maintained so long time this estate of *Albany* in so great glory and felicity: neither is it vnlikely but that God being by those meanes drawen to fauour and blesse them, did so sharpen both the swords and the spirites of the *Albanois*. *Continency of Scanderbeg.* « *Saing of* « *Scanderbeg* « *touching in-* « *continency in* « *souldiours.* « « « *Discipline obserued by Scanderbeg in his Campe.*

During the time of this rest from armes, *Moses* had his minde set on nothing so much, as to seeke out some inuention, and by some notable enterprise, both to repaire his owne honour, and with one and the same meane to be reuenged vpon the ingratitude of the *Sultan*. An euident example, that we ought not altogether to despaire of the amendement of men when we see them in any ill course, but rather that we receiue them kindly to grace and fauour. For *Moses* hauing augmented the garrison, and the numbers of his bands being doubled, he did daily exercise him selfe in sacking of the countrey, thinking to haue drawen foorth the Turkes to encounter with him: sometimes in the day would he make out with a small company, sometimes in the night and in secrete with greater forces: and continually would he light vppon some one or other, putting them to the sworde whom hee found either as spies, or going on foraging, or vpon such like seruices, but the *Mahometans* not daring nor venturing to come abroad to any purpose, nothing was done worthy the remembraunce. « « *Sentence.* « «

As *Moses* on the one side did all his deuoire and emploied his best meanes to abolish and washe away the infamy of his former misdeedes: so on the other side (I know not how) it came to passe, that some deuill and wicked spirit, or rather the misfortune of *Scanderbeg*, or the inexitable force of the destinies, did raise vp *Amese* to be the inheritour and successour of the like wickednesse no lesse damnable and mischieuous. There are many things in this place which doe depriue me of all desire to *Rebellion of Amese against Scanderbeg.*

proceede any further in this discourse, for that the remembraunce of these domesticall and ciuill affaires, and of the ingratitude of men, is not onely vnpleasing and grieuous vnto me, but I doe euen abhorre to write of them, and the rather for that I could neuer find any certaine cause of his flight. Euery man hath his opinion, and the most part of the reports which goe vppon it, are without any ground or foundation of trueth. For this cause I will imitate the Painters, who as they vse with their Penciles to shadowe things, so will I couer and conceale this in silence as a thing both superfluous in this History, and litle pleasing to the readers. For omitting the iealousie which he conceiued at the kinde entertainment and reconciliation of *Moses*, I doe thinke for my part, that there was no other cause nor occasion of his reuolt, but that onely which (as we haue saied) was practised to corrupt *Moses*: to wit: The working & sollicitations of the Turkish officers neare adioyning, and of their agents interposing and dealing betweene them: for you must suppose, that this was no hard matter for the Infidell to doe, but that he might many and often times by secret messengers communicate and treat with *Ameses*: for he was possessed of a goodly countrey, faire and large in the confines of the Turke, by the liberality and bounty of his vncle: who thought it not good nor conuenient to retaine him longer in Court, without any patrimony or meanes to mainetaine his estate. There was another respect also which did incite the *Ottoman* who (as wee haue saied before) was now occupied and busied in the affaires of *Asia*, to practise with *Ameses* and to gaine him vnto him: because being of the bloud royall, and neare vnto the Crowne, and withall knowing him to be in credite and fauour with the people, he was perswaded, that they would gladly yeelde to submit them selues to his dominion, much rather then to *Moses*, if they were once presled with any the least perill and daunger that might be. These ouertures and faire hopes being presented to the thoughtes and imaginations of *Ameses*, by persons purposely appointed to insinuate the same vnto him, did finde ready and easie entraunce into his young and tender heart. Thus we
Sentence. see, that the mad and franticke desire of rule and Empire, doth make men not onely faithlesse and disloiall, but also ouer credulous and light of beliefe.

Now *Ameses* being made wary and aduised, as one whom the misfortune of another had sufficiently warned, and sufficiently instructed in all points, because he would
Ameses goeth to Mahomet with his wife and children. not goe nor present him selfe to the *Ottoman* with the perill of his life, or with any shew or shadow of suspition: he tooke and led away with him both his wife and his children, as those that should aunswer for his true and plaine meaning, and should acquite him from the suspect of any crime: and he deliuered them vnto the Infidell, as the sure and certaine gages of his faith and fidelity. His departure bred maruellous tumult and astonishment throughout all the Prouince: euery man thought it very straunge, and was inquisitiue after the cause and motiue of this his rebellion, considering that besides his neare kindred, he was continually held and reputed by *Scanderbeg*, as the companion and consort of his Empire and royalty. This accident being reported to his vncle, he tooke it very impatiently, and with his friends and familiars, he beganne to complaine and bemoane his hard fortune. Must this (sayd he)
Speech of Scanderbeg touching the rebellion of Ameses. needes fall out to make vp the measure of my trauels and sorrowes, that I must be assaulted with domesticall and ciuill warres? Am I so odious, or is my countrey so vngratefull vnto me? or is it the honour of this Crowne and sceptre, that is so desired and held so precious: but *Ameses* (it seemeth) did beare enuy to *Moses*, well, if God, if the right and law of nations, and if your vertue do not deceiue me, he shall yet haue greater cause then euer to enuy him.

The winter season being now begunne, and the fieldes being naked and bare of

of graſſe or other ſruites, did put *Scanderbeg* in hope, that he ſhould for a time be freede from the preparations and trouble of the enemy: and there was good and apparaunt occaſion to induce him to be of that mind, and to beleeue that *Ameſe* would attend and ſtay for the ſpring of the yeare, for the ſetting abroach of his new plots and enterpriſes. For this cauſe he retired with all his traine to *Croy*, not taking anie care for the leauying of any forces or other preparations of the warre: and there he ſpent and conſumed the winter, oftentimes viſiting the garriſon of the *Dibrians*, and preparing him ſelfe by his eſpials and ordinary gardes to be in a readineſſe for the traiels and daungers that were ſhortly to enſue.

The ſight of *Ameſe* did not ſo much moue the Turkiſh Monarch, as did afterwardes the ſpeech which hee vſed vnto him: for the valour and ſufficiency of this perſonage cauſed him to haue him in admiration, after hee hadde once heard him ſpeake, and that he knew his prudence and wiſedome by the grauity of his diſcourſe and ſounde reaſons. For as touching his ſtature, it was ſo ſmall and ſo vnſightlie, that at the firſt appearaunce it could not yeelde any ſhew of thoſe ſecret and rare perfections of his minde: but in recompence of that defect of his perſon, hee hadde an heart extreame haughtie, and he was of ſo quicke and ſharpe a conceipt, and of ſo delicate and ſubtile a ſpirite as none could be more. Of all men he was moſt impatient, and could leaſt away with eaſe and idleneſſe: and (which in men couetous and deſirous of Empire are the principall and chiefeſt partes to getre them honour, and the good grace of euery man) his liberalitie and courteſie were no whit inferiour to his other vertues. What ſo euer he got either by the purchaſe of his owne vertue and valour and by the fortune of the warres, or by the beneficence and bountie of his vncle, he did wholly depart and diſtribute it amongeſt his ſouldiours and his friendes: he was very officious and ſeruiceable to all men, very familiar and eaſie to be acquainted with, and (as occaſion did require) he could diſſemble ſingularly, and with excellent good skill and cunning. By theſe qualities had he gained ſo great authority and good liking in the heartes of all men, that next to *Scanderbeg* I doe not know any one man that was ſo beloued, and reuerenced both of the people and of the ſouldiours: in ſo much that ſome haue affirmed, that there wanted not diuerſe of the moſt priuate and inward friendes of his vncle, who did often admoniſh him to take good care and regard to a minde that was ſo ſtirring and ſuſpitious. But as he would not be perſwaded to credite any ſuch conceipt, ſo did he make litle or no account thereof. Notwithſtanding in proceſſe of time, when his flight and rebellion came to be knowen and manifeſted, he was ſooner drawen to beleeue the report thereof in him, then he was before of *Moſes*, and he then began to call to minde the naturall diſpoſition of the man, which had beene better obſerued and marked by others then by himſelfe. But to our purpoſe.

Deſcription of Ameſe his perſon and qualities.

Ameſe being admitted to the preſence of *Mahomet*, did not fill his eares with idle and inſolent promiſes and vaunts as *Moſes* had done: but colouring the cauſe of his reuolt and repaire to the *Sultan* with one onely reaſon, to the intent his ſpeeches might not be accounted either vaine and inconſtant, or fained and diſſembled, he began in this manner to ſpeake vnto him.

Oration of Ameſe to Mahomet.

Thrice happie and inuincible Monarch, if it be lawfull for vs to recall to memorie the errours and iniuries which we haue in times paſt committed againſt thy Maieſty: it might well and rightly be ſayed, that we are now come to receiue the worthy and deſerued puniſhment of our offences, rather then the hope and expectation of any honours and dignities. For wherein could wee haue treſpaſſed and offended more grieuouſlie againſt the Empire of *Ottoman*, then we did in that action

» of ours heretofore executed in the warre of *Hungarie*? at that time, when with equall
» and no lesse infidelity we both betraied thy army in the battell of *Morana*, and when
» we tooke *Epire*, by deceipt and fraud out of thy hands? the true originall and foun-
» taine of so many mischiefes and calamities? of all which enterprises and practises I
» doe confesse that I was a partner and consorte. For it behoueth me now, being in
» the presence of your Maiesty, not to stand vppon the defence and iustification of my
» doings, but onely to plead my contrition and repentaunce: but I hold it a vaine
» thing to stand in any feare or doubt before so prudent and gracious a Prince, consi-
» dering that my age at that time, and my youth inclining to his owne misfortune,
» and my minde being but badly staied in her deliberations and counsels, did then per-
» haps deceiue and beguile me. I was then lead to beleeue my vncle, and did suffer my
» selfe simply to be perswaded of many things, and being enuised with a desire of rule
» and gouernment (a disease properly incident to that age) through too much creduli-
» ty forsaking thy seruice, I followed him and the hope of his faire promises: but as
» my vnderstanding encreased with my years, I soone began to discerne the secrete dis-
» loialty of my vncle, and that this my reuolt from the *Ottoman* obeisance, was more
» pernicious to me then to any other. By my labours and by my aide, hath *Scanderbeg*
» recouered and amplified his estate. Long did I stay and attend to see, if he would of-
» fer me any part or portion of the possessions which were mine owne inheritaunce,
» descending vnto me (if not from my aunncesters) yet in the right of my father: and
» I did looke that hee should haue yeelded me some recompence and reward for so
» many trauelles and perils which I had endured. Within a while after he got him-
» selfe a wife, and begat a new heire and a new successour to his Crowne: and as con-
» cerning that title which he did for me, the very shame of the world did driue him
» to doe it: for perceiuing that he could not with any honesty suffer mee still to re-
» maine and to continue within his Court as a priuate person, he assigned me out a
» little corner of *Epire*, the most vilest and worst place of the countrey, where (whilest
» he vsurped all the rest vnto him selfe) I should haue spent and consumed my dayes
» in obscurity and base account. I had much a doe to moderate my selfe, my heart be-
» ing not able to digest the ignominie: neuertheless the qualitie of the time, and
» the naturall pride and arrogancie of the man, did enforce me to conceale and dis-
» semble all things, for feare least vnder pretence and colour of some suspition, he
» might sodainely circumuent and surprize me, as he did of late *George Streeze* his si-
» sters sonne, whom with suborned accusarions of supposed crimes, hee despoyled
» well neare of all his liuings and dominions. Willingly would I (most worthie
» *Ottoman*) haue hadde recourse vnto thy Maiesty; and I would gladly haue forsaken
» and abandonned my ingrate vncle, and the infamy of his Empire: but the remem-
» braunce of our former rebellion, and of our so many outrages, done against the
» Crowne and dignity of *Ottoman*, did terrifie and detaine me vntill this present time:
» wherein by the diuine permission, following the assuraunce of thy faith and promi-
» ses, I am now come vnto thee glad and ioyous. Thou haddest no sooner giuen me a-
» ny signe and token, thou haddest no sooner called and inuited me, but that speedily
» and with all diligence, I conformed me to thy will, and I came running vnto thee, to
» whom my mind had so long time bene affectioned. I did not defer & put off my com-
» ming, neither did I stay till some misfortune might befall to *Scanderbeg*, or that thy
» good fortune were increased, as did *Moses* lately: so that thou hast no cause to thinke
» or to coniecture, that either feare, or the doubt of any iminent daunger, did make me
» to haue a regard rather to my owne good, then the fulfilling of thy commandements.
» And in trueth, (most noble *Mahomet*) I haue not left any matter of suspition either

for

for thee to distrust my fidelity, or in my countrey of *Epire*, whereby I should desire " to returne thither hereafter: behold here the assured bonds of my aduised and settled " determinations, and the perpetuall gages of my faith and fidelity, euen my wife and " my children. Behold (O *Mahomet*) all the goods that nature hath graunted vnto " me: whatsoeuer it be wherein I can take any pleasure or delight during my life, e- " uen that which is most deare and precious in the eies of mortall men, thou hast it " here presented vnto thee. I haue brought vnto thee those precious iewels, which if " they were in the hands of enemies, I should labour to free them: euen such a pledge " as may make any faith (howsoeuer doubtfull and suspicious) to be most firmely tied " and bound in all assured loialty: all other things (saue them) I haue left behinde me, " because in my hasty and secrete flight, I could not possibly make prouision of any o- " ther cariage or necessaries. And albeit I might all at leasure and in security haue trus- " sed vppe and brought my baggage with me: what honour hadde it bene for me to " bring vnto the presence of so puissaunt and rich a Monarch, the ordures and dregs " (as it were) of my former estate and fortune? The greatest and the only thing which " I can present vnto thee is my faith and loialty, which in truth is the vttermost that " my ability can afford: of the which if thou require any further, or more certaine as- " surance, I submit my selfe wholly to any other order whatsoeuer your Maiesty shall " ordaine. I am not come hither to giue or to prescribe lawes, but to take lawes and " to be commaunded: I will not promise with fifteene thousand men to ouerthrow " thy aduersary, and to tame the pride of the *Albanois*: the misfortune of *Haly Bassa*, " and of so many other braue and valiaunt Chiefetaines, and the fresh and rare (though " most bloudy) victory of *Sebalias*, may serue for an example, to teach and learne me, " how I promise any thing beyond my power and ability. But this I protest vnto " thee (most puissant *Ottoman*) that thou shalt not want in mee any readinesse or wil- " lingnesse of my best seruice and fidelity. As for other matters, either concerning the " euent of these affaires, or the reuenge of thy iniuries or outrages, thou hast no rea- " son, as the Lord and maister of his slaue: a most expert and approued warriour of an " vnskilfull and simple souldiour: to expect or looke for any counsell, or to thinke that " I am to giue any aduise or direction.

This Oration of *Ameſe* could not seeme to the *Ottoman* to be dissembled or dis- guised, both for that he propounded many things true and apparaunt, as also be- cause his faith did manifest it selfe sufficiently in that hee had brought with him his wife and children. Some say that shee was abused and deceiued by her husband, and against her will drawen out of *Epire*: others (as it is most likely also) doe affirme, that shee yeelded her selfe voluntarily to be the companion of his flight and fortune, hauing bene secretly informed by him, that the Crowne of *Albanie* was promised " him by the *Sultan*. So we see, that ambition is common both to the one and the other " *Sentent.* sexe indifferently. "

The tyraunt did very well accept, and did greatly approue the deliberation of *Ameſe*, and did assigne him an exceeding great and honourable pension. As for the meanes and manner of proceeding with the warres, there was no speech nor talke had at that time: for that such matters (according to the wonted custome) were ap- pointed and debated in full councell and assembly of the Bassaes: for the late calami- ty and rude discomfiture receiued by *Mahomet* before *Belgrade* in *Hungarie*, once cal- led *Alba Greca* or *Taurorum*, had greatly weakned the spirits, and abated the courages of the Barbarians: for in that battell had *Mahomet* himselfe bene grieuously wounded and put to flight by *Huniades*, with the losse of 40000. men, besides all his artillery, baggage and munition, which he was constrained to leaue there behind him, for the

Belgrade in Hungary alias Alba Greca: or Taurorum commonly called Grechen wyssenburg.

Battell of Belgrade in Hungary wherein Mahomet was wounded & ouerthrowen by Huniades.

gages of his rashnes and temerity: and in very truth such and so grieuous was that ouerthrow, that *Mahomet* did neuer shew himself so pensiue and sorrowfull for any damage or losse that he euer receiued: his mind being continually both night & day disquieted, on the one side with an extreame desire of reuenge: and on the other side being perplexed and mightely troubled for feare of the like fortune, which had once befalne him so vnhappily. Wherefore the affairs of *Hungary* being soone intermitted and giuen ouer by a cõmon and generall aduise, it was concluded & agreed, that the reuenge of that dishonor should be taken vpon *Epire*, and the rather for that they could not at one and the selfe same time conueniently intend both the one & the other expedition. Besides *Ameses* had told them, that they were not to thinke vpon any attempt against the *Hungarians* with meane preparations, but with great & strong forces: for that the fiercenes and valour of that people, did require a stately and royall kinde of puissance: and them selues also were not willing nor thought it conuenient, that the aduantage of this occasion, offered them by meanes of *Ameses* his presence, should be delaied or deferred. For these causes (*Ameses* being appointed to go as a companion, and in a maner as a guide and director in the iourney) there was a publique commission graunted forth for the leuying of an army of 50000. horsemen: and the *Sultan* would not haue refused to yeeld to the gathering of a greater puissance, if the same had beene demanded: so greatly did he affect the reuenge both of his owne iniuries and his subiects, desiring in some sort once to determine and to bring to an end these difficulties and troublesome tumults of *Albanie*.

Counsell of Mahomet and his nobles for the war against Scanderbeg.

1456. The spring being spent in these preparations, the heate of sommer began now to come on, by which time all things being in a readines, the king of Turkes instigated and vncessantly vrged on by *Ameses*, who (as some say) was created a *Saniacke*, did dispatch away his army, encouraged with great promises, and well instructed with good precepts and directions. *Isaac* the Bassa of *Romania* had the honour to be Generall of those forces without any dislike or discontentment of the Christian fugitiue, who notwithstanding (because he should not be seene altogether without any degree of honor or authority in the army) had the charge of fiue thousand horsemen.

Ameses created a Saniacke by Mahomet. Isaac Bassa and Ameses sent with an army of 50000. horse against Scanderbeg. Ameses captain ouer 5000. horse.

The *Epirots* were litle pleased or contented at the newes of these mighty preparations, but especially the *Dibrians*: for the souldiers in those partes had diuerse conceipts and imaginations (as it is ordinarily seene in such cases) what meanes might be vsed either to receiue or to repulse the enemy, whether by ambushmentes, or in the plaine and open field, and in some place purposely appointed: or whether this warre should be decided by delaying and temporizing, and by obseruing of opportunities and aduauntages. One thing there was that did more astonish them then all the rest, and that was: that though the rumour and report of the comming of the enemy did encrease daily, yet on their partes, they saw not any leauie nor muster of any armie yet begun, nor no remedy prepared against a mischiefe so imminent, and a daunger that was so neare hastening vpon them. For, to saie the trueth, this rumour at the first did not greatly moue *Scanderbeg*, for that especiallie hee could not be perswaded, that *Mahomet* bending all his hatred and malice against *Epire*, would let passe in silence, or forget the shame and dishonour of so great and foule an ouerthrow as he hadde latelie receiued in *Hungarie*. Neuertheless he made all possible and diligent meanes by his intelligencers and espialles dispersed here and there on all partes, to learne the certainety of all the attemptes and actions of the enemy, as well as the tumult and confusion of those new troubles and commotions would permit him, to the intent he might shape him selfe some new course in his counsels and proceedings: But vpon the many aduertisements brought him, and especially vpon the comming of

certaine

certaine fugitiues when this doubt began to be discouered, and that he was certified both of the numbers and of the qualitie of the armie that came against him: and that his nephew also was there in person, with expresse commaundement to the Bassa to crowne and inuest him King of *Albanie*: he did not any further prolong the raising of his forces, which he had forborne till then to assemble and gather together. He called therefore a councell of the Princes his confederates, and of the chiefe and principall of the country, and certen *Dibrians*, to deliberate & take the aduise of euery man vpon this matter. All of them repaired into the lower *Dibria* into the same place where their campe was wont to lie: thither also came *Moses* with some of the principall of his garrison, to vnderstand the resolution and conclusion of the councell. There was a great number of voluntarie men which came thither out of diuerse coũtries, and a multitude of young and lustie persons drawen thither onely for the desire of prey and bootie: by meanes whereof, euen in an instant, he had gotten together a sufficient, faire and goodly armie, and (it may be) nothing inferiour to that of the enemie, if you regard their valure though farre vnequall in respect of their numbers. You should not haue heard of any thing amongst the souldiers but brauadoes and vaunts. Ech man conceiuing in his hope the honour and spoiles of the enemie, and magnifising their owne prowes and fidelitie, and promising vnto themselues wonders, did thinke it long that they did not encounter with the enemie, who (said they) ought to be preuented & to be assaulted before he should be able to come within their borders. Neither the numbers of so many thousands, nor the redoubted name or renowme of the Bassa could terrifie or astonish them. They had forgotten *Sebalias* & the wounds and slaughter receiued before *Belgrade*, so greatly were the haughtie courages of our *Albanians* encreased by the fresh victorie obtained against *Moses*, & the new desaster of *Mahomet* in *Hungarie*: and the latter *Belgrade* made them forget the former. Yet did they all relie vpon the counsaile and directions of their Prince: who iudging that this forwardnes of his souldiers was in some sort to be represſed, he began to cast his eyes downe to the ground, and so dissembling by his countenance part of that which he caried concealed in his thoughts, as if he had bin deuising & imagining vpon some high matters and of great importance, he propounded vnto them all in generall the summe and substance of his deliberation: acquainting them also with the meanes which he ment to vse against the enemie, and with the consequence and greatnes of the perill, speaking vnto them in these or the like tearmes.

Councell called by Scanderbeg for the resisting of Isaac, Amesi and the Turkish armie.

Amongest all other things which the diuine wisdome hath left vnto mortall men in the strange varietie and diuersitie of worldly actions, to afflict and torment their mindes: these two (most worthie *Albanois*) are the most principall, to wit: hope and feare: the former is more plausible, and befalleth commonly to mindes that are high and haughtie (I will not say) vainly addicted: the other is more prudent and lesse giuen to blood & cruelty. For albeit she do in some sort prolong and protract the desires of men, yet doth she neuertheless season them, and is as it were an excellent good medicine to cure many infirmities within them. Hence it is that those auncient Captaines were wont more vsually to be victours who feared and misdoubted all things, then those who neuer doubted nor feared any thing. Hence also it proceeded, that the great *Carthaginian* termed *Quintus Fabius* his most grieuous and daungerous enemie, who to his owne Citizens seemed slothfull and timerous: saying that *Terentius Varro* was more daungerous to his owne countrie, the State and people of *Rome*, then he was to his enemies. But why do I attribute that strange and dishonest surname of feare to that thing, which more properly doth merit the name of counsell and sage aduise: for my part I care not how you name it: this is certaine, & cannot be

Oration of Scanderbeg to his souldiers being ready to march against Isaac Bassa and Amesi.

Nature of hope and of feare or diffrust.

Saying of Hannibal touching Fabius Maximus & Terentius Varro.

Martial discipline deriued from feare or distrust.

contradicted, that from it onely is deriued all the auncient discipline, and the seueritie of martiall gouernment, inuented and practised by our forefathers. She it is that doth nourish and entertaine hope, and she neuer doth any thing but it commeth to a good and happie end. She carieth her eyes before her, behind her, and on all sides, and with equall balance she doth poize and measure things present with things future and to come hereafter. You may now gesse what my meaning is by this my speech, which is verie fit & proper for this time, and to correct & chastise your ouermuch forwardnes. I thought it good (my fellowes & companions in armes) first to discourse with you, & to sound your affections before I would innouate any thing in the considerations of this war, to thintent that I might either frame my selfe to your opinions, or (as your discretion hitherto hath bene) you might conform your selues to my iudgment and discretion. You haue heard of late, and your eares are full of the daily rumors and reports touching the stirres and tumults of the warres which are daily prepared and addressed against vs. Behold the Bassa of *Romania* who with the flower of all *Europe*, and with the strength and puissance of the *Ottoman* Empire doth now knocke euen at our gates: and yet my courage would serue (as euer hitherto it hath done) & I durst aduenture and hazard the battell against him: neither do I doubt but you haue the aduantage. Notwithstanding against so mightie an enemie, whose forces are so huge and immoderate, it behoueth vs rather to vse prudence and good counsell, then the wonted furie and fiercenesse of your courages. The notable and famous defait of *Haly* Bassa, so many famous and memorable triumphs and victories obtained euen till this time, your resolution gotten and testified by so many goodly exploits succeeding so happily, do perswade and assure vs, that we haue both the courage and the power to meet and affront the Turkish forces in open field: but the vnstable and vnconstant chaunges and alterations of the warres, and the naturall disposition of fortune so vnknowen and vncertaine, will make men who are sage and wise, to forget and to misdoubt all these matters. To ouercome alwaies was neuer particular nor proper to any man; nor was it euer hereditarie to any person. New actions and attempts do dayly demand new counsels and directions: Albeit yesterday you did ouercome as conquerours, yet cannot you assure your selues to day that you shall haue the spoile of your enemies, or the ransomming of their prisoners. Victorie is like a traueller or passenger vpon the way: she turneth and windeth hither & thither, not hauing any certaine dwelling or abiding place. Howbeit that vertue and prudent counsaile be the principall meanes both to purchase and to retaine her: yet neuertheless oftentimes it falleth out that when you haue sagely and aduisedly guided and conducted all things, yet wil fortune, the chaunce of warre, and certaine casuall accidents challenge a great part and portion of the victorie.

Sentence.

Similitude.

Scanderbeg deuiseth with his souldiers for the manner of his proceeding against Isaac Bassa and the Turkish forces.

In the end and conclusion of his oration, he layed open vnto them the inconueniences that do vsually and infallibly accompany a battell, be it either gained or lost: and that therfore it was requisite to intrappe the enemie by traines and ambushes, and not in the plaine and open fieldes: yet so as this must be done with iudgement and discretion, and that they must be surprized when as they least dreamed and thought vpon it, when in full hope and ioye of victore, their heartes were caried and transported with ouermuch licence and libertie, and that they did neither feare nor misdoubt any sleight or subtilties, which as then he said could not be done, because they had bene before enstructed and learned to beware by others mishaps, and the examples of their owne fellowes: and besides for that they had *Ameses* his wicked nephew, the domesticall plague of his owne native countrie, who would instruct the Infidels to foresee and auoid the policies which himselfe at other times had learned and practized

practised in the schoole of his vncles experiēce. Notwithstāding in the meane while, because he wold take away all matter & opportunity from the enemy of exercising any crueltie, or to obtaine any victory vpon his subiects, his opinion was, that all the people and inhabitants of the plaine countrey should retire themselues into the fortresses and strong holds: which also should be assured with sufficient garrisons, against all accidents & chances whatsoeuer. For (quoth he) who knoweth the secret deliberatiōs of *Mahomet*? It may be, that himself in person doth follow after the Bassa, pricked on with the desire which he hath had of a long time to worke some notable & singular reuenge against vs: and therefore it is good to feare and doubt all things, to the intent we neede not be in feare nor doubt of any thing.

This oration of *Scanderbeg* being pronounced with the great silence of the whole assembly, *Tanuse* & *Vranocontes* who had earnestly intended to his speeches, did arise out of their places, and with infinite praises did publikely approue the same, saying, that *Scanderbeg* had so exactly discoursed of this matter in euery part, and that his diuine spirite and admirable prudence had so well comprehended and conceiued all pointes: that nothing was wanting to be consulted on, or to be put in execution, which concerned the common and particular good of them all. Hereupon the former heat and forwardnesse of the common souldiers began to be mitigated, and their audacitie grew into a warie and profitable kind of feare. Some of them could not be contented, but they would needes intreate and humbly require their king, to shew them by what course and meanes he meant to ouercome and repell the enemy: But *Scanderbeg* smiling answered, that it ought to suffise them, if they did relye and put their trust in him, and that himselfe would incurre one and the same fortune together with them, and that if he should promise and assure them of any thing, it would be to small purpose in this case, where fortune might vsurpe vnto her selfe so great power and priuiledge.

Speach of Tanuse & Vranocontes touching the oration of Scanderbeg.

Answer of Scanderbeg to his souldiers being inquisitiue what course he would take against the Turkes.

Immediately hereuppon *Scanderbeg* hauing taken order for the parting of the Prouince, and the distributing of the seuerall charges and offices: the Siegniours and chiefe Captaines, by the appointment and commaund of their Generall did seuer and betake themselues into seuerall parts and places of the countrie: sometimes disposing and bestowing the garrisons which had bene deliuered them, into the fortresses and strong holds, and sometimes conueying thither victuals and other munitions to furnish all of them, both one and other. This was the occasion that there was some delay made, and the rather also for that the haruest was not yet throughly ioned, nor the corne cleane caried out of the fields: and the rumor euerie day growing more & more that the Barbarians approached, (for that the case required haste and quicke dispatch) the souldiers as well as the husbandmen were imploied in that businesse: and they conueyed all their corne partly in the sheaffe, and partly threshed out, into the townes and castelles, to haue it safe and sure from the handes of the enemie. By this meanes, they were well and sufficiently prouided both of men and victualles for many monethes. *Scanderbeg* hauing left *Moses* to commaund ouer the residue of the armie, went to *Croie*, and stayed there some three dayes taking order for diuerse matters and vrgent affaires: especially for the remouing of the Queene and her household from *Petralba*. From thence returning to *Dibrya*, he beganne to goe in hand with his businesse, and with a watchfull eye and diligent care prepared himselfe for the receiuing of his nephew, whom he determined to entertaine and vse as a mortall and meere enemie.

Scanderbeg fortifieth and furnisheth his countrie with all necessarie prouisions against the comming of Isaac Bassa and the Turkes.

Isaac and Amurat with the Turkish army enter into Albania.

By this time had the hoast of the infidels cut ouer the greatest part of *Macedonie*, and were nowe entred vppon the confines of *Albanie*, and hauing sent foorth their

vantcurrours before them, they did warily discouer the countrey farre and wide on all handes, to the intent they might not fall into the vsuall and accustomed ambushments of *Scanderbeg*. And the report is that for that onely consideration *Amese* would neuer suffer them to marche by night: affirming, that his vncle would neuer be so foolish, as to encounter or stay for so mightie and puissant an enemy either in the day time, or in the open and champion countrey: but would assay rather by the fauour and benefite of the darke night to put in practise his accustomed stratagemes, and those suttle traynes which were most vsuall and familiar with him in martiall exploites. But *Scanderbeg* on the other side, although he had long before hand prouided all things in a readinesse for his retrait, if neede should require it: yet would he not by any meanes dislodge, till he had true and perfect intelligence, that the Turkes were come very neare him, and that he might in a manner perceiue the dust of their horses: and then trussing vp baggage, he speedily discamped and forsooke that place, in such sorte, that they which followed and came on behinde him might very well discerne him, as hee marched on before them. The Turke would not follow after, nor put himselfe in pursuit of him, by reason of the difficultie and roughnesse of the way, and for feare of ambushes. Onely he sent certaine horse after him, giuing them in charge to trouble and molest him as much as they could possibly, and to learne, what course and way hee helde, and whither hee went. Wherefore the armie of the Infidelles being entred into the vpper *Dybria* by the way of *Alchria*, they did marche on still with a fayre and easie pace: continually discouering and searching farre and wide on all sides. When the coast was founde to be cleare and safe from the enemy, the Turkishe companie with exceeding great ioye did disperse themselues abroad ouer all the countrey. But as this kinde and manner of victorie, so easily gotten, was very pleasing and gratious vnto the souldiours, now waxing insolent through security: so did it no lesse grieue them afterwardes, for that they could not finde nor meete with any pillage in the fieldes, nor light vppon any fit matter to satisfie their couetous minds and inordinate appetites. Thus held they on their march till it was about an houre before noone: and then both because they would stay for the returne of their vauntcurrours, and also for that they would rest and refresh themselues of their long iourneis, and the extreame heate of the weather, they beganne to make a stand, and went to lodge themselues neare to *Oronichea* in the same *Dibria*, neare adioyning to the same place, where our men at other times had vsed to encampe themselues. There pitching their tentes, they spent the time in councell and consultation, till such time as their vauntcurrours returned vnto them: abstaynig in the meane while both from meate and drinke, or any other kindes of refreshing. For before their dislodging in the morning, they had taken a sufficient repast, by the aduise of their Generall, for feare least if by some chance and casualty that morning, they should haue bene driuen or enforced to fight, and that the hazard of the battell should haue protracted the conflict, as many times it doth: they might not be enforced also to fight with hunger as well as with their enemies. All this while did the souldiours take great delight curiously to surney the place where our men had of late encamped, and they walked vp and downe on all sides, yet not without some suspition of daunger: in so much that they neither durst disarme themselues, nor yet leaue their watch and ward: but the most part kept continually neare to their standards and guidons all on horsebacke. And thus for two houres at the least did they patientlie abide, keeping good watch and ward, till such time as they which hadde bene sent abroade for the discouerie, being returned againe, did bring report of that which they had seene and learned: namely, that the *Epirot* and his troupes did

Scanderbeg retireth from the Turkes.

Oronichea in the vpper Dibria.

draw

drawe downe towardes the sea coastes on that side whereas the Citie of *Lissa* lay: and being demaunded what numbers they were, they aunswered, that they were scant sufficient to make vp a good and perfect * Legion. Howbeit the truth was, that the armie of the *Albanois* did amount to more then eleuen thousand fighting men, whereof sixe thousand were horsemen, and the rest footemen. But the errour of the Turkish scouts (as I suppose) grew of this: that our men being in *Dibria*, had sent all their infanterie with their cariages, to passe on faire and easily before: fearing lest if they should haue expected the enemies comming any thing neare at hand, and so should haue bene driuen to march in hast, they wold not haue bene able to haue made such speed, as to haue gotten time enough into some sure place of safetie: and after the footmen (as I haue sayd) marched the horsemen, euen in the sight almost of the Turkish armie. So you see the occasion why the foote forces of the *Epirots* were not discerned by the vantcurrors of the Turkes.

The citie of Alexium or Lissa

A legion containeth 6000.

It may be, that some perhaps more curious obseruers of matters then others, will demaund vpon what reason, or what commoditie *Scanderbeg* could find in this aduise and conceipt of his, in not giuing place to his aduersarie, till he saw him euen close at his backe? & why he made his retrait rather towards *Lissa*, then to any other part of the countrey? But I will, if I may, satisfie these men with the same reason that perswaded me: & my opinion herein is nothing repugnant vnto those men, whose faith and diligence I haue most followed in the continuance of this history. Besides, the effect and successe of things being curiously conferred together, may sufficiently manifest the truth thereof. The dissembled and counterfet feare of *Scanderbeg* did euidently declare, that his first stratageme in staying for the coming of the enemie so neare him, was to make a shewe, that he meant to fight, and to hazard the fortune of the field in a maine battell: but that, seeing the infinite multitude of his enemies, and the present danger and extremitie of the perill considered, did seeme to put him in such feare and terror, as if he had bene enforced to giue backe, and to change his mind & resolution: to the intent that by his shew of flight, he might make the Barbarians more confident and hardy, and with more loosenesse and licentiousnes to scatter abrode, & to disband themselues from their standards, which he could not by any meanes haue wrought without great suspition, if the flight of the one & the coming of the other had bene more distant and farther off. Moreouer, he directed his course & shew of flight rather towards *Lissa* then to any other place, because that way seemed to be chosen as the fittest and safest for men who made shew of feare: whereas otherwise if he had put himselfe in the other way amongst the thicke forrests and wooddie valleys, it was to be doubted, that he should haue made lesse shew of feare, and haue giuen greater cause of suspition and coniecture to the enemy pursuing him, of some secret ambushments layed and disposed to intrap them. Besides it is to be beleeued, that he had an intent & purpose, by this faire shew and policie (which the issue also did after make manifest) to deceiue and ouertreach his enemie: vpon whom being caried away with credulitie, and straggling loosely abrode, he purposed to giue the onset on that side, which neither the footsteps of them that fled, nor the maner of the place to which they fled, did any way make to be suspected. For we should do *Scanderbeg* great wrong, to thinke or to confesse, that so sage and aduised a Chiefetaine would haue made choise of this course, only vpon a vaine and light consideration, without any especiall conceipt and purpose. Hereof was *Amese* an infallible witnesse, who albeit he were of a very subtle and searching spirit, & had a sharpe and quicke insight in all matters, yet could he not keepe himself from the traines of this old warriour: for when the Bassa (being somewhat doubtfull & troubled in his mind vpon the sleights & subtleties of *Scanderbeg*,

Stratagems of Scanderbeg in retiring from the Turkes.

Ispat Bassa demaundeth Amese his opinion concerning the flight of Scanderbeg.

did demaund of *Ameſe* what he thought to be the cauſe of this his ſo extraordinary and continuall flight, the like whereof he had neuer vſed?

Anſwer and cenſure of Ameſe touching the flight of Scanderbeg.

My vncle (quoth *Ameſe*) did expect and attend for the forces of *Moſes*: and therefore hauing ſuddenly aſſembled only a running campe, according to his wonted maner, he did feed him ſelfe with his wonted hope of victory, till ſuch time as ſeeing him ſelfe deceiued in his fooliſh imaginations, and that he can not abide in ſafetie within his owne dominions, nor be able to oppoſe him ſelfe againſt ſuch huge and puiſſant forces, he is fled towardes *Liſſa* to get ayde and ſuccours of his neighbours the *Venetians*.

This reaſon of *Ameſe* ſeeming very likely and probable, was allowed and held for good, no man ſpeaking or alledging any thing to the contrary. Howbeit to thoſe that ſhall with wiſedome and aduiſed deliberation examine matters according to the rule of reaſon, this interpretation made by *Ameſe* of his vncles actions, can not but ſeeme very raſh and temerous, if not vaine and fooliſh. And to proue that *Scanderbeg* did not thinke any thing of ſo ſmall a troupe as that whereof *Moſes* had the commaund, nor did any whit feare the greatneſſe of the daunger, this onely point doth ſufficiently confirme it: becauſe that all things in the countrey of *Dibria* were diſpoſed in as good order, as if the Turkiſh Monarke him ſelfe had bene expected there in perſon. There was nothing at all, neither cattell nor any other thing of worth or value left in the whole countrey: and was not that a peremptorie argument of ſome notable feare, and of a counſell moſt aduiſed, and of a ſound deliberation: ſaue onely to ſuch men whom either fortune, or rather the immutable will of God, hauing predeſtinated ſome mortall and deadly chance, had depriued of all ſenſe and vnderſtanding, as of the principall part of their ſtrength and puiſſance? But I will not any longer blame this credulitie and light beliefe of our enemies, ſeeing it miniſtred occaſion to our Chriſtians of ſo notable and famous a victory, and of immortall renowme & glorie.

Councell held by Iſaac Baſſa and the Turkes for their proceedings againſt Scanderbeg.

The Baſſa perceiuing that by the flight of the *Epirots*, all hope and occaſion was taken from him to purchaſe any honour by deeds of armes in that iourney, after dinner was ended, he aſſembled the chiefe Captaines and commaunders of the armie to conſult and deliberate vpon their occaſions. In this Counſell it was propounded and debated, whether the campe ſhould ſtirre for that day or not, and by what way, maner, and meanes they ſhould purſue the enemie: whether it were beſt to continue in that place, and there to abide till ſuch time as they might haue ſome certaine newes of his attempts and practiſes, and what the enemy intended to do. *Ameſe* and ſome others were of opinion, that they ſhould not ſtirre for that day, but ſtay there till the next morning: notwithſtanding the pluralitie of voyces caried away the matter, and the worſt opinion preuailed againſt the better: for they alledged, that the returne of *Scanderbeg*, after he had prepared and gotten new ſuccours, would ſcarce be performed in foure dayes: that they ought to take the benefite of the time and the occaſion: that it behoued them to march forward chearefully and roundly in ſacking and harrying the reſidue of the prouince in their paſſage, and not to ſtay till (*Scanderbeg* hauing reenforced and augmented his troupes, the inhabitants of the countrey might in the meane time (vpon the feare and terrour of the report) flie into the ſtrong holds, and forſaking and leauing their houſes, graunges, and ſheepe-cotes voyde and emptie of all prey and bootie, might by that meanes make their victory vncertaine, and their voyage without all profite and commoditie. Wherefore the trumpet ſounding ſpeedily to horſe, no man ſhewed him ſelfe backward in executing the commaundement of their Generall: but all of them (teſtifying by their high cryes and clamours, that they did approue the new decree and concluſion of the Councell) in a moment truſſed

trussed vp their baggage and with Ensignes displaied beganne to march forwarde. *Ameſe* likewise was not much discontented with this their resolution, but being of a chereſull and good courage against all casualties and occurrences, he imagined there would be litle or no daunger for a day or two, of anie alarmes, or attemptes made by *Scanderbeg*: howbeit, that in matters of warrefare, those counsailes which did forecast and doubt most daungers, and which were most warie and politique, did continually more please and like him then anie others, because euen in the least errour and ouersight, there consisted no small weight and importance. And therefore he admonished the Bassa to proceede in these affaires prudently and with good order and direction, for feare least by the immoderate couetousnesse of the souldiers, their prey and bootie might not onely turne to their infamie, but might also proue lamentable vnto his people. All these thinges therefore were carefully regarded, the battallions and squadrons were wisely ordered and deuided into diuerse partes, with a streight and expresse charge and commaundement, that no man vppon payne of death should disranke nor disbande himselfe out of the battell where he had his place assigned him, without the speciall leaue and license of the Generall, albeit they should happen to see all the wealth and riches of *Epyre* before their eyes: for that where time should serue, they should haue free libertie to take whatsoeuer they could seize vppon. The souldiers for that time shewed themselues verie conformable and obedient in that which was commaunded them, till such time as their couetous fingers (itching at the faire shew of the goodly things forbidden them) did finde fit matter whereupon to seize and to lay hold. But before the departure of the armie, the Bassa hauing made his prayers to God, that he would vouchsafe to graunt him the grace to be able to tame the insolencie of the *Albanois*, and to obtaine the honour of all those trophees and victories befallen to *Scanderbeg* for so manie yeares together, he called *Ameſe* vnto him, who was then ordering and disposing of his regiment: and after he had openly graced him with manie goodly prayses and commendations, he caused him by the voices of the souldiers to be proclaimed king of *Epyre*: and with a long and superfluous inuectiue, detesting and disgracing *Scanderbeg* and all his worthy deedes and notable exploites. *Ameſe* refused not this good fortune, but from thence forward he shewed himselfe prompt and chersull in all his doings: dispatching his affaires with singular diligence, and currying the fauour and good will of the people both in deedes and in words.

Prouidence and circumspection of Ameſe in the warre.

Ameſe proclaimed king of Epyre by Isaac Bassa and the Turkish army.

These things thus done, the hoast of the Barbarians (hauing sent forth their vantcurrours to discouer and beate ouer the plaine countrie) did now beginne to march forwarde: part of their baggage being put before in the vaward, and part following in the rereward of their armie. The way which they tooke was (by the conduct and direction of *Ameſe*) to that part of *Epyre* which lyeth to the Eastward of *Croy*, and was distant from thence about 80. miles: the which for that it was least furnished with forces, did seeme to be more easily exposed to prey and pillage: besides they had an intention also, that as their troupes should approch neerer vnto the walles (if occasion did so serue) they might all vnder one make themselues Lordes of the towne. Neuertheleſſe by reason of the continuall and vehement heate, they went not farre that day, neither did they finde vppon the fieldes, any the least recompence of their paine and trauell: so wilde and wast did the countrie appeare on all partes, as if it had beene a meere and solitarie desart. This made the *Mahometan* to redouble his feare and suspition, besides that the ambition of the man did mightily trouble and torment him, least that the Christian eyther by his absence, or by his continuall delayes refusing the fight, should constraine him to returne vnto *Constantinople*

without any purchase or increase of honour and reputation. For there was no kinde of bootie to be found at all (which ordinarily, is esteemed to be a part of the victorie) neither had they any ready meanes without artillerie, to get them any honour by the besieging of any townes. As for the wasting and spoiling of the corne, frutes and trees: the burning and fireing of townes, and such like calamities, being the ordinarie appendants of the warres, they are commonly and oftentimes reserued to the last and extreame rigour: for that in very deede, they doe seeme rather to testifie and to declare a certaine rage and furie, then any benefit or commoditie of reuenge. Besides, they had some hope also (such as it was) to come to fight with *Scanderbeg*, and to bring the Prouince vnder their subiection, if so be he durst present himselfe to the combat. And these (it may be) were the especiall causes and considerations, that detained and withheld them from such acts of hostilitie.

The heate of the sunne growing by litle and litle to be abated, by reason of her declyning towards the West, the sweete and pleasant shade yeelded great refreshing to the bodies of the souldiers, who were sore wearied, and well neere spent with extreamitie of heate, of harde trauell, and long iournyes. To the intent therefore they might take the benefite of so sweete a refreshing, they doubled their way and began to ride a good round trot. But the Bassa commaunded them to make a stand, not daring to passe on any further, by reason that the night approached and drew neere. In the meane time him selfe in person with part of his armie encamped on an high mountaine which lay aloft on the left hand, after he had first caused *Ameses* and certaine horsemen to take a viewe of the conueniencie and situation of the place. The residue of his armie was lodged all alongest the valley, and in other places in as great safetie as might be: and there was ordained good watch and warde, seuerall courtes of garde being placed both in the plaine and vppon the mountaines round about, especially on that side that lay towardes *Lissa*, and which they most suspected. In this place, the night being thus spent and consumed, the next day by the common aduise and consent of them all, they purposed to take their iourney into * *Emathia*.

* Or Pharsalia.

Peysants of Albany surprised by the Turkes.

Here hath it beene auerred by some writers, that certaine Peysants of the countrie of *Albanie* were surprised as they descended vndiscreetely out of the forrests next adioyning: and being put to tormentes, for feare of death they did reueale manie of *Scanderbeg* his secretes: For you must note, that there be in *Epyre* manie mountaines full of such huge thickets, so wooddie, and so difficult of accesse, that the people of the countrie doe holde them selues in more safetie in those places, then in the best and strongest fortresses: and there is no power nor puissance of the enemie (be it neuer so great) that can driue them to forsake those places. Some also haue added this moreouer, that certaine fugitiues came the same night to yeelde themselues vnto *Scanderbeg*: and that certaine Scoutes or Espyals of the Turkes, falling into the handes of the Christian courtes of garde, were put to the sword, excepting one onely: who being by good happe saued aliue and brought before the King (who was then preparing for his iorney against the next morning) did enforme him of manie things particularly concerning the purpose of the enemie: by meanes whereof it may be easily imagined, and not without shewe of credite, that he was a principall meane and author of the victorie of the Christians which followed soone after. For my part it shall suffice, that without eyther approuing it for a truth, or reproouing it as fabulous, I haue simply made recitall of it. And therefore referring the truth thereof to be iudged by others, I will betake my selfe to the prosecuting of those affaires, which hauing bene for a while intermitted vpon

Espials or Scouts of the Turkes surprised by the Albanois.

the

the comming and arriuall of the Turkes, doe now reuoke and call vs backe to consider of them.

You haue heard how the flight of *Scanderbeg* towardes the towne of *Lissa*, was not such as the aduerse partie had imagined: but hauing nowe gotten farre out of the sight of the enemie, he went vnto those partes of the countrie which laye vppon the frontiers of *Albanie*, where were manie and diuerse passages into the Prouince by which the enemie might easily be surprised. There did he abide for that day, attending the setting of the Sunne: and then leauing there his Ensignes, and being accompanied with a verie fewe horsemen, he went vppe to the toppes of certaine mountaines, from whence he might well discouer all the plaine countrie about * *Emathia*. Then calling to remembraunce the speeches of his prisoners afore mentioned, hee disposed and bestowed certaine Scoutes vppon the toppes and edges of the mountaines, who hauing little streamers or penons (according as the manner is) were admonished and charged to holde them vp aloft, that they might be seene wauing in the ayre, and that towardes the same side where they should see the enemie encamped, they should throw downe those penons from the toppe to the bottome. Other signall then this they had not at that time, neyther by fires, nor other watches for the night. True it is, that the most worthie, and in a manner, the best souldiers were appointed to stande Scout in that place, amongest whom was *Peic Mamuell*, a Gentleman of no lesse wisedome and policie, then of hardinesse and good resolution in deedes of armes: because that the weight and consequence of their whole affaires did consist in the diligence and trust of these Sentinels. This done, he returned in the dead of the night into his campe, where hauing past the most part of the same in rest and silence, he dislodged verie secretly without any noise, and he had not ridden farre with all his forces, but that he put himselfe in ambuscado in the bottome of a certaine valley verie neere vnto that watch which we last spake of: determining not to depart, or to remoue from thence before he had deliberated and taken counsell for his proceedings, and that he might take his directions, by the signe and token which should be made vnto him by those streamers.

* Or Pharsalia.

Scouts placed vpon the mountaines by Scanderbeg to obserue the passing of the Turkish armie.

Peic Mamuell.

Ambuscado dressed by Scanderbeg against Isaac Bassa and the Turkes.

It was scant fayre day breake, but that the Bassa drewe his troupes foorth of the campe, hauing a purpose and determination by preuenting the heate of the day to enter into the plaines of *Emathia*, where (as he vnderstood) was remayning some bootie that would be abandoned to the prey of the souldiers. Not pawsing therefore vpon the matter, he beganne to march forward verie early, whilest the leaues and grasse of the fieldes were yet moyst with the dewe of the morning: and troade with their feet, greedie of prey and pillage, vpon those fieldes that are euen yet famous through the bloud and slaughter of the auncient *Romaines*. But to the intent that a case and accident so maruellous, and so shortly after ensuing might not be without some presage, there be many who doe affirme, that the Generall his standard-bearer, hauing stumbled at the ruines of an old wall (as there are many such in those quarters which doe bound the landes and possessions of priuate persons) both horse and man with the standard also fell so rudely to the ground, that his companions were constrayned to take him vp halfe dead, and to helpe him againe to horsebacke. Notwithstanding they made not any account of the matter, but onely tooke it as a warning to the residue to looke better to their feete, and to eschewe that place. And it may be, that we also ought to make as little account and reckoning of such signes and tokens, rather then to followe the vanitie of such fonde coniectures in this accident: seeing that both the libertie of mans free will, leading and guyding him in such

Isaac Bassa with the Turkish armie in the plaine fields of Pharsalia.

Signes and tokens prognosticating the great slaughter in the future battell betwene the Turkes and the Christians.

actions, and the good doctrine and instructions of Christian religion doe seeme to argue and teach vs the contrarie. But yet one other thing there is, wherein I knowe not howe I should gainesay it, or dissent from others who haue affirmed, that the Vultures, and Rauens, and such like fowles which vse to frequent and hunt after carrion and dead carkasses, did flie in such aboundance into those places, (as it were foreshewing the great effusion of bloud that was likely shortly to ensue) that the verie heauens seemed in a manner to be darkened with their huge numbers. Besides, there was an other verie straunge and wonderfull signe (which I had almost forgotten) and which I see no reason why it shoulde be neglected or not regarded, and that was, that in the ende of the spring that selfe same yeare, (as it is reported by them that sawe it) the heauens did raine downe bloud vppon the earth. Of which signes, there is not any of them that proceeded from the acte of anie man or earthly creature: neither was it in the power of mans counsell or prudence, to foresee, or to preuent the effect of those accidents.

Discourse of the author vpon celestiall signes & prognostications of future accidents.

Manie are the influences which did descende downe from the heauens by certaine secret and vnknowen causes of thinges, and it is often seene, that sundry both good and euill chaunces are manifested vnto vs by the operation of the starres and the celestiall bodies, the which whilest we doe disdaine to obserue, wee doe referre them to meere accidents and casualtie, and we doe not vse eyther the seruice and ministerie of our owne prudence, nor the industrie of our owne counselles to purchase vnto vs the fauour and blessing of the diuine bountie, nor to turne away the anger and threatnings of the heauens. For what reason haue we to thinke, that this extraordinarie flight of so manie birdes and fowles of the ayre, or those shewers of bloud, which fell from the heauens should denote or foreshewe the ruine and destruction of the Infidels rather then of our owne friendes the Christians? were it not perhappes, that by the sage aduise and counsaile, and by the temporizing of the Christian Chiefetaine, and dexteritie of his good inuention: The starres were (as it were) forced, and this notable victorie was in a manner purchased from the heauens? For as the saying is, The wise man hath Dominion ouer the starres and celestiall bodies: and for my part I doe assuredly beleeue, that the hunger of those Vultures, might very well haue bene deluded, and the earth might sufficiently haue beene satisfied with that bloud onely which fell from the heauens, if the obstinate and wilfull prudence of men had not drawen downe vppon them selues the violent influence of the destinies. The truth whereof appeareth in this: for that if we our selues haue not anie vertue nor puissance, if wee can challenge vnto our selues no right nor interest in our earthly actions, but that these presages must of necessitie be followed with such inexitable effectes: then what should it profit or auaile to commaund or admonish men to take armes and to haue recourse to the iust defence of warres, if our resistance should be vaine and bootlesse? Or to what end should we surcharge mankinde with the denunciation of long griefes and lamentations only to make their eyes the beholders or feelers of that mischiefe which shall neuer befall nor come vppon them? assuredly much more cheerefully and comfortably should we leaue this world, and depart out of this life, if that hope did entertaine and feede our hearts euen to the last gaspe: and it would make our death and last end more pleasing & lesse terrible vnto vs. Howbeit that it is a common prouerbe and vsuall in the mouthes of all men, That mischieues foreseene, do least harme and offence: the which (it may be) we will graunt to be true in those kinds of mischiefes, which are wont to dispose and prepare the mind of man, & not to discorage or dismay them. For there is no thought nor cogitation more deadly and pernitious, then that which ministreth vnto men

Sentence. » *Sapiens dominabitur astris.*

Sentence.

equall

equall abundance of teares, and like rage of paſſions in the time both of life and of death.

But whileſt I buſie my ſelfe I know not how to play the part of a Philoſopher, I feare me I doe digreſſe from the office and dutie of an Hiſtoriographer. Returne we therefore to our diſcourſe where it was diſcontinued.

The entrie of the *Paynims* within the plaine countrie of *Pharſalia*, was quickely manifeſted and made knowen to the inhabitantes by the ſound of the artillerie, in the fortreſſes next adioyning: giuing thereby an aduertiſement to ſome of the people, who were iſſued out with their beaſtes to feede them in the fieldes. Vpon this ſignall and token giuen them, you may imagine that there was none of them, but made haſte ſpeedily to auoide ſo great and imminent a daunger: and it is to be ſuppoſed, that ſome of them which were diſperſed and ſcattered fartheſt off, did make ſo great haſte to free themſelues from the enemie, that they left part of their beaſtes for a prey and bootie vnto them, not being well able vppon ſuch an extreamitie (wherein they were) to vſe conuenient ſpeede, to ſaue and preſerue them from their violence and furie. At the ſame inſtant likewiſe, the ſtreamers which were placed for a token vpon the mountaines, did giue *Scanderbeg* occaſion to diſlodge with his campe, who with good reaſon and iudgement, coniecturing which way the Barbarian tooke, calling backe his ſcoutes, and arraunging his companies in good order, he diſmarched ſecretly by the couerts of the valleyes, and the ſecret paſſages of the mountaines, ſtill following the *Baſſa* a farre off without being apperceiued, till ſuch time as he thought that he had gotten neere enough vnto him. Then alſo putting him ſelfe againe in an ambuſh with all his forces, and attending till it were night, he reſted him ſelfe neere vnto a certaine hill, named by the inhabitantes, *Tumeniſtiola*: after that he had firſt ſent foorth ſome to ſtande ſcoutes, and had ſet the watch, ordering all thinges in good and conuenient ſort. The *Mahometans* in this meane while were not idle, but they ſpent and employed, not onely the morning, but the whole courſe of their march all that day in ouerrunning, ſpoyling, and ranſacking of the plaine countrie, being growen to a certaine contempt and licentiouſneſſe which by litle and litle was engendred amongſt their troupes, becauſe they ſaw no bodie to reſiſt or to encounter them in the way. All this did *Scanderbeg* diſcerne full well, but his deliberation was not to purſue after them with ſo ſmall forces, they being ſcattered and diſperſed in a plaine that was ſo large and ſpacious, nor yet was he minded to giue the onſet vpon them in ſuch ſort as he might any way endaunger his forces in the fight, but he did rather deſire that their audacitie and licentiouſneſſe ſhould ſtill encreaſe and grow more and more. In that manner therefore hauing followed them all that night, he forbare to touch, or in any ſort to meddle with their campe, by reaſon of the difficulties of the places, being not able, but with great trouble, to carrie his troupes in the darke through thoſe thicke and huge forreſtes and woods: as alſo becauſe he aymed at a certaine draught and policie of warre, which he had of long time before conceiued in his thoughtes, by meanes of certaine drummes, trumpets, and clarions (whereof ſhall be ſaid more hereafter) and by which he did reſerue himſelfe to a ſtraunge and miraculous kinde of combat. For this cauſe the Infidels being ſuffered to reſt in quiet, they ſpent that night in diuerſe pleaſures and paſtimes: and euen *Ameſe* alſo tooke a great ioy and contentment to ſee himſelfe carried and attended (though ſomewhat too ſoone for his honour) thorough the campe, with diuers ſongs of ioy and meriment amongſt the common ſouldiers, as if he had alreadie obtained the ſoueraignetie and peaceable poſſeſſion of the eſtate of *Albanie*. Not that their minds were wholly freed from all feare or ſuſpition,

Scanderbeg coaſteth the armie of the Turkes with his forces cowrtly amongſt the mountaine.

Scanderbeg putteth himſelf in an ambuſh ſtande neere the mountaine Tumeniſtiola.

Sentence. » But rather (such is the desire of mortall men) that it draweth with it most commonly a kinde of credulitie, and maketh vs to beleeue that things will fall out according » to our owne desire and expectation. So did that leasure and quietnesse of three dayes continuance (wherein they were without any disturbance of their enemies) cause the Barbarians to frame and conceiue vnto themselues a vaine license in their owne conceipts and imaginations, as if they had beene alreadie possessed of the victorie. Thence it proceeded, that all things more and more enclining to negligence, the watches were lesse carefully regarded, insomuch as they placed not any scoutes nor court of gard, but onely on that side where they feared most daunger, namely from the way and coast bending towards *Lissa*.

Negligence & securitie of the Turkish army.

The darkenesse of the night being now chased away by the comming of the day light, the Turkes were prouiding and preparing themselues to follow on their roads and excursions: and therefore by the breake of day displaying their Ensignes, they fell to spoyling and robbing that part of the countrie which remained as yet vnspoiled, filling it with all kinds of outrage and beastly crueltie: and their hoast with their baggage also remoued to a certaine plaine lying betweene the riuer of *Mathia* and those waters which the inhabitants name *Albula*: placing their gardes and Sentinels towardes *Lissa* only, where they doubted and imagined the greatest daunger. At the foote of the mountaine *Tumenista*, which hath his aspect to the West, towardes the open champion were placed certaine horsemen to assure that passage. As for their campe, it was excellently well fortified: for the one halfe of their armie remained there still for the garde and defence thereof: and I finde that the *Bassa* himselfe, and manie of the chiefest and most principall persons of the armie did continue and abide there with the campe, whilest that *Amese* (as being more skilfull and better practised in those marches) had the conduct of those forces that went abroad to forrage and prey the countrey, with the which all at randome he ranne vp euen to the *Suffades* (as they tearme them) and to the seacoasts. The husbandman and the peysant had not withdrawen and conueyed away all from the fury, spoyle, and couetousnesse of the Barbarians, because they did not thinke that the King would haue suffered them so long to vse that license and libertie, and to haue beene vnmet withall. True it is, that he might at that time haue done some worthie and notable exploit, whilest their forces were so deuided a sunder, if he had roundly inuaded their campe: but he was not yet come so neere them, neither could it so cõueniently haue bene done, but that the forces which were harrying and ouerrunning the countrie, vpon the noise of the alarme might haue beene called home, and so they might easily haue enclosed the *Albanois* betwene both their powers. But hunger and the heate of the day hauing now caused them to returne to their campe, the bootie was deuided amongst the souldiers: howbeit, it was but of litle or small value, and did rather sharpen their appetites, then satisfie or content them. By this time were our men also drawen together, and being gotten vp to the toppes of the mountaines, they were seized of the aduantage of the place: whereupon with their armes nowe readie in their handes, they did prepare themselues to call the *Mahometans* to an account of their voyage and iorney which they had taken.

Isaac and the Turks encampe betwene the riuer of Mathia and the waters of Albula.

Suffades.

If you had seene how *Scanderbeg* was busied and did bestirre himselfe, you might aptly haue compared him to one, who expecting at his house some great companie of guests, and being to make them some magnificent and sumptuous banquet, with most exquisite dainties and viandes prepared more then ordinary, dareth not to trust his seruants, nor yet to referre the care thereof either to his friends, or to his wife, but will see it done with his owne hands: ordaining, fitting, and disposing all things most carefully,

An elegant and excellent comparison.

carefully: and with a doubtfull countenaunce casteth his eyes vpon all the dishes, and vppon all partes of the table, especially if by reason of the meane estate of the man, the preparation be more sparye then is conuenient for the number of his guestes: and setting out all things to the best shew, with a skilfull and diligent hand, he doth so amplifie and encrease them, as they may at the least satisfie and fill their eyes, if not the hands and bellies of the banquetters. In like manner the King of *Epyre* coursing and galloping vp and downe the hilles and mountaines neare adioyning, stayed not long in any one place, but he placeth *Moses* in one quarter, and *Tanusee* in another: the *Streezes* on this side, and others on that side: and appointing vnto euerie man his particular charge and office, he admonisheth and instructeth them: and not trusting in the sufficiencie and capacitie of any of them in a case of that consequence, and in that importance of his affaires; sometimes he goeth before, sometimes he followeth after: and to be breife, he maketh his handes and his eyes the witnesses of all that is done. He vieweth and reuieweth all his troupes, he examineth if all be well, and still is he deuising and casting, how to dispose and order all things to the best. And to the intent that the terrible obiect which he prouided for his enemies might the more astonish and confound them: he vsed this sleight and inuention which I will shew you.

To euerie squadron he assigned a great number of trumpettes, drummes and such like instruments of warre, more then is ordinarily he vsed any troups, the which he had expresly prouided of purpose. After this he ordered his armie both horse & foot according to the commoditie of the place, and the quantitie of his forces. He reserued for his owne regiment the most part of his armie to wit, 4000. horse, and the like number of footemen, with the which he went without delay, and seized vppon *Temenista*. *Stratagems of Scanderbeg.*

The Bassa his armie, namely they which were wearied with their long and tedious incursions in harrying and preying of the countrie in the morning, at their returne were laid all along, and did rest themselues here and there ouer the large plaine, hauing left their horses feeding without either saddles or bridles: besides that, few or none kept neare their ensignes or any good order. Some laye in the shadowe and made merrie with that which they had purchased: others hauing fed at full, lay wallowing on the grasse and slept without all feare or suspition. Some passing away the time in plaies and sportes of all sortes and vsuall amongest souldiers, did ioyfully beguile their eyes of sleepe, and the extreame heat of summer: albeit they were scarce able to hold vp their heads for wearinesse and want of sleepe: for then was the worst time both of the yeare and of the day, by reason of the extreame heat of the moneth of Iuly, and the height of the sunne which was not then past the middest of the heauen, which made their watches & courts of gard also to be as negligent in the other parts of the campe. For amongst them likewise, euery man was bent to take his ease and to spend away the time in mirth. No man had his armes nor his horse in a readines: but the most part hauing cast away all feare and doubt of the enemie, had laied aside also the care and consideration of all good order and martiall discipline. *Securitie and negligence of the Turkes.*

The Bassa himselfe with the great men and Commanders of the armie, and *Ameses* their Councellour (whom the busines especially concerned aboue the rest) being in consultation within their tents, were in a maruellous care & perplexitie, what course they should resolue vpon at their next remoue from thence, and on what side they should find any new subiect of honour and commendation. The counsell was deuided into two diuerse opinions: one was, that they should ouerrunne all the Prouince with sword and fire, and so make the ruines and spoiles of the countrie to remaine as *Consultation of Isaac Bassa and the Turkish Chieftaines for their proceedings against Scanderbeg.*

the marks of their victory: the other (which was propoũded by *Ameſe*,) was, that they ſhould march right towardes *Croy* to ſound the wils of the inhabitants whether they would ſubmit themſelues to the nephue of *Scanderbeg* & accept of his gouernment: & that they ſhould terrifie them by threats and menaces in caſe they did refuſe to harken vnto them: as that they ſhould ſee the totall ruine and deſtruction of *Albanie*, & a perpetuall ſiege before their walles, and that in the end they ſhould be enforced to endure the yoke of a moſt miſerable and ſhamefull ſeruitude and bondage: That they ſhould not build vpon the ſlowe ſuccours of *Scanderbeg*, nor truſt to their fond counſelles, who ſhould perſwade them to attend and depend vpon the hope and expectation of his long lingring preſence. This latter aduiſe was approued as the moſt certaine and beſt opinion, and the other was in no part followed: onely they made ſome ſtay for a while, and thought it not yet beſt to remoue their campe till ſuch time as the feruentneſſe of the heate, and the wearineſſe of their bodies were ſomewhat abated and refreſhed. But *Scanderbeg* did not any longer temporize: for hauing both ſatisfied and inſtructed his eyes from the toppe of *Tumeniſta*, he animated and diſpoſed his ſouldiers, telling them what order they ſhould obſerue and keepe: how they ſhould by their inuaſions terrifie their enemies, and on what ſide they ſhould charge and preſſe vpon them. But firſt of all beholding that court of garde of thoſe Turks which lay at the foote of the mountaine, ſome of them ſleeping ſoundly, other keeping but ſlender watch and ward, himſelfe deſcended in great ſilence by the other ſide of the mountaine with eight men onely, and had the cutting of all their throats, leauing them there to keepe an euerlaſting watch, one of them onely being excepted, whom the ſwiftneſſe of his horſe, and his flight ſaued from the like ſlaughter. By this meanes the other troups of the Chriſtians (after that this court of gard was diſpatched) began to deſcend vpon the plaine vnknowen to the enemie. He that was eſcaped, went running in the meane while with all poaſting ſpeed towardes his fellowes, and with a fearefull crie, he filled all the hoaſt of the Barbarians, giuing them the allarme, and telling them: that *Scanderbeg* was there: that the gard was cut in pieces, and that all the forces of the Chriſtians were comming, and were euen at hand. Hardly would the Turks haue beleeued theſe newes, if his feare had not giuen them ſufficient likelyhood thereof through the death of his companions. For neither did they feare any danger on that ſide, neither did they doubt of the ſo ſudden comming of the enemie. But *Ameſe* was not of that mind: for he was eaſily perſwaded of the truth of this allarme: and therefore haſting ſpeedily and readily to his troupes, he enforced them quickly to mount on horſebacke, & encouraged them to the vttermoſt of his power. Many of them were wakened, partly by the noiſe of the enemies comming vpon thẽ, and partly by their companions, who cauſed them to leaue ſleeping. For nowe that *Scanderbeg* ſaw his ambuſhments to be diſcouered, he commaunded his infanterie preſently to follow him with as great ſpeed and celeritie as was poſſible: and immediately as the enemie was preparing to receiue him, he charged and gaue the onſet vpon them moſt furiouſly with the huge clamours and horrible cries of his ſouldiers, the ſame being augmented and encreaſed with the brimme noiſe of the drummes, ttumpets and tamborins which were purpoſely placed on all ſides to annoy and terrifie the enemie by the conceipt and imagination of a great and mightie armie: and alſo to giue aduertiſements to the other bands that lay cloſe embusked in the mountaines. *Ameſe* being ſeconded with his owne regiment of horſemen, and with certen others who had bene appointed for the garde of the campe, was the firſt that made head againſt the Chriſtians, and did moſt ſtoutly ſuſtaine the firſt charge. Many alſo came thither on foote, hauing no leiſure in ſo great haſt and extremitie, to ſaddle and

Scanderbeg marcheth to fight with Iſaac Baſſa and the Turkiſh armie.

A court of gard of the Turkes cut in pieces by Scanderbeg.

Scanderbeg ſurpriſeth the Turkiſh campe by a ſudden inuaſion.

make

make readie their horses. The tumult and the terrour was wonderfull in all partes of the campe, and the Turkes stood as men mightely amazed and astonished: so great and extreame was the feare which seized vpon them at the verie sight and name of *Scanderbeg*. The Bassa stood fitme within his campe and would not moue a foot, till such time as he saw all his squadrons in order and good array, and that his flanckes were well defended with treble forces of the choisest horsemen well armed and appointed. But during these preparations, it seemed that the heauen & earth were confounded by reason of this new and vnexpected alarme, and with the strange clamours & diuerse sounds of the ambushments now discouered. On euerie side did the mountaines and next vallies resound with the noise, sometimes of the men, sometimes of the trumpets, drummes and clarions: and sometimes with the maruellous sound of infinite harquebusses, which did incredibly augment the feare and terror both in the hearts and in the eyes of the Turkes: who esteeming themselues as men lost and vtterly vndone, did thinke that the power and puissance of all *Egypt*, *Sclauonie*, and their confederates, had bene assembled and conspired together to their destruction. And therefore they began to flie on all hands before that euer *Moses* with his troups alone could get downe into the plaine from the mountaines: and yet did not their flight seeme sure and safe enough vnto them, by reason that all the wayes and passages were in a manner shut vp and taken from them. Besides, euen their horses being frayed in diuerse places, did either shake off their headstals, or breake their bridles, and being thus feared, did scape out of the hands of those who were making them readie. Neuertheless *Amese* mistrusting the stratagemes and the politique inuentions of his vncle, did soone and easily comprehend this his cunning and subtiltie. And therefore he cried out vnto his companie on all sides: that they should not in any case be affraied of these false alarmes: that these deuises were for the most part the onely hope and refuge of such as had but weake and small forces: that they should quietly attend and sustaine their enemies, without any misdoubt of these vaine clamours, and that the iangling noise of their trumpets, and other such brasen instruments, and the ecchoes and outeries of their featefull voices, were but fruteless and idle shewes purposely doubled and augmented to put them in feare and terror. With these perswasions he drew many of them out of euery companie, yet in a great doubt and mammering, being vnresolued, whether it were best to flie or to hold good against the enemie. For neither did the one seeme to be honest in the presence of their Captaine, and things being yet in good estate: neither were they of sufficient strength to resist against their enemies, their courages being dismayed and abated in so sudden an astonishment: insomuch, that it would haue required a long time to haue confirmed them in a good resolution, and to haue put them in full heart and courage againe.

Ameses encouragith the Turkes against the Epirots.

All this notwithstanding the *Bassa* being no lesse resolute then *Amese*, caused his Ensignes to march on and entred the combat with notable resolution. As he was aduauncing himselfe to the aide and succours of *Amese*, in hope if he met with *Scanderbeg* to oppresse him: *Moses* and the residue of the Christians following close at their backes, were now come vpon the open plaine, and helde him short from proceeding any further. Neuertheless the *Dibrian* caused his men to make a stand and to holde bridle, staying till *Tanusee* and *Piet Maneell* (who had the charge and commaund of a squadron of archers and harquebussiers) were aduaunced and came forward as farre foorth as himselfe. They being now drawen and vnited all together, the battell beganne to grow rough and furious on all sides, and the horsemen from all partes did rush violently vpon their enemies. The footmen for their partes also wrought wonders: and the harquebussiers plaied vpon the troupes of the *Paynims*

The battell of Pharsalia betweene Ieane Bassa and Scanderbeg.

where they saw them thickest not bestowing any of their shot in vaine. Whereupon the Bassa being hardly presed and annoied with the mortall shot of those bullettes, was constrained to giue backe wardes: and being repulsed and driuen to retire within his trenches, he sawe his squadrons disordered and out of rancke. Then our footmen casting their bowes away at their backes, and leauing their harquebusses, beganne verie nimbly and lightly to come to handie blowes and to vse their swords, still following and pressing hard vpon the Turkes in wounding and killing of those which were next vnto them, and whom they found scattered and out of order. Great was the slaughter and butcherie throughout all the companies, and much blood was shed both of them that fledde, and of them also that fought. But he that had seene how *Scanderbeg* and his troupes did bestirre themselues on their partes, would haue wondred and admired at the sight and spectacle of so many mischiefes, and mortall misfortunes that represented themselues on that side of the fielde. For it was another manner of slaughter that was made there then in any other parte of the battell, by reason that their forces and power being the greatest, might the more easily worke the greater effectes. Besides that, the Infidels on that side were surprized more suddenly, and almost all of them were found disarmed and vnprouided, lying sleeping along vpon their bellies: by meanes whereof their enemies might the more freely passe ouer their bodies being the more subiect to their furie and violence: and they might make themselues the better way by their swordes. Here also did the footemen abandon the vse of their arrowes and harquebusses, and hauing onely either swords, dartes or pikes in their handes: sometimes they did wound those which fled, behind and at their backes: and sometimes did runne their horses through the bellies, ouerthrowing those that were mounted vpon them. All the hardinesse and audacitie, or the feare and flight of the Turkes on that side did wholly depend vpon the resolution of the Christian fugitiue, who with a countenance more and more assured, made head against the *Albanois*: and one while by his voice, another while by the dexteritie and valure of his valiant deedes and prowes, he would aduertise & will his troups to hold good, and only for a litle while to endure with patience, til such time as the first fury & violence of the *Albanois* were broken, saying that afterwards he would vndoubtedly deliuer them an easie and vnbloudie victory: that the small numbers of the Christians had nothing to hope on but the furie of their first charge & onset, the which being once past & cooled, their forces also & their courage would soone faint and faile, and come to nothing. This did he as long as he could prolong the conflict, hoping that the other bandes which were disperst ouer the champion would rally themselues and renue the combat. But his expectation of those succours grew still more and more to be vaine and frustrate: for many of them were surprised and taken vp by the way, and the rest by the extreamitie of their feare were aduised to betake themselues to flight. In such sort, that the number was not great of those Turkes that presented themselues to the encounter of a iust and full battell: but the most part of them were murthered and like a many of hogges, had their throats cut by the *Albanois*. *Moses* embracing and laying hold vpon this occasion, and so goodly an opportunitie, and hauing an earnest affection and desire to repaire and recouer his former honour, would not suffer the Bassa to take any breath: but crying with a loud voice, (as he was a man very fierce and vehement) at euerie blow giuen with his sword, and at euery motion and cast of his eyes.

Amost encouraged the Turkes in the battell.

Amost his companies put to flight by Scanderbeg.

Speech of Moses encouraging his souldiers to the battel against Isaac Bassa.

» Here, here (quoth he) my companions: cheerefully let vs charge, and bravely let vs
» breake in vpon these dogges and barbarous Miscreants: let not this glorious shewe
» of their great and huge battels, let not these magnificall names of *Bassaes* astonish

nor

nor amaze you. These are no other then the infamous reliques of the ouerthrowe of *Belgrade* in *Hungarie*: they are all ouerwhelmed and buried in feare, in sleepe and in drunkennesse. Presse vppon these their bloodlesse and vnprofitable gardes, follow on and pursue them bravely and courageously, satisfie your hands with their blood, that you may satiate your hearts afterwardes with the rich spoiles and booty of your enemies.

If these speeches and perswasions had the power to chase and incense the courages of the Christians, much more were they encouraged by the consideration of that pretious recompence which they saw prouided for them by meanes of the victorie, and which they had in a manner already gotten. Notwithstanding there were some squadrons of Turkes, who being more mindfull of the honour and dutie of good souldiers, then of the safetie of their liues: being assembled together in grosse, and a good band also of others on foote, could not in any case be broken by their enemies. The fight standing vpon these termes, *Scanderbeg* had sent certen horsemen after his nephew to pursue and follow him, streightly charging and enioyning them in any case not to kill him: who hauing taken him aliue, and the victorie being made sure on that side of the field, he hastened with a thousand footemen or thereabouts, and some fewe horsemen to that place where the Bassa stoode vppon his defence. For, the residue of his troupes after they had gotten the victorie, would not be drawen from following the chase as long as the flight continued. But on the other side also, the resistaunce of the Turkes was cleane broken and ceased by the promptnesse and valour of certaine Harquebusiers whom *Moses* had led thither. And the Generall of the Infidels with all the rest had quite forsaken and abandoned their campe. All those which were found on foote (excepting such as by good happe had found either their owne or some other mens horses and so did escape) were either slaine or made prisoners. *Scanderbeg* (as long as he sawe anie possibilitie or likelyhood that the enemie might againe ioyne or reenforce themselues) did follow and pursue hard after the Bassa: but he saued himselfe by the fauour and swiftnesse of his horse who carried him cleere away out of the sight of them that had him in chase. Those which accompanied him in his flight, had not so good fortune as himselfe, but a good number of them were taken prisoners: and amongest others a *Sanziake* called *Mesith*. Neither the *Dibrian* nor any other of the Christians had neuer any mind nor care of profit and commoditie as long as the chase endured, and whileft they had the meanes and power to kill and to followe in execution of the enemie. On all sides there were bound and fenered great troupes of those who yeelded themselues, and had throwen downe their armes.

Amese taken prisoner.

Victorie of Scanderbeg against Isaac Bassa and the Turkes in the battell of Pharsalia.

Mesith a Sanziake taken prisoner.

This battell, (or howsoeuer you liste to tearme it) continued vntill such time as the night comming vppon them, did finde them to be both Conquerours, and to haue the victorie. Neither the excessiue wearinesse of the souldiours, nor the darknesse of the night approaching and comming on, could not withhold their handes from labouring to reape the accustomed prize and reward of their victorie. The carkasses of the dead yet hote and trembling were despoyled, and manie were euen then also put to the sworde. There were gotten from the enemie twentie faire and goodly enfignes or standardes. Of prisoners there were about fiue thousand: the horses and other moueables of all sorts were giuen to the souldiers as the recompence of their long labours and trauelles, and they were so many that they could hardly be valued. Touching the number of those which were slaine, the reportes are diuerse: they which do reckon with the most, do account 30000. and they which do reckon with the least, do yeelde to 20000. Of the Christians there were wanting a-

Number of Turkes slaine in the battell of Pharsalia.

bout a sixtie or little lesse, as is generally agreed on all parts.

It is not to be denied, but that this so notable a victorie, and which cost so little bloudshed, did far exceed and surpasse all humane sense and reason: yet ought not the strangenes of the thing to be offensiue to the eares of the readers: for if we will looke into the infinite examples of antiquitie which are equally to be marked as being of the like qualitie, be they either *Romains*, *Greeks*, or strangers: this our accident cannot want either faith or credit. There were found manie tents and pauilions in their enemies camp readie dressed & appointed, which for that night were not at all remoued, but were generally assigned to the vse of the victors, to the end they might safegard their bodies which were sore wearied and wet with bloud and sweat, from the vnholsome ayre of the night: and making within them good and great fiers, they strued them as fit and conuenient places to feast and triumph in for the publicke ioy of that victory till the next morning. O the pleasant sport of vnconstant fortune! O the ridiculous estate of humane affaires! *Scanderbeg* is now Lord and Maister of the lodgings of the Bassa the Generall of the Infidels: and the rest of the *Epirots* likewise doe enioy and possesse the tentes and commodities which were not prepared nor prouided for them. In many places they found cloath, and napkins readie layed, and the victuailes set vpon the tables; wherewith they were merrie and made good cheere at their owne pleasures. Thus was the common and vsuall prouerbe verified: That there is a great distance betweene the cuppe and the lippe. Many horses were found there also readie saddled and brideled, as though they had stayed and attended for their maisters to mount vppon their backes, but they sawe them lying dead at their feete. But this notable spectacle of this new accident and euent, and an euident testimonie of the mutabilitie and inconstancie of fortune, was *Amesse* the King his nephewe. Of late he being a King of three or foure dayes continuance, with singular arrogancie and insolencie, did obtrunne all the fieldes of *Epirus*, and was attended vppe and downe the Turkish campe with the handes and voices of the common souldiours: but nowe behold how with his handes bound behind him, with out any wordes speaking, and his countenance cast downe, he is ledde towardes his vncle, to be made a spectacle, to the eyes of the common souldiours: who being victorious against him; were assembled to contemplate and looke vpon him, inuiting them all to commiserate his mishap: and some of them to lamente and bewaile his hard fortune.

Amesse brought prisoner to Scanderbeg

The next morning, *Scanderbeg* fearing least so many dead carkasses heaped vp together, especially in that hot season, might with stench infect the aire, he did vse towards them the last worke of charitie which could be shewed toward enemies, burying the maisters and horses altogether in many pittes digged vp of purpose. There was a great number found dead vpon the shoares and banckes of the next riuer, and of the waters of *Albula*, according as their feare and flight had caried them. The fieldes of *Epirus* (which had bene of old times of antiquitie much renowned for many great and notable battels) were made much more famous by this iorney and by this great slaughter of the Turkes. The greatest part of the day was employed in burying and enterring of the dead bodies: so that by this meanes, the resort of so many birdes and foules to that place (as is before mentioned) fell out to very litle or no purpose at all. These things thus accomplished, the *Albanians* tooke their way towardes *Croia*: for hauing gotten such good store of pillage and sped so well, they tooke no great care of forraging: besides that, the territorie of the enemie was a good way off; and many of them also (as you may gesse) were not escaped scotfree and vnwounded from this long fight and conflict.

At

At their disloding from thence, there were two souldiers of one squadron or company who fell to some words, and were an occasion that the departure of the King of *Albany* was somewhat hindred. These two at the beginning of the battell, had agreed to ioyne together in the Fortune of that daies iourney, and whatsoeuer booty was gotten by either of them, should be deuided and shared equally betweene them. After which, hauing plied themselues well in there busines, and hauing made a good hand, when they came to make partition, they fell to some difference and altercation vpon the matter: and (as is vsuall in such cases) from thence to iniurious and reproachfull speeches of the one against the other: so that in the end comming to try the matter by the sword, they were ready to cut each the others throat, for the deciding of their controuersie, & to know who should be the maister of that which was the cause of their debate. *Scanderbeg* being aduertised hereof, caused both of them to be called before him: and demaunding of them if they had dined, they told him, yea: then smiling (as he was a man giuen to be mery, and one that delighted in iesting) *Bacchus* (quoth he) hath made you enemies: and I will that *Bacchus* and not *Mars*, nor any other of the Gods shall make you friends. And after he had secretly reprehended & rebuked them, he sent them away, commaunding them to goe and drinke together: and hee willed *Vranocontes* to make an end of the contention betweene them, and to see that ech had his right and share of the booty equally and alike.

A quarrell betweene two priuate souldiers, for sharing of their booty.

Speech of Scanderbeg to two souldiers quarrelling together.

As the *Albanois* were now marching towards *Croy*, there met with them a multitude of the countrey inhabitants, and others who had hidden themselues in the next forrests till the end of the fight, besides the citizens of *Croy* also: all which with a wonderfull ioy, with high cries and sounds of instrumentes went with them on to *Croy*, so as a man could hardly haue seene a more goodly triumph: nor a more pompous shew: so gloriously and triumphantly did they march into the towne. For *Scanderbeg* (to make the fight the more beautifull and notable) caused all his army to follow after the multitude, well and orderly arraunged in battell array, and so to passe on euen into the suburbs. There was not any one of them (were he neuer so base and meane) but had at the least one horse gotten from the enemy, and loaden with infinite spoiles, which they caused to march before thē. Moreouer the prisoners being bound and tied together by two & two, in a long traine went before the King, and did greatly augment the pompe and shew of the triumph: and many of them, for the better acknowledgement and confession of the victory vnto their enemies, were made to cary the ensignes and standards which had bene gotten from them. Likewise the pauilions, tents, and canapies of the Turkish Generall being of purple colour, and making a goodly shew and ostentation, were caried by some of the souldiours of the *Albanians*, who bare them aloft, openly displaied, and spred abroad of purpose, as if they had bene ready dressed and prepared for the Generall: which gaue no small grace and ornament to the rest. *Ameses* had most earnestly and humbly entreated his vncle not to leade him to *Croy* in this infamous and miserable estate of a slaue and captiue: and therefore he was suffered to goe at liberty, and in another manner of order then as a prisoner, marching side by side with the *Sanjacke* that was captiue also. To conclude, at their entry into the city gate, the companies were dismissed and licensed to depart: the souldiours were sent away ioyfull and glad to their owne homes, after that the prey and booty, both prisoners and all the rest, had bene equally deuided and parted betweene them, as largely as they could expect or demand. The ensignes and other things which serued for publique shew & ornament, and fell as due to *Scanderbeg*, were caried with great demonstration of ioy into the city. The *Sanjacke* & *Ameses* were put vnder safe custody, till such time as they should be otherwise disposed of.

Triumph of Scanderbeg for the ouerthrow of Ameses and the Turkes in the battell of Thessalia.

I meane not to ſpeake any thing of the great feaſtings and ſolemnities which were vſed by the *Albanians*, for the celebrating of this victory, and which for many daies together they neuer intermitted. For it is now time that I conuert both my minde and my matter to ſtrange and forraine nations: and to conſider what ioy they conceiued vppon the report of this victorie. The fame and renowme thereof being diſperſed into all the regions neare adioyning, and euen into the heart and middeſt of *Italie* and other countries of the Chriſtians, it ſeemed litle inferiour vnto that which had bene formerly reported of the victory gotten againſt *Amurath* before *Croy*, and it was held to be comparable to any other exploit were it neuer ſo happy and fortunate: the admiration thereof did euen rauiſh euery man, and they could not ceaſe to wonder at the rareneſſe of the matter, when they heard the diſcourſe of the ſingular ſufficiency, and of the notable dexterity of ſpirite of this prime and peereleſſe Chiefetaine: and euen to this day is the memory of this notable victory preſerued in thoſe parts: for whereas the inhabitants of that Prouince haue a vſe and cuſtome (according to the laudable manner and vſage of the old and auncient ages in times paſt) to ſing ſongs and ſonnets in their ſolemne banquets and publique feaſts, containing a rehearſall of the moſt famous and noble deeds of their auncеſters, and of the worthy perſonages of that countrey; this victory eſpecially (as one of the moſt notable, and more excellent then all others) hath bene inſerted amongſt the reſt, and it is more often and commonly vſed in their ſongs & ballads then any other whatſoeuer. Infinit were the preſents that were ſent vnto *Scanderbeg*, infinite were the feaſts and bankets which were euery where frequented: and infinite were the congratulations which were vſed from all parts, according as that nation hath euer in ſuch caſes vſed and accuſtomed. This preſent victory ſeemed to haue annihilated and extinguiſhed the memorie of all thoſe loſſes and diſcomfitures which the Turks had ſuſtained, vnder *Haly Baſſa* and *Muſtapha*: yea all the honours and commendations purchaſed by their old and later actes, were now no more talked of in regard of this laſt exploit. The calamity of *Belgrade* ſeemed now fully & ſufficiently reuenged: and this reuenge had ſufficiently refreſhed and diſcharged euery man his minde, from all ſorrow, griefe, and ſadnes. The only pleaſure and whole delight of all men both ſtrangers & others, was to walke and wander vp and downe thoſe victorious fields, and often to viſit & ſurucy the grounds which did ſeeme yet to cary a froath with the bloud of the *Mahometanes*: their onely ſolace and recreation was to enquire of euery particularity, where ſuch an ambuſcado was laid in couert, and on which ſide the enemy was ſurptized & aſſailed: euen *Mahomet* himſelfe was no leſſe amaſed & maruelled at the ſtrangenes of this victory: for by a ſhamefull confeſſion of his owne feare, within a while after, he did allow the honour of this iourney, vnto his enemy: for when he ſaw his forces ſo broken & diſperſed, and had learned by the Baſſa the order of the battel, and the occaſion of his ouerthrow, (although perhaps there were many points wherein both the Generall & all the hoſt did deſerue worthily to be blamed) yet without any maner of reproofe giuen them, or in any ſort inueighing againſt them: he ſwallowed vp in ſilence (contrary to his wonted maner) the grief & bitternes of his ſorrow and diſcontentment. It behooued him now to thinke vpon the redeeming of the priſoners, eſpecially of the *Saniake*, whoſe impriſonment vexed and grieued him extreamely, and made him greatly aſhamed, in regard of his degree and the greatneſſe of his merites. Hee concluded therefore to take order for his deliuerance, and ſome other of the chiefeſt and moſt eſpeciall perſons: as for the reſt he made no reckoning of them. Wherefore the money was made ready & prouided, partly by the friendes and kinſemen of the priſoners, and partly out of the coffers of the *Sultan*, as the cuſtome and manner is. The onelie thing they ſtayed on was, that

Mahomet maketh meanes for the ranſoming of Moſſit his Saniacke and other priſoners.

That *Scanderbeg* should set downe the summe of their raunsome, and that some messenger should be sent from *Epire*, which might bring a safe conduct for them who were to deale in this matter. *Scanderbeg* at the request of the *Sanjacke* (who nominated two of his most faithfull and trusty seruants to that office) dismissed them to go vnto the *Sultan*, and to procure some order for their deliuery: the summe demaunded was fifteene thousand Crownes for the *Sanjacke* his owne person, and about forty thousand for the others, which was soone agreed vnto and graunted accordingly.

Consultation of Mahomet with his Bassaes touching the war of Epire.

Before that this Ambassade was to passe into *Epire*, *Ottoman* being destitute of all good counsell, and being rather broken then chastised with so many & so great losses, did in vaine torment his mind perplexed with so many cares, and the sundry opinions of his Bassaes did diuersly distract him, not knowing what course to take. Some aduised him wholly and altogether to abstaine from the warre of *Albany*, till such time as the tyrant being free and discharged from all other troubles and disturbances, might himselfe go in person with his best forces, and the whole strength of his Empire, for the finall subuersion of the *Albanois*. For by reason of his late misfortune in *Hungarie*, and the tumults newly raised in *Misia*, he had but bad meanes then to vndertake or effect any such matter. Others not misliking nor reprouing the former opinion, did perswade him to send a strong garrison to the confines of *Macedony*, which might be enioyned not to enterprise any thing vpon the enemy, neither of their owne voluntary motion, nor yet by any prouocation of their aduersaries, but onely to haue a care to the safety & security of the frontiers. Many also (vpon the former reasons of the warrs wherewith the *Sultan* was encombred) thought it not amisse (and they had reason) if that a truce for certaine yeares were demanded of *Scanderbeg*: during the which, the *Ottoman* Empire might breath it selfe from so many mischiefes, and till such time as they might finde some better oportunity, to bring this fierce and vntuly enemy vnder the yoke of subiection: for the second opinion seemed not to be allowable, because in the middest of so many ambushments, and against such stirring spirits as the *Albanians* were, there was no safety for any weake and small garrison: and to send thither anie strong and puissant forces amiddest so many newe accidents, and in such commotions and troubles of the warres, could not be done conueniently without a thousand discommodities. This councell being the most profitable, albeit smally honourable, and in some sort too too base and seruile, was best allowed by the greater part of the assembly. *Mahomet* for his part though this counsell did not a litle displease him, who had alwaies abhorred to make shew of such base and vile humor, yet because he could not well compasse all matters, nor settle his affaires, hauing so many enemies conspited against him, and his estate being in a manner rent a sunder and distracted, with so many great occasions, his proud and haughty courage did not thinke any thing what soeuer to be either shameful or infamous, or to his dishonor. Hereupon he caused one of those to be called before him, who was to cary the ransome of their companions,

Mahomet seeketh to haue trust with Scanderbeg.

and to him he opened the whole secrets of his conceipts: enioyning him expressly to deale with the *Sanjacke* in his name, and to will him to take vpon him the charge and managing of this matter, and to confer with *Scanderbeg* vpon the same. He sent also particular letters vnto the *Sanjack* (which afterwards came into the hands of the Christians) wherin he wrote vnto him: that in seeking the amity of the *Albanois*, and in the treating of the peace betweene them, he should haue a speciall care and good regard to the reputation and dignity of his Maiesty: for feare, least if he should shew himselfe too affectionat or too humble in the purchasing of the same, the enemy might grow too proud and insolent, and fall to disdaine both the demander & his demands equally and alike. The messenger went on his iorney more glad and chearfull for this his commis-

sion, then for the redemption of his owne person, and of his companions: for he was fully perswaded, that now for a time this thorne would be drawen out of their feet, & that the Turks being in rest and quietnes on those parts, should a litle breath & refresh themselues, from so many trauels which they had endured. But his expectation was frustrat, & *Mahomet* found himselfe much deceiued of his hope: as at other times both he & his father *Amurath* had bin the like. For when as *Messeit* (in counting of the money brought for their ransome, did interpose and propound many speeches vnto *Scanderbeg* according to the intent and instructions of his Lord & master: the *Albanois* tooke the money very willingly, but as touching those motions & ouertures proposided for the peace betweene them, he shewed himselfe so vnwilling, that cutting off his talke, he would not suffer him to proceed with his speeches, but gaue him this aunswer.

Answer of Scanderbeg to Messeit refusing to haue truce with Mahomet.

» I haue not (said he) so often heretofore euen in the worst & hardest times of my ad-
» uersity, refused the conditions of the peace which you then demaunded, to the intent I
» would now agree vnto thē in my prosperity: neither hath this my good fortune (such
» as it is) so depriued me of the knowledge of mans estate and fraile condition, or of the
» instability of humaine nature, that I do dare to promise vnto my self, the continuall &
» permanent possession of the same: or that I do assure my selfe, that I will alwaies so in-
» solently disdaine your amity. It may well be, that Fortune may put on her false maske
» and visage, & may make vs in time petitioners vnto you for a peace perhaps far more
» shamefull & ignominious. Notwithstanding whatsoeuer it be that the secret originall
» and occasion of matters, and the vnknowen order of the destinies, may bring vppon a
» man: yet are not we determined at this time in any point to alter our mindes, or to de-
» tract any thing from our former resolution. We do repute al kind of amity with you
» most shamefull and ignominious, as long as we see so many outrages & iniuries offred
» on all sides vnto the Christians: as long as we see so many wounds, and so much bloud
» lately and newly shed, wherewith both all *Greece* and the fieldes of *Hungary* are now
» ouerflowen. Shall we recompence the late losse of *Morea* with such a peace? shall
» we with a most base and cowardly truce, shame and disgrace that notable victory,
» and the late glory of the *Hungarians* before *Belgrade*? let *Mahomet* as long as he will
» seeke for peace, as for vs we will purchase our quietnes by the sword: and hauing once
» gotten and attained it, we will by the sword likewise seeke to maintaine it: and the
» rather for that it is not only your excessiue iniuries, or your notorious disloialty, but a
» certaine naturall disposition that hath made vs your enemies, & the hatred (wherwith
» the one of vs is armed and hardened against the other) is perpetual and immortall. For
» my part I am your enemy, euen by birth & by natiuity, and the enmity which I beare
» you is hereditary: my desire is not so much to get me honor & reputatiō vpon you, as
» to seeke the iust deserued reuenge of the bloud of my friends which you haue shed, and
» of the bondage both of my selfe and my people the *Albanians*: and I am fully resolued,
» neuer to make an end of these my trauels, till such time as I haue either restored my ci-
» tizens to their auncient estate, or rendred this my life vnto you, to whō it is so hatefull.

» All this could not make the *Saniacke* to desist from his pursuite: but putting him in mind, of the variable succes of wars, & withall repeating vnto him many accidents of diuers ages and times past, as fit examples to that purpose and effect, he told him, that if he did take so great a pleasure, & were so desirous of war: he might after the truce was once expired, returne to armes, and that he could neuer want occasion to reuiue the warr: that he demanded only truce for ten yeares, during the which time the forces & courages of the *Albanians* might be greatly repaired, and might be the better able to attaine to a more notable reuenge, and to purchase themselues new honor & reputation. *Scanderbeg* by litle and litle suffred himselfe to be perswaded, & he began somwhat to

to relent from his first obstinacy, seeming to hearken more willingy to the demands of the *Saniacke* Neuertheles he would not in any case yeeld to any abstinency of arms, not so much as for a moneth only: except that both *Sfetigrade* and *Belgrade* might be yeelded vnto him for a recompence. Thus without any thing concluded, did *Messeit* and his companions returne to their owne country: howbeit he had truce granted till such time onely as he had acquainted the Turkish Monarch with the conditions propounded by *Scanderbeg* in case the peace proceeded. There were many other Turkes permitted to depart in the company of the *Saniacke* (besides those 40. which were ransomed:) vnto whom the king of *Epire* did freely, and of the magnanimity of his owne mind, grant their liberty, suffring them without ransome to returne into their country: the rest also which remained, were deliuered out of prison: some of them becomming Christians and being baptized, did plant themselues to dwel in *Epire*: the residue were diperséd abroad for presents in a maner to all the kings of christendome: to the kings of *France* and *Spaine*, besides those slaues was sent a great quantity of horses and other spoiles of all sorts: and to other Princes were sent other the like presents. The citie of *Rome* as it had bin filled with the renowme of this victory, so was it repleniſhed with many of the trophees & ornamẽts of the same. Thus did *Scanderbeg* determine to the vttermost of his power to bind vnto him by his curtesie almost the whole world. Together with these giftes and presents did he send solemne ambassades, who had giuen them in charge to exhort all Princes Christian to concord and amity, and earnestly to pray them, that they would now at the length awake out of their long & dead sleepe, and that they would chase away that mist of darknes wherewith they had bin so blinded: and consider more aduisedly, the imminent ruine which was threatned to the Christian liberty and religion: that they would at the last seeke to redeeme it from the miserable and wretched yoke and seruitude of the Infidels & *Mahometans*, otherwise they should be well assured, that the plague which by litle and litle did grow within their bowels, would in the end pierce into their hearts. *Scanderbeg* sent also (which I may not omit) diuers presents vnto his great friend *Alphonsus*, which were so magnificent, that they caried the shew of a very beautifull and goodly triumph. *Ameſe* his nephew was sent also together with these presentes vnto *Naples*, where he was kept in a most straight and close prison, for the *Sultan* tooke no care for his deliuerance: and if he had made any such motion, I doe assure my selfe, that all the golde of the world would not haue redeemed him, for he was condemned to perpetuall imprisonment.

Messit Saniacke and other Turkes prisoners ransomed.

Scanderbeg sendeth presents & ambassades to most christian princes perswading them to concord and to take armes against the Turkes.

The mind & last resolution of the king of *Epire*, touching the treaty of the peace between them being related vnto *Mahomet*: he esteemed so slightly of the matter, that he would not vouchsafe him any aunswere: such was the haughtines and fiercenes of his minde, notwithstanding, that he were hard prested on all sides with infinite affaires of great importance, both from the partes of *Hungary*, and by daily diets and assemblies which he knew very well were continually gathered against him throghout all christendome, by the procurement and earnest meanes of the Popes holines. He prouided therefore a most strong and puissant garrison to be sent into *Epire*, for the surety of his countrey, according to that which (as we lately told you) had bin before decreed in his priuat and secret councell. *Hamur* and *Synam* had the charge of this commission, both of them being expert and polliticke warriours, and ech of them had 10000. horse, and 4000. foote: which number was iudged to be sufficient both to weary out the forces of *Epire*, and to haue terrified euen a most stout and puissant enemy: notwithstanding ech of them was expresly forbidden to attempt any thing against him, whatsoeuer occasion and oportunity were offered them, only he recommended vnto them, & gaue them in charge to looke to the defence of those limits which were assigned vnto thẽ.

Hamur and Synam sent with two seuerall garrisons to defend the Turkish frontiers against the Albanois.

The whole sommer being spent in this maner, both on the one side & the other, it

was now about the middeſt of Autumne: at which time theſe troups being diſlodged from *Conſtantinople*, the report thereof preuented their cõming, & was brought to the eares of *Scanderbeg*, who was ignorant of all this practiſe, for that he relied vppon the word of the *Saniack*, & he did expect ſome anſwer from the *Sultan*, whether he would either accept or reiect the ſumme of his demaunds: for this cauſe departing from *Croie* with all ſpeed poſſible, he went preſently into *Dibria*, where hauing leauied new forces, & renued his old companies, he attended the aduerſary with great deuotion, who ſtaid not long but that they came within 30. miles of the *Albanois*, where they encamped: but did not in any ſort enter vpon their confines. *Scanderbeg* ſtirred not at all, but hearing that the Infidels approched, he preſently ordered his troups ready to the fight, & ſo kept himſelf quiet within his camp. For the common bruit which ran vpon the comming of theſe forces, did giue them out to be ſo great & puiſſant, that it made him to imagine, that the enemy would come & ſeeke him out in that ſame place, & would not ſticke to aſſault him in his campe. And afterwards hauing notice by his eſpials and skouts, placed vpon the mountains, that they were encamped vnder *Alchria*, & that al their cariage were diſpoſed in that place: he ſuppoſed that the morning next folowing after they had refreſhed their bands, they would make towardes him, and offer to giue him battel: wherefore in the darke of the night, and in great ſilence & ſecreſie, he filled certaine woddy places, & vallies neare adioyning with armed men, thinking to haue encloſed them in the middeſt of his forces, and ſo to haue ſurprized them, if they had come forward according as he expected. Two daies and 2. nights did he expect them in this maner: but he could neither haue a ſight of the enemy, nor yet heare any newes or tidings of them. Wherefore *Scanderbeg* being impatient of all delaies, determined the day following to go and viſit them, and to prouoke them forth to fight: but word was broght him, that the hoaſt of the Infidels being deuided into two parts, *Hamur* did abide ſtil at *Alchria*, & that *Sinam* with the reſidue of the army, did take the champion plaine fields of *Pologne* towards *Mocrea*, where was the commõ entry into the lower *Dibria* & *Modriſſa*. For *Alchria* where *Hamur* did make his abode, was adioyning to the vpper *Dibria* & to *Sfetigrade*. Thus with notable aduiſe, they lay cloſe vpon both the Prouinces of *Dibria*: to the intent they might hold the *Albanians* in continual alarums, both on the one ſide & the other. Betweene theſe two garriſons or armies, there was 30. miles at the leaſt: for ſo much is it from *Modriſſa* to *Sfetigrade*. Wherefore the king of *Epire* hauing drawn together his ambuſhments that lay here and there diſperſed, and hauing ioyned all his forces in one campe, determined to leauy a new ſupply for the ſtrengthning of his bandes, to the intent he might the more conueniently part them into ſeuerall quarters, & ſo prouide for the preuenting of all perils on either ſide. All things being ſufficiently prepared, and his troups being quickly augmented with 1500. footmen, newly leauied (for it was not poſsible ſo ſodainely and readily to leauie horſmen) he deuided them as ſpeedily, though not into like and equall numbers: *Tanuſe*, and one of the *Streezes Scanderbeg* his nephewes, and *Peit Manuell*, with the third part of thoſe forces were appointed to haue the cuſtody of the lower *Dibria*: & in caſe they found *Sinam* any thing earneſtly enclined to the ſpoile of the countrey, that they ſhould make head againſt him, & repreſſe his attempts: for on that ſide was the danger much leſſer, & the entrance into the confines of the *Albanians* was the more difficult, by reaſon that the places were not ſo acceſsible, but (being naturally ſtrong and defenced) were entermingled with the vallies of *Mocrea*, and with many rough and ragged mountaines, ech ſeuered & deuided within themſelues, yet ſo entangled & combined, that although they were reckonned and comprehended within the lower *Dibria*, did they diſtinguiſh neuertheles the realm of *Albany* from the territories of the miſcreants. Notwithanding, both *Tanuſe* & his company were ſtraightly charged, that they ſhould

Hamur and Sinam with their forces encamped neare Alchria in Macedony.

Sinam marcheth with half the Turkiſh forces towardes Mocrea & the lower Dibria.

ſhould not in any caſe ſcatter them ſelues, nor be drawen out of thoſe limittes which were preſcribed them, nor that they ſhould not in any ſort aduenture vppon the enemy, but onely in the defence of their owne ſafety. The reſt of the army did *Scanderbeg* retaine to himſelfe in the vpper *Dibria*, hauing alſo *Moſes* in his company. Wherfore hauing thus reſerued the better part of his forces, and eſpecially his horſemen, & conſidering that the paſſages there were more free & open for the enemie to enter on that ſide into *Albanie*, he determined (if he could) to draw forth the Infidell to hazard the fortune of the field, and to aduenture the chance of a ſet battell. And he made no long delay, nor dwelt not vpon thoſe dumpiſh conceipts of his imaginations: but (becauſe winter approched, which is an enemy to warlike exploits) before the daylight of the next morning did appeare, he departed from his campe, hauing with him 1000. horſe, and tooke his way directly toward *Alchria*. Before his departure he very warily conueyed a good number of ſouldiers into certaine thicke woods and other daungerous places, for feare of being encloſed betweene *Sfetigrade* and the campe of the enemie. Hauing marched on for a while in the darke of the night, & placed his men here and there in ambuſhments neare the towne, he went backe againe to his campe: and not reſting himſelfe any thing at all (for that now it was about the dawning of the day) he commanded his companies to march, & to carie with them victuals onely for one dayes prouiſion. As for the cariages and their tents, they were not at all remoued, but he left a ſtrong troupe of good ſoldiers for their ſafegard & defence. The whole morning was in a maner ſpent in theſe preparations and in marching: ſo that he came at length within a mile of his ambuſcado. By that was it time to take their repaſts, and it behoued him to deuiſe vpon ſome new meane how to begin the fight, and to drawe forth the enemy. This was an eaſie matter for men that had bene long practiſed in that faculty, and yet neuertheleſſe it required great wiſdome and good aduiſe. *Moſes* deſired to haue the honor of that employment, and it was not denied him: and in verie truth amongſt all the *Albanians* hardly could a man haue choſen any other more fit or expert to entiſe forth the enemy, & to ſurpriſe him. *Scanderbeg* gaue vnto him 600 horſe, doubting leaſt if he ſhould go more meanly accompanied, the policy might be the more eaſily diſcouered. But altogether in vaine was this his enterpriſe: for *Moſes* hauing ſpent the greater part of the day in fruitleſſe skirmiſhes, returned againe to *Scanderbeg*, whom he found at his wittes end, and not knowing what courſe to take againſt the enemy: for to ſet vpon the Painim within his trenches with his whole forces, both the diſcommodity of the place, & the towne being aboue him, which commanded ouer the place, vnder the ſuccor whereof, *Hamur* had entrenched himſelf, did certainly aſſure him that he could not do it without euident danger. Notwithſtanding hauing lead his forces to a hil neare adioyning, he ſtaid there vntill night, and then he made a ſigne to his ambuſhments, that they ſhould retire to the body of his army: the morning following he diſplaied his enſignes in the field, & by light inuaſions, he waſted all the countrey on that ſide: thinking by the indignity of that miſerable ſight, to haue moued the enemy to make forth of his trenches, but the Pagan continuing in his wonted patience, & diſdaining the defence of a thing of ſo ſmal value, & which might be ſo perillous vnto him, kept himſelf ſtill within his campe: notwithſtanding I haue heard, that immediatly after the hauocke made by the *Albanians*, & euen as they were ready to truſſe vp their baggage, there came an Herald from *Hamur* to *Scanderbeg*, to acquaint him with the intent and meaning of the *Ottoman*: and beſides to pray and intreat him, that he would not weary both him ſelfe and his enemies with this vnprofitable kind of reuenge, by which he did deſtroy rather that which was his owne, then what was belonging vnto others: and conſidering that no man made any meanes, nor hadde any intent to hinder him, but that they did leaue all vnto him to vſe it at

Tauſet with others appointed for the defence of the lower Dibria againſt Sinan

Scanderbeg marcheth againſt Hamur purpoſing to draw him to the fight.

Meſſenger ſent from Hamur to Scanderbeg.

Answer of Scanderbeg to the message of Hamur.

» his owne will & pleasure: whereupon the king of *Albany* is said to haue returned him
» this answer: that well might they for a time delay and put off their misfortune, but
» they should not be able altogether to auoyd it: for that he was resolutely determined
» to spare for no dangers nor mishaps, but he would in the end bring and enforce them
to the combat. In this maner did they depart a sunder, for the coldnesse of the winter now beginning to approch, it was thought requisite that these determinations should be deferred to another season. Wherefore *Moses* being appointed with his ordinary bands to haue the custodie and defence of the prouince, and the most part of the army being licenced to depart, *Scanderbeg* in the meane time with a small company went to visit the lower *Dibria*, which was then vnder the commaund of *Tanusser*. There likewise did he not forget to put in practise the like sleights and pollicies, in hope to haue entrapped *Synam*: but all his cunning and deuises vanished away to nothing: wherefore leauing there one of the *Streezes* with a very small company, *Scanderbeg* him selfe tooke his iourney towards *Croy*.

During this winter was *Moses* very troublesome vnto the *Mahometists*, & he continually disquieted them with his daily alarums: notwithstãding it was more in shew then in substance, and therfore *Scanderbeg* willed both him & those of the garrison of *Modrissa* to desist from pursuing any such further attẽpts, for that they lost both their time & their labor. Moreouer it is reported, that those of *Mahomet* his garrison, as they had before in times past, so did they now againe vehemently pray the Christians, that they would not with such obstinacy seeke to purchase vnto thẽselues an enemy, who would not be drawn to haue any hostility with them: insomuch that neither condescending nor according any thing to their desire, nor yet much contradicting their requests, matters were protracted and drawen on till the comming of the new yeare.

1457. The spring being now come, *Scanderbeg* reassembled his forces, and lead them against the Barbarians, hoping by his daily skirmishes, to draw them forth to fight. One daie amongst the rest he had a desire, being entred with great brauery vpon the country of *Alchria*, to force and giue an onset vpon the campe of the enemy, but he was soone repulsed without any great labour, both by the liuely resistance of the Infidels, as also by the situation & aduantage of the place, which of it selfe was very strong, and hardly to be approched. The *Epirot*, howbeit for that time he was disappointed of his hope, yet being no whit discoraged, determined to augment his troupes, that so he might be the better able to effect his desire, but he made no great hast to put it in execution, both because the glory and profit would be very small that would grow by that attẽpt, as also for that it could not be compassed without great perill and manifest danger: neuertheless he maintained the enterprise, onely to the intent that the souldier being kept still exercised in armes (as it were in their particular trade and profession) should not waxe slothfull, and be spoiled with idlenesse.

Hamur conferreth with Scanderbeg, & perswadeth him to peace.

Thus whilest that the warres went coldly on, both on the one side and the other, *Hamur* supposing that it would not only be for the great profit & publike good of the prouince, but that it would purchase himselfe in particular great honor & reputation with the *Sultan*, if he could by his dexteritie disswade *Scanderbeg* from the pursuite of armes: he procured from him, by meanes of one of his people, licence to come and speake with him. Hereupon purposely he went to *Dibria*, carying with him very rich presents, where *Scanderbeg* at that time did soiourne with his campe. After mutuall greeting and salutations past betweene them, he tooke occasion to begin his speeches vpon the great benefits and commodities which ensue of peace, & vpon that concerning which he had before time treated with him: & so by a long circuit of words he endeuored to alter his mind, and to perswade him to yeeld to his request. Afterwards giuing him to vnderstand the particular desire which he had to be in his good grace

and

and fauour: he came to the end and concluſion of his ſpeech, wherein he oftentimes repeated and ſounded it in his eares: how goodly and pleaſant a thing it would be to ſee thoſe two great and puiſſant Princes conioyned and vnited in amity and concord. *Scanderbeg* would not with diſcurteſie reiect the gifts of the Barbarian, but accepting them very graciouſly, did returne him other in counterchange of no leſſe value. And as touching that which he propounded vnto him concerning the league of peace with his Maiſter, he made him this anſwer, as it were in choler and diſcontentment.

So ſuſpected (quoth he) is the faith, & ſo captious and deceiptfull is the demeanour of *Mahomet* towardes vs, that we can hardly digeſt and endure any ſpeeches of his friendſhip & amitie. It is not long ſince that we had an Ambaſſade frō him, by which we vnderſtood the ſumme of his demaunds: and we returned him againe with ſuch conditions as we thought meet and conuenient for the honor and profit of the eſtate of *Albany*: whereupon we expected his anſwer (for as touching other matters he was at libertie to follow his owne will and pleaſure:) but whileſt that we reſted in this expectation, and that the treatie remained in ſuſpence on either partie, and though we in the meane time had layed aſide our armes: yet did he ſo deſpiſe and contemne vs, that he thought vs vnworthy of any anſwer, which he ought not to haue done to his mortal enemy. Wherfore touching this motion of peace which thou haſt propounded, we are not minded to heare any further ſpeeches: but as concerning thy ſelfe in particular, if there be any thing wherein we make any offers of curteſie to our enemy in the midſt of our common rancor and hoſtility, there ſhall be no default nor good-will wanting, ſo farre forth as thy deſerts ſhall require it. As touching the ſurceaſing from armes, and giuing ouer the ordinary rodes and excurſions of our ſouldiers, I can promiſe thee nothing, neither will I tye my ſelf to any thing: for I cannot be drawne to like of any appointment: but ſeeing that I my ſelfe haue bene ſo diſdained, as greatly do I diſdaine to grant it. And albeit our vehement and ardent deſire of reuenge, in regard of thy owne honeſt and good cariage, may be ſomewhat abated and mitigated, yet aſſure thy ſelfe, that our publike hatred and enmitie ſhalbe in no part diminiſhed. And if peraduēture either the varietie of times or of fortune, do make vs that we ſhew not our ſelues ſo fauorable in this caſe: yet (it may be) that this our priuat friendſhip ſhall not be altogether vnprofitable, but that it may fall both to thy benefit & honor.

Answer of Scanderbeg to the ſpeeches of Hamur perſwading him to peace.

Hamur, after he had kiſſed the hand of him that was both his friend and his enemy, retired himſelf to his company, being neither altogether contented nor yet diſcontented with this anſwer. *Sinan* in like maner within a while after preſented himſelf with the like flatteries before *Scāderbeg*, at ſuch time as he vnderſtood of his being in thoſe quarters: and he found him not more obſtinate, then did his companion: for both the common people, and the moſt part of the *Albanian* ſouldiers enclining to the peace which had bene ſo long demanded, did ſhew that they would not make it very ſtrange nor difficult to accord and agree vnto it. Wherfore their minds growing by degrees to like of eaſe and quietneſſe, the garriſons were in ſome ſort leſſened and diminiſhed: in ſuch ſort, that that Sommer was ſpent and paſſed ouer without any troubles or tumults, or rather in great ſlouth and idleneſſe.

About this time happened the ſorowfull and vnhappy death of *Alphonſus* king of *Naples*, the report whereof being brought to *Scanderbeg* (who was then buſily employed in ciuill matters concerning his eſtate, and in other affaires of the prouince) it did ſo ſequeſter and withdrawe him from all occaſions both publique and priuate, and it did ſo wound his heart with ſuch extreme ſorowe and deepe griefe, that (hauing loſt all remembrance of his late victorie, and letting paſſe all care and regard of his enemies) for many dayes together in great diſcomfort he mourned for the

The death of Alphonſus king of Naples.

losse of his deareſt and beſt friend. And to ſpeake the truth, this king was not vnworthie to be lamented with the long and continuall plaints and teares of the *Epirots* and other his confederates, but euen the whole world might well deplore his death. And howbeit the cleare teſtimonie of his heroycall vertues hath bene publiſhed and highly aduaunced by ſo many worthy and excellent perſonages, yet might it be imputed vnto me for a great fault & ouerſight, if I ſhould not by the way (as it were) in a word or two touch it. It may well be ſayd: that when this Prince died, there departed the onely and beſt *Mecenas* that then liued. For all degrees and qoalities of perſons, both learned and martiall, as wel ſcholers as ſouldiers were left deſolate & deſtitute of their beſt patron, and had iuſt cauſe to be ſad and ſorowfull for his losſe. With him was extinguiſhed the iuſt and true reward both of letters and of armes, and the true ornament of all commendable exerciſes. There was not his like ſeene for many ages before: nor (be it ſpoke without the diſpleaſure of the poſterity) was there euer any one ſince him that was ſo vpright an eſtimator of the vertues and merits of other men. And it is no ſmall matter to be wondred at, that being a Prince of ſo rare & incomparable curteſie, affabilitie, clemencie and liberalitie, yet no one Prince of his time did leaue ſo great riches and treaſures behind him. Good cauſe therfore had *Scanderbeg* to bewaile and lament the losſe of ſo truſtie and puiſſant a friend: from whom (if we reſpect either his abilitie, or his willingneſſe) he might at all times and vpon all occaſions haue drawne any thing, both for his honor, and for his profit, as out of a plentifull treaſurie & ſtorehouſe prepared for his owne priuate and particular vſe. One thing onely there was, which did in ſome ſort comfort him, & aſſwaged the bitterneſſe of his grief: that was that he ſaw himſelf depriued of ſo good a frend, by the extremity & courſe of his aged years, and not by any rigorous or iniurious right of nature, or by other caſualty. That pietie and dutie which reſted on his part to be performed in this behalf, he diſpatched it preſently with all prudence and celeritie, ſending away with all ſpeed his Ambaſſadours vnto *Ferdinand* his ſonne: both to deplore the accident of the king his father, as alſo to congratulate him (as the maner is) of his new crowne and dignitie: and by the remembrance of his fathers benefits, & of the friendſhip and amitie which he bare to the eſtate of *Albanie*: to renew and increaſe this alliance and confederacy betweene them. This ambaſſade was alſo accompanied & furniſhed with moſt ſumptuous preſents, as he had alwayes vſed and accuſtomed: and they had expreſſe charge and order to bring backe *Ameſe* with them, who had neuer ceaſed to practiſe and make meanes by the authoritie and fauour of his friends, and the commiſeration of his owne miſfortune, that he might be reconciled and reſtored to the fauour and good grace of his vncle. He was as yet priſoner vnder ſure and ſafe cuſtodie: and albeit in this chaunge of the affaires of *Naples*, & in this new greatneſſe of *Ferdinand*, there were many and great alterations: and that in this new and publike time of ioye, the priſons were ſet open, & moſt of the priſoners ſet at libertie, yet to the intent that *Scanderbeg* might not haue cauſe to find himſelfe aggrieued, if he ſhould haue bene freed, there was eſpeciall care and order taken to keepe him ſtill in ward, as a certaine & ſure pledge of his vncles iuſt anger. This Ambaſſade was receiued and entertained with great honor & good cheare, ſuch as the tumult and ſtirres of that new kingdome would permit: for ſo it was in very truth, that all things were then in trouble & diſorder: and the peace of all *Italie* was broken and diſturbed by the deceaſe of the late king *Alphonſus*.

Ameſe being brought backe into *Epire*, was againe commited to priſon, and carefully kept in ſure and ſafe cuſtody by the order of his vncle, though not ſo ſtraightly as before: and that ſeueritie and rancour which yet remained, began by litle and litle to be aſſwaged, by the daily lamentations, teares and petitions of his nephew: in ſuch ſort that

The praiſe and commendation of Alphonſus king of Naples.

Ambaſſadors ſent by Scanderbeg to Ferdinād king of Naples vpon the deceaſe of his father Alphonſus

Ameſe returned into Epire: and reconciled to his vncles fauour.

that within a while after of a fatherly loue and tender affection, he gaue him both his life & liberty, and restored him to his former estate & dignities. Then *Ameſe* bethinking himself of the gages which he had left with *Mahomet*, was in great feare & doubt that if he should take the benefit of his vncles liberality, it might fall out euill with his wife and children. For this cause, after he had with great reuerence and humilitie yeelded thanks vnto the king for his great bountie and singular fauour, he spake vnto him in this maner.

Speech of Ameſa to Scanderbeg vpon his deliuerie out of prison.

Sir, it hath pleased you only in respect of your own patience & clemency without any particular merits or deserts of mine, to haue a regard of my safetie, and to grant me my life: it is reason therfore that I also haue some care to the life and welfare of others: for feare least if my ouer carefull desire to maintaine my owne safety & estate do make me to embrace your liberalitie, it may cause me to loose them by your beneficence & bountie, which I haue heretofore too carelesly lost by mine owne disloyaltie. My poore and guiltlesse wife is abiding with the *Sultan*, my tender infants and innocent children are there likewise: as yet are they safe and aliue, and so long will *Mahomet* suffer them to liue, as he shall thinke me to be your prisoner. But if the cruell tyrant shall once perceiue, that by giuing me my life & libertie, you haue estranged me from him, and that I am retired to your obeisance, the rigorous and seuere creditor, will presently either teare them in peeces, or will make sale of those gages of my faith and promise, and their innocent bloud shall beare the paine of their fathers fault. It behoueth me therefore (if your Maiestie thinke it good) that with some deuice I delude the *Ottoman*, to the intent that I may preserue those my pledges, and till such time as I may finde some good oportunitie to free them for altogether. This night will I flie out of the towne, as though without your knowledge I had broken prison, and so will I returne vnto *Mahomet*. There, partly by detracting and slaundering of their actions, and partly by hearing them detracted by others in the presence of that credulous Prince (as I was wont to do when I was in fauour with him) I will bring him into a perswasion by my dissimulation and faigning: that I am as much or more deuote to his seruice now at this present then I was at any time heretofore: to the intent that all matter of mistrust being taken out of his mind (if he haue conceiued any during the time of my imprisonment, and by reason of my long aboad with you, I may be the better able in the end to get away with all my family. It is in you much to further this my inuention, if you will make shew openly, that you are highly discontented at my flight, and doe impute the fault to them, vnto whose charge and custody you had committed me. In the meane time, you may be fully assured, and I humbly beseech and intreat you so to thinke of me, that during all that time which I shall be there expecting the houre of my escape, you shall haue me to be a faithfull espiall and intelligencer, to aduertise you of all things which the tyraunt shall consult or determine vppon. He shall not imagine any thing, he shall make no preparation that shall come to my knowledge, but you shall haue present and speedie notice of it.

Answer of Scanderbeg to the speech of Ameſa.

Scanderbeg did easily accord to his request: telling him that seeing he had graunted him his life, and all other things which might serue thereunto, either for an ornament, or to his contentment: that hee should not any way hinder him to vse it to his best profite and aduauntage: that he would in the name of God take it and employ it to the preseruation of himselfe, and those also who might lawfully claime and challenge him to be their debtour, both for their liues and also for their liberty. Go thy waies therefore (quoth he) take thy time and do as thou seest cause, and onec at the length correct thine owne folly whilest thou hast time and leisure so to doe.

We do giue credit to thy ſpeeches, and do allow of thy enterprize. If thou doeſt giue any faith or credit to the Barbarian, or doeſt continue & ſoiorne any long time in his companie: thou ſhalt neither hurt nor deceiue any body but thy ſelfe only: for thou muſt thinke that thou ſhalt bring both thy ſelfe and thine into extreme danger both of bodie and of ſoule. At what time ſoeuer thou returneſt, thou canneſt not do any thing more to our liking and contentment, and thou ſhalt be alwaies kindly and hartily welcome.

All things being conueyed & accompliſhed according to the plot which they had layed: *Ameſe* by the meanes of his vncle, was ſoone ſhifted both out of priſon and out of *Croy*. The next morning his flight being publiſhed and ſpread abroad, the negligence of his keepers was reproued with ſome ſharpe and hard words. At his comming to *Conſtantinople*, he did ſoone and eaſily perſwade the *Sultan* what he liſted. Notwithſtanding he was not fully and wholly reſtored to his former eſtate, honours and penſions, which had bene at the firſt beſtowed vpon him: the default whereof was not becauſe his faith was in any ſort ſuſpected, but for that ſuch was the iniquity and defect of his fortune. As concerning his returne againe into *Epire*, all his promiſes fell to be vaine, and ſorted to no effect, were it that he tooke no care, or made no account of it, ot that he wanted the meanes and oportunitie to conuey himſelfe away from thence. Whatſoeuer was the cauſe thereof, the report is that within few monethes after he died at *Conſtantinople*, leauing there behind him both his wife and his children. Many do hold that *Mahomet* cauſed him to be poiſoned, being not able to ſuffer and endure him in his ſight, whom he held to be the author of his memorable deſaſter and miſſortune in *Emathia*. Thus when he leaſt ſuſpected and miſtruſted, there did he finde the vengeance and puniſhment of his treaſon. Such was the end of

Ameſe poiſoned by the Turke at Conſtantinople.

» this perſonage, worthy no doubt to haue his name made immortall, if the greatneſſe
» of his minde, which was ſo greedy of raigne and Empire, had bene by nature ſeaſoned
» and tempered with ſome more moderation of ſpirite. But he that would be the chiefe
» and aboue all others, and could not endure the gracious and gentle yoke of his vncle,
» it happened vnto him as to thoſe of whom *Plato* ſpeaketh: who ſhunning the ſmoke
» and ſhadow of ſeruitude, doe fall into the very flame and raging fire of bondage.

» All this while did *Hamur* and *Synam* continue in quiet, not being in any ſort moleſted by *Scanderbeg*, vnleſſe that the licenciouſneſſe of the ſouldiers might ſometimes perhaps, without his leaue and licenſe, innouat and make ſome change and alteration. He himſelfe riding vp and downe the countrey, ſometimes amongſt the *Dibrians*, and ſomtimes in other places of the Prouince, did erect many buildings, and enlarged many things to the benefit and ornament of the Prouince, eſpecially in *Emathia*: where many goodly markes of antiquity lay defaced and ouerthrowen. The *Ottoman* in the meane time ceaſed not by the hands of *Hamur*, and *Synam* ſtill to ſollicit and to ſet forward the matter which he had ſo many times aſſaied: for the idleneſſe and long reſt of the Chriſtians, did put him in a certaine and aſſured hope, that he ſhould attaine to the end of his deſires: but hee could neuer effect any thing touching the generall truce which he ſo deſired: howbeit that *Scanderbeg* did obſerue his priuate amity with the people of the *Ottoman*, by meanes whereof the minds of all men being by litle and litle allured with the ſweetneſſe of reſt and quietneſſe, the hatred and enmity on both partes began to grow more moderate, and all the effectes of a publique and generall peace, the bare name and title thereof onely excepted came to haue their full force and operation.

The end of the ninth Booke.

THE

THE TENTH BOOKE OF THE FAMOVS ACTES OF GEORGE CASTRIOT, SVRNAMED SCANDERBEG.

The Argvment.

THE warre betweene Mahomet Emperour of the Turks & Vssuncassan king of Persia. The originall, continuance, the variable accidents and successe of the warre of Naples betweene the families of Arragon and Anion, with the descent and actes of the kings of Naples to the time of Ferdinand the sonne of Alphonsus. John the sonne of Rene Duke of Anion warring vpon Ferdinand king of Naples, is ayded by the Count Picenin and the subiects of Ferdinand who rebell against him. Ferdinand ayded by the Pope and the Duke of Milan his confederates, and being ouerthrowen in two battels is besieged within Barletta. An Ambassade is sent from Ferdinand and his confederates to Scanderbeg praying his ayde against the Duke of Anion. Scanderbeg making truce with Mahomet passeth with an armie by sea into Italie, and raiseth the siege of Barletta. The armie of the Pope and the Duke of Milan ioyne with Scanderbeg. The battell of Segian betweene Picenin and Scanderbeg, wherein the armie of Iohn Duke of Anion being discomfited, he flyeth out of Italie into France. Ferdinand is restored to his kingdome and reconciled to his subiects by Scanderbeg, who hauing bene highly honoured by the Pope and the Princes of Italie, and royally feasted by Ferdinand, hath certen townes in Apulia giuen vnto him and his heires, and that done he returneth againe with his armie into Epyre.

IT is most euident and apparant, that the changes and alterations which do occasion the ruines & grieuous accidents of Empires & estates by seditions or warres either ciuill or forraigne, do not happen in this world by any fatall kind of destiny: especially, if they be such as they fall together in diuers and sundry places, or neere about one and the same time. For we see that such changes do neuer chance, but that first some frantique humors, & inordinate desires in the spirits of great personages do alwaies precede & go before them: and they are the ordinary meanes to stirre vp the authors of such accidents to moue or to prouoke needlesse & vnnecessary wars. Whereby you may see, that the iudgement peruerted, & the furious passions of Princes are the first & next punishments of their sins and offences, and the originall causes of their ruine & miserable end. For when God (being angred at their iniquities) doth draw some men to the iust execution of their deserued punishment, he doth deprive them of their senses, & he doth so bind & shut

vp their eies, that they doe inconsideratly cast themselues headlong into the gulfe of their owne perdition which they haue drawne vpon themselues for want of good aduise & counsell. For the reasonable part of their mind, and the naturall vnderstanding being troubled and distracted by that inueglement & blindnes laid vpon them, doth produce erronious counsels: and their mad and outragious affections do carrie and transport them out of the bounds of reason, and make them cruell & vnsatiable, euen without any respect of their owne liues and welfare. Hence it is that rancours, partialities & distrusts do proceede & haue their originall: and then of these do arise wars both ciuill and forraigne, in the which men being drowned and ouerwhelmed, they find themselues plagued and afflicted with notable mischiefes and calamities, or with perpetuall ruine and endlesse destruction.

Now seeing the forepassed ages of antiquitie haue often felt the like reuolutions of estates & gouernments in the body of the Christian cõmonwealth (by means wherof the Turkes and *Mahumetists* haue appropriated vnto themselues the Empire of *Constantinople*, and haue gotten firme footing in their Signiorie, encreasing it excessiuely only with the reliques of the estate of the Christians) we ought therefore to acknowledge & confesse, that all those chaunges haue happened by the secret and immutable decree of God for the punishment of our sins and impieties. For in stead of reforming our selues by his diuine admonitions, and making profit of those examples, which he from time to time hath sent vs, not only the Kings and Potentates secular & temporall: but euen those also who were the chiefe Prelats, and had the rule & gouernment of the Church, would neuer be drawen to consider of the same, but neglecting their owne duties, suffred themselues to be caried away by fond & fooliſh desires, & by the vnreasonable ambition of their corrupt humors, stirring vp troubles and lamentable tragedies both by Schismes & dissentions amongst themselues, & by mutuall hatreds & diuisions amongst the peoples of all estates christian: by means whereof, they haue let slip out of their hands, and vtterly lost (which I cannot but deplore and lament) the most excellent & fittest occasion that could euer haue happened, to tame the pride and insolencie of the Painims with ease and facility: and to abolish both the law and memory of the Turkes out of *Europe*. The order of the times, and the course of this my historie do admonish me to make some mention, and to discourse of this matter.

VVarre betweene Mahomet king of Turkes and the Persians. Vsuncassan king of Cappadocia and Armenia. Malaonere or Demire king of Persia. Gampsa Sultan of the Parthians. Despina daughter of Iohn Comnene Emperor of Trapezond. Ambassade of Vsuncassan to Mahomet.

You haue heard how *Mahomet* being beaten in one yeare with a double misfortune in *Hungary* & in *Epyre*, was brought to this exigent & necessity to demand peace or at least a long truce, of one who was but a meane & pettie Prince of *Albany*, to the intent he might breath himselfe a litle from so many mischiefes & grieuous losses, & to reestablish his estate which was sore shaken & encombred. On the other side you are to know, that in a maner at one and the same time, *Vsuncassan* (discended of the *Assumbeians* of the Turkish race) and king of *Cappadocia*, *Armenia*, & other Prouinces neere adioyning, hauing lately slaine in battell *Malaonere*, or (as others will) *Demire* king of the *Persians*, a Prince issued from the auncient stock of *Gampsa* great *Sultan* of the *Parthians*: & hauing vsurped his Realme & Scepter, did ioyne himself in mariage with *Despina* the daughter of *Iohn Comnenes* Emperour of *Trapezond*, and the cause why these two Monarches did so contract alliance together, was to be the better able to preuaile against *Mahomet* king of the Turkes.

This new and gallant Conqueror *Vsuncassan* being puffed vp with the wind of his prosperous fortune, and with the forementioned crosses and aduersities of *Mahomet*, did send vnto him an ambassade with most rich and sumptuous presents, selected out of the huge treasures of the *Persians*, for a shew and ostentation of the glorie of his victorie, praying him that he would abstaine from molesting of *Trapezond* & *Cappado-*

cia, in regard they appertained vnto him as the right & dowry of his wife: (for euen lately before had the gouernor of *Amasia* ouerrunne and sacked *Cappadocia*, and did make euen *Trapezond* it selfe to stand in feare of the alarme.) The Turkish Monarche taking it very scornefully and in ill part, that one (as he thought) inferiour vnto him, should seeme to giue & prescribe lawes vnto him, & (as it were) braue him in his fresh and late receiued calamitie: and therewithall the felicity and reputation of this young Prince being very displeasing vnto him, he prepared with extreame speede and diligence, a mightie army, making prouisions for the warre both by sea and land against him, and transported it into *Asia*: and hauing caused one part of his nauy & sea forces to go before right to *Pontus* & *Sinope* towards *Trapezond*, himselfe followed after with incredible celeritie, & as if he had wings to flie withall, he went cleane through *Asia* with all his forces, & presented himselfe (beyond the opinion & expectation of all the world) euen to the view of *Vsuncassan*, by whom he was brauely receiued, roughly & ill handled, and greatly weakened in two most fierce & cruell battels. The one of which was fought by his Lieutenant *Amurath* Bassa a *Greeke* (discended of the blood of the late Emperors of *Constantinople*, and who lost his life in that battell) vpon the banks of the riuer of *Euphrates*: the second by *Mahomet* himselfe in proper person, in which he was repulsed & beaten back, & pursued euen into the trenches of his camp. Howbeit in the third battell foughten at *Arsengua* or (as some say) at *Tabenda* now named *Toccara* in the fields of *Anserina*, he reuenged his former losses, breaking the course of the good fortune & precedent victorie of his aduersaries, by the helpe of his artillery, whereof he had infinite store, causing it to play vpon his enemies euen at the instant that they were to begin the fight, & to giue the onset. For the horses of the *Persians* being terrified & dispersed with the vnusual noise & thundering of the ordinãce, did constraine *Vsuncassan* to yeeld to his misfortune, & to loose the honor of the field, and being put to the retrait, he left his eldest sonne *Zeinalda* dead vpon the place. Now come I to my matter, & I say, that *Mahomet* being reduced to tearmes of some extreamity, and his affaires standing but in an euill case by these cruell ouerthrowes which did in a maner shake his estate & Empire, might at this time haue bene beaten downe without euer being able to rise againe, if *Italy* & the other Prouinces of Christendom would haue giuen care & harkened to the continuall praiers and admonitions of the *Hungarians*, the *Greekes*, and the *Albanians*. But they contrariwise being more deafe then haddocks, did pursue their priuate quarrels, and mutuall hatreds & contentions, and (which was much worse) not contented to nourish the fire of domesticall & ciuill warres, they drew strangers to be partakers of their warres, and to beare a part in the subiect of their passions: for they implored the aide & succors of the *Albanois* in fauor of *Ferdinand* the bastard sonne of *Alphonsus* (who had appointed him to be his heire to the Realme of *Naples*) against the house of *Anion*, to whom in right that kingdom appertained. And in very truth that Prouince or people of *Naples* hath serued in all ages & times of antiquitie, for a notable example of the variety of humaine things, and of the vnconstancy of fortune. For finding the yoake of them that commaunded ouer them to be smally gratious or pleasing vnto them: they were neuer contented, and (as *Publius Sulpitius* well saide of them) they did neuer liue in quiet, except then onely when they had none from whom they might reuolt, or against whom they might rebell. The manner thereof behold by that which followeth.

Mahomet broken and defeated in two seuerall battels by Vsuncassan

Battell of Toccara betweene Mahomet and Vsuncassan.

Vsuncassan ouerthrowen in battel.

Zeinalda eldest sonne of Vsuncassan slaine.

Christians by their ciuill dissentions haue occasioned the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire.

Kingdome of Naples an example of the variety and vnconstancie of fortune. Neapolitans their humor & disposition.

Vpon the decease and death of *Alphonsus* King of *Naples*, (whereof we haue alreadie spoken) *Fernand* or *Ferdinand* his naturall sonne, though illegitimate, did enter vpon the crowne, and was seized of the Realme by the order of the last will and testament of his father, & by the dispensation of Pope *Eugenius* the fourth, which was

Ferdinand bastard sonne of Alphonsus succeedeth vnto the kingdome of Naples.

Calixtus 4. claimeth the kingdome of Naples by Escheate.

confirmed also by *Nicholas* the fifth. But *Calixtus* the fourth within a while after vnderstanding of his death, the tenth day following by an expresse Bull pronounced the crowne of *Naples* to be void and escheated to the See of *Rome*, forbidding *Ferdinand* vnder the paine of excõmunication, any way to intermeddle with the administration & gouernment therof: absoluing also all the Princes & Nobles of the kingdom from acknowledging any dutie or allegeance vnto him. *Ferdinand* hauing gotten the copie of his depriuation, did appeale from the Pope to the next generall Councell: but *Eugenius* being taken away with a sickneſſe only of some three or foure daies continuance (euen at the instant that he had stirred vp *Peter Lewes Borgias* his Nephew, to be a competitor to the Realme of *Naples*) it was the occasion that *Ferdinand* found some remedie against the troubles that were prepared against him. Notwithstanding this death of the Pope did not extinguish all tumults within that kingdome: for *Iohn* surnamed Duke of *Calabria*, the sonne of *Rene* Duke of *Anion* was then (as it fell out) at *Genes* in *Italy*, and the faction of the house of *Anion* did stand waiting but for some opportunity being ready to take armes, & to begin some tumult vpon the least occasion that should be offred: notwithstanding that *Frances Sforce* Duke of *Milan* (who tooke part with the *Arragonois*) did by an ambassade sent vnto the Princes and Nobles of *Naples*, encourage and exhort them to perseuer in their fidelitie and deuotion to their new Prince, and had retained them for the most part either by loue or by force in their dutie and allegeance.

Peter Lewes Borgias Nephew to Pope Eugenius competitor of the crowne of Naples against Ferdinand.

Iohn Duke of Calabria.

Frances Sforce Duke of Milan

But because the originall of this warre, and the subiect of so many hatreds & enmities which haue both giuen cause of encrease to the power of the *Ottomans*, & did keep the States of *Italy* for a time in suspence, & held the greatest Princes of Christendome for many yeares in care & perplexity, shall not remaine vnknowen vnto vs: it shall be needfull for vs to haue recourse vnto the times that were before, & in continuing the discourse therof from those daies to this present, we must in some sort repeat the matter (as it were by way of an Epitome) from the first originall of those troubles.

Charles the 2. king of *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Ierusalem*, nephew to the French king S. *Lewes*, & his wife the Lady *Mary*, daughter of *Stephen* king of *Hungary*, had 9. male children borne in wedlocke betweene them. Of those 9. we find that foure had issue, & of them we are now to entreat. The first was *Charles* surnamed *Martell*, the other three, *Robert*, *Lewes*, and *Philip*: *Martell* the eldest sonne succeeded by the right of his mother to the kingdome of *Hungary*, but he died before his father, leauing *Carolobert*, or (as the *Italians* in one word corruptly doe call him) *Caronumbert*: his sonne & successor in *Hungary*. *Charles* the 2. being departed this life in the yere 1309. *Carolobert* pretending a claime to the crown of *Naples*, as descended vnto him by the right of his father, did stand in cõtention for the same with his Vncle *Robert*, who alledged on the other side, that because *Martell* the father of *Carolobert*, & his elder brother was neuer seized of that kingdome, therfore the same was to descend vnto him immediatly by the death of his father. This great & famous question being debated and vehemently argued amongst the Lawiers of that age, (to know which of them ought to succeede in the realmes & dominions simply descending) either the Vncle or the sonne of the elder brother, who neuer was king: it was in the end decided by Pope *Clement* the 6. who gaue sentence for *Robert* and adiudged that he should succeed into the kingdome & crowne of *Naples*. And *Baldus* of *Perusa* a famous Lawier in that age, saith, that the reason which moued the Pope to giue that iudgement, was in regard of the publique & common commoditie, and in respect of the great good merits and admirable wisedome of the said *Robert*; and he ordered the kingdome of *Hungary* to the Nephew.

Charles the second king of Naples, and Mary his wife their issue.

Charles Martell king of Hungarie.

Carolobert king of Hungarie.

Baldus a famous Ciuilian of Perusa.

Carolobert then king of *Hungarie* had two sons, *Lewes* king of *Hungary* & *Andrew*

or *Andreas*, and *Robert* who was crowned king of *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Ierusalem* begot *Charles* surnamed *without land*, who likewise dying before his father, left 3. daughters *Ione*, *Mary*, & *Margaret*. Now *Lewes* the third sonne of *Charles* the 2. was Duke of *Duras*, & had issue *Charles* of *Duras* hereafter mentioned. The fourth sonne of the said *Charles* was *Philip* Prince of *Tarentum* in *Italy*, and he had issue a sonne named *Lewes* who succeded his father in that principality. Now *Robert* king of *Naples* approching neere his end in the yeare 1342. did ordain by testament that *Ione* the eldest daughter of his sonne *Charles* should inherit his crowne and kingdom of *Naples*, on condition she did espouse her selfe to *Andrew* his Cosin the sonne of *Carolobert*. This yong Princesse being thus made Queene vpon the condition afore mentioned, did marry with the said *Andrew*, with whom being vpon a time at *Auersa*, she sent vnto him in the night time, praying him to come vnto her, pretending that she had matters of importance to impart vnto him: who comming to her in great haste, was there taken and hanged vp at an yron grate with a lace or girdle of silke and golde wrought by the hands of the Queene herselfe. The occasion of this murther (as many pretend) was for that this young Prince (albeit he were of a youthfull and lusty constitution) yet could not satisfie the insatiable lust & appetite of his wife: besides that she was incensed thereunto by reason of the conspiracies of those of her bloud and kinred, who did aspire to the soueraignty & crowne of *Naples*. But whatsoeuer was the cause therof, she tooke immediatly to her husband (or as some say) for her paramour, *Lewes* Prince of *Tarent* aboue mentioned, her cosin german. This crime and horrible fact of Queene *Ione*, did seeme vnto al men so odious & execrable, that she made the good renowm & memorie of *Robert* her grandfather, to be now very ill reputed and badly thought of, and the report of her detestable behauiour was speedily published and spread abroade in all places. The Pope himself began to take the matter in hand, & perswaded with *Lewes* king of *Hungary* to vndertake the reuenge of his brothers death, and so drew him into the Realme of *Naples* with a most puissant and mightie armie, in the yeare 1348. notwithstanding the often letters of Queene *Ione* wherein she excused and purged her selfe of this misdeede and the murther of his brother.

Lewes 3. sonne of *Charles* the second king of *Hungarie*. Duke of *Duras*.

Philip 4 sonne of *Charles* Prince of *Tarentum*.

Ione Queene of *Naples* married with *Andrew* younger sonne of the king of *Hungarie*. *Auersa*.

Andrew the husband of *Ione* Queene of *Naples* murthered by his wife.

Second mariage of *Ione* Queene of *Naples*.

Lewes king of *Hungarie* maketh warre with an armie against *Ione* Queene of *Naples* for reuenge of his brothers death.

At the comming and arriuall of the *Hungarian* king into *Italy*, the sudden taking of *Sulmo* did so terrifie the rest, that they presently submitted themselues to his deuotion, insomuch that the Queene hauing her *Tarentine* in her company, fled into *Prouence*, leauing in her place *Charles* of *Duras* to haue the commaund and gouernement of her kingdome, who being also vanquished and taken in battell, was by the sentence of the king of *Hungarie* beheaded, as being priuie and partie to the death of *Andrew*. Of this *Charles* there was a sonne left, likewise named *Charles* of *Duras*. The *Hungarian* by this meanes in lesse then three monethes had gotten the possession of the Realme of *Naples*, and hauing left a strong garrison of *Hungarians* within the countrie, he retyred himselfe into his owne kingdome, carying away with him that young Prince of *Duras*. Hereupon the Pope being vrged and pressed with the daily and continuall pursuit and entreatie of the Queene, tooke the care of her affaires into his owne handes: sending into *Italy* *Guy* of *Limoges*, Cardinall of *Port* being his Nephew, who knew so well how to handle & conuey his matters, that he brought both parties to an accord vpon these conditions, that *Ione* should be restored to her realme and title of Queene of *Naples*: and as for the *Tarentine*, that he should only enioy the name of Prince of *Tarentum*: & moreouer, that after her decease, all her right & interest in her kingdome should remain to the king of *Hungary* & his successours. Thus *Ione* being reestablished, within a while after, she knewe so well how to handle her matters, & so to practise with Pope *Clement*, that in the yeare 1352. he crowned *Lewes* the

Sulmo.

Charles of *Duras* ouercome in battell, taken and beheaded by the king of *Hungarie*.

Tarentine Prince, King of *Naples*: and yet ſo that he procured alſo the King of *Hungarie*, to confirme the peace with both of them which had beene formerly concluded betwene them. In recompence whereof the Queene graunted vnto the Pope by way of contract and ſale, the citie of *Auignyon*, which was part of her patrimonie and inheritance, but ſo as all that money which was due vnto the Church for the yearely fee and ſeruice of the kingdome of *Naples*, from the time that ſhe came to the crowne, was allowed and deducted in the bargaine betweene them. About a three yeares after, the *Tarentine* dyed, being waſted and conſumed away by the exceſſiue vſe, and ouermuch companying with the Queene. But ſhe ſtayed not long without a companion, for ſhe coupled her ſelfe in mariage with *Iames* of *Arragon*, the infant of *Maiorque*: who was reputed the moſt gentle and courteous Prince liuing in that age. Him did ſhe retaine with her, not in the title of King, but onely as Duke of *Calabria*. Within a few monethes after, this Prince alſo died, the Queene cauſing him to looſe his head, for that (as ſome ſay) he was ſomewhat too amorous with another woman beſides the Queene. Yet there be ſome who affirme, that ſhe did only diuorſe her ſelfe from him ioyning her ſelfe in the fourth mariage with *Otho* Duke of *Brunſwicke* deſcended of the noble family of *Saxonie*, who at that time warring in *Italy* was in the pay of the Church, in the yeare 1376. and with him ſhee liued in ſolace and great pleaſure: during which time, it happened that Pope *Gregorie* the ſecond dyed in the yeare 1378. This Pope brought backe the Court and ſiege of the Papacie, vnto *Rome* after ſeuenty foure yeares, that *Clement* the fifth had tranſported it to *Auignyon*, to the great griefe and preiudice of the *Romaines*, whereof immediatly proceeded that great Schiſme in the Church, vpon the which our hiſtorie doth in ſome ſort depend. And to the intent the matter may be the more apparant, it ſhall be neceſſarie that I ſet downe the motiue and firſt occaſion of that Schiſme.

Auignion purchaſed to the See of Rome by Pope Clement.

Third mariage of Ione of Naples.

Fourth mariage of Ione Queene of Naples.

The motiue & occaſion of the Scifme in the Church of Rome.

The chiefe and principall men of *Rome* did ſecretly deſire and entreate the Cardinals which were aſſembled in the Conclaue for the election of the Pope, that they would at their requeſt chooſe one that was a *Romaine*, or at the leaſt an *Italian*, to the intent the Court might be ſtayed, & not remoued from *Rome*. The people with high voices and mightie clamors, cryed out in all the ſtreetes and places of the citie, that they would haue one of their owne nation: by meanes whereof, thoſe reuerent Prelates, fearing the tumult or the violence of ſome ſudden outrage, did agree with one minde and conſent to elect an *Italian*, with an intent afterwardes (when time and place ſhould ſerue) and that the ſtirres of the popular ſort were appeaſed, to proceede to a free election of ſome other who ſhould be taken & acknowledged for true Pope indeede. They therefore being entred into the Conclaue, and the commotion and inſolent demeanor of the common people continuing and increaſing, and being readie to breake open the doores vpon them, they made choiſe of one *Bartholomew* of *Naples*, Archbiſhop of *Barie*: vpon the tenth of Aprill in the yeare aboue mentioned, and they named him *Vrban* the ſixth. Some write that they choſe him vpon theſe conditions expreſſely, that notwithſtanding that election, whenſoeuer he ſhould be warned thereunto by them, that he ſhould renounce and reſigne the name and dignitie of Pope, and that they bound him thereunto with a ſtreight and ſolemne oath, which he promiſed and ſwore to performe. The election being accompliſhed, the Colledge of Cardinals wrote their letters vnto the Potentates, and Catholique Princes of Chriſtendome, that the ſame was holily and lawfully done, and themſelues for a time did acknowledge it to be ſo. Within a while after, eighteene Cardinals, or (as ſome ſay) fewer (of which the moſt part were French men) obtained leaue and licenſe of the Pope (who then lay at *Tyuoly*) vnder pretence of the extreame heat of the moneth of

Vrban the 6. created Pope.

Iuly,

Iuly, that they might leaue and be abſent from the Court for a ſeaſon. Hereupon by ſeuerall wayes, they tooke their iourney & met all together, firſt at *Anagni*, and from thence at *Fondi*, to the intent they might proceede in the election of a newe Pope, and this they did by the intelligence and practiſe of the Queene of *Naples*, who vnder hand had offered free libertie and ſecuritie within her dominions to conclude and go through with this election: her reaſon was, becauſe ſhe perceiuing her ſelfe not to be as yet thoroughly aſſured of the *Hungarians*, did deſire to haue a Frenchman made Pope, and ſuch a one as might be at her deuotion. In the end, when *Vrban* and they could not, or would not be brought to any good nor friendly accorde: they cauſed him to be cited to appeare at *Fondi*, and there they debated and handled the matter by certaine actes and proceedings in law, onely (in a manner) at the direction and pleaſure of Maſter *Nicholas* of *Naples*, who at that time was a moſt famous Lawier, and one of the Queenes Counſellors, and a moſt mortall and deadly enemie to *Vrban*. On the other ſide the Pope cauſed them to be cited, and in the end did excommunicate them for contumacie: and in the end, both parties caring but litle the one for the other: the Cardinals pretending that the See was voide, in September following at *Fondi* did make a new election, obſeruing therein all the vſuall and accuſtomed ſolemnities: and they declared for Pope, the Cardinall of *Geneua*, named *Clement* the ſeuenth, and immediatly they made it knowen vnto all Kings and Princes Chriſtian that they ſhould account *Clement* for the true Pope & not *Vrban*. To *Vrban* did cleaue and adioyne themſelues all *Italy*, *Almaine*, *Hungarie*, and *England*, with many other Princes and Eſtates of *Europe*, and he kept his ſeat at *Rome*: *Clement* remoued his ſeat to *Auignion*, and to him did adhere the Realmes of *France* and of *Spaine*. Thus you ſee the firſt motiue and occaſion of this Schiſme and diuiſion in the Church, by the which (continuing aboue forty yeares) both the whole eſtate of Chriſtendome was greatly preiudiced, and the inſolencie and power of the Turkes was mightely augmented.

M. Nicholas of Naples.

Clement the ſeuenth made Antipope.

But to the intent you may both the better conceiue that which hath bene alreadie declared, and be inſtructed of that which is yet behind: I holde it expedient not to conceale the cauſe of the enmitie which grewe betwixt Pope *Vrban* and that lawyer aboue mentioned. This Maiſter *Nicholas* was an excellent aduocate: and in many cauſes and proces which *Vrban* had had in the Court of *Rome* before his aduancement to the papacie: he was for the moſt part retained with the aduerſe parties againſt *Vrban*, as it often falleth out to ſuch as exerciſe the office of aduocates. *Vrban* being afterwards become Pope: diuerſe Kings and great Princes (as the manner is) ſent their Ambaſſadors from all parts to congratulate the holines of his aduancement to the papacie, and to ſweare obedience vnto him. The Queene of *Naples* was not one of the laſt: but ſhe ſent vnto him Maiſter *Nicholas*. The Pope (according to the vſuall cuſtom) made a great and ſumptuous banquet for all of them: at the which euerie one hauing taken his place, and the Ambaſſador of the Queene being ſeated in one of the moſt honourable and higheſt places, as repreſenting the perſon of his Queene: *Vrban* commanded the vſher of the hall to diſplace him and to ſet him lower with ſome diſgrace to the honour and reputation of this Ambaſſadour. He wiſely diſſembling the iniurie and his diſcontentment, tooke it verie patiently: and at his departure from the feaſt being in the company of a certaine Cardinall his friend, who was offended likewiſe at this diſgrace offered him: and vſed ſome ſpeeches to comfort him, willing him to attend and ſtay his time. Maiſter *Nicolas* then made him this anſwer: tuſh (quoth he) I haue two ſoules, the one of them I haue vowed to God only: the other I will giue to him that is willing to haue it: and from thenceforth he

The Cauſe of the enmitie betweene Pope Vrban and Maiſter Nicolas of Naples.

Diſgrace offered by Pope Vrban to M. Nicolas Ambaſſadour for the Queene of Naples.

"Speech of M. "Nicholas "touching the "diſgrace done "him by the "Pope.

perſwaded with the Queene (who of her ſelfe was ſufficiently vnconſtant) to become the extreame enemie of Pope *Vrban*: and Maiſter *Nicolas*, was the chiefe Counſeller and principall procurer of the proceeding of the election of Pope *Clement*. Thus you may ſee howe great and waighty a matter it is, to outrage or iniurie any man of a haughtie ſpirit and of a great courage.

Ione queene of Naples deprived of her realme by Pope Vrban.

Vrban hauing made peace with the *Florentines*, *Peruſians* and others that had rebelled againſt *Gregorie* the eleuenth his predeceſſour: bent and employed all his endeuours and deuiſes, how to reuenge himſelfe vppon the Queene of *Naples*: inſomuch as by a ſolemne iudgement he depriued her of her realme and Kingdome: in regard of manie crimes and offences, and eſpecially for that ſhe had fauoured and maintained the Schiſme, and had yeelded her obedience to Pope *Clement*. Hereuppon he inueſted *Charles* of *Duras*, with the Kingdome and crowne of *Naples*, and he wrote his letters vnto the King of *Hungarie* (with whom the ſayed *Charles* was then abiding) That he ſhould ſend him vnto him, and that he would crowne him, and put him in poſſeſſion of that Kingdome. On the other part *Clement* the Antipope, not thinking himſelfe ſafe enough at *Auiow*, for feare of the armie of the *Romaines* which had alreadie taken the field: he ſpeedily ſent a meſſage vnto the Queene, willing her to ſend him certaine forces, and a good and ſufficient conuoy to conduct and bring him ſafe vnto *Naples*: but the *Neapolitans* being aduertiſed of his comming, betooke themſelues to their armes, and with great tumult they told the Queene plainely, that they meant not to be troubled with two Popes at once, nor to enter into the warre vppon that cauſe and quarrell. She therefore and *Clement* retired to the caſtell, where hauing fortified themſelues for certaine daies, and in the end finding that it would not be for their benefit to ſoiorne or ſtay any longer in *Naples*, the Queene cauſed three gallies to be trimmed and made readie; in two of the which ſhe imbarked *Clement* and his Cardinals, and her ſelfe getting aboord the third: and with a proſperous gale of winde, hauing put to ſea, in few dayes arriued ſafe vnto *Auignion*.

Charles of Duras inueſted with the crowne of Naples by Pope Vrban.

Ione Queene of Naples and Pope Clem. at flie to Auignion.

Clement being viſited in great honour and reuerence by the French men, and (the proceſſe of the two Popes being ſeene and examined by the parliament of *Paris*) he was pronounced to be the true and lawfull Pope, and *Vrban* was denounced to be no Pope but a Seiſmatique: in ſuch ſort that both the kings of *France* and of *Arragon* did ſo take and acknowledge him, and did yeelde him their obeiſſance and ſouereigne honor. In like manner the Queene *Ione* being roially entertained & honored, did receiue great and rich giftes, but principally of *Lewes* Duke of *Anion*, the ſecond ſonne of *Iohn* king of *France*, whereupon ſhe ſeeing her ſelfe to be a ſole woman and without any iſſue, and more then that, being truely enformed of the practiſes and enterpriſes of *Charles* of *Duras* and the Biſhoppe of *Rome* (who did daily multiply and increaſe in ſtrength and puiſſance) ſhe did adopt the ſaide Prince for her ſonne: and ordained him to be the heire and inheritour of her kingdome, giuing the ſame expreſſely vnto him after her deceaſe: and *Clement* by his authoritie did approue and allow the donation made by the Queene, and in the yeare 1379. there were made letters Patentes and authenticall Charters to that effect. This was the firſt ground and foundation of the rights, which the ſecond diſcent of the houſe of *Anion* did for a long time pretend vnto the realme of *Naples*. Theſe thinges being fully eſtabliſhed and concluded, *Ione* returned to *Naples*, whileſt that *Vrban* in the meane time, perſiſting continually in his depriuation of the Queene, and the inueſtiture of *Charles* of *Duras*, did earneſtly and vehemently ſollicite the King of *Hungarie* both by letters and by agents to ſet forwarde that enterpriſe, and he preſſed

Lewes the firſt Duke of Anion, adopted by Queene Ione.

Ione returneth to Naples.

him

him so much the more, for that *Charles* being then with a great and puissant armie of *Hungarians* vpon the confines of *Treuisa* against the *Venetians*, by the direction of the *Hungarian* King, who was confederate with the *Genowaies* and the Seignior of *Padua* against the state of *Venice*: he was alreadie in a manner at the end of the iourney. *Charles* being fully enformed and verie well acquainted with the intent and pleasure of the King, and verie desirous to reuenge the death of his vncle, but much more greedie & desirous of so rich a crowne: in the yeare 1380. tooke his iourney with eight thousand *Hungarians* and a thousand *Italians*, and came to *Rome*, where *Vrban* receiued him with the greatest pompe and triumph that can be imagined, and created him Senator, which is the chiefest degree of honour amongst the *Romanes*. Afterwardes the yeare following, hauing strengthened himselfe with many other companies, especially with the armie of the church, he marched directly towardes *Naples*: into the which, by meanes of his practises with the Citizens, he entred at one of the gates: whilest that *Otho* being accompanied with the Queenes forces, did issue out at another gate, of purpose to affront and fight with him. In conclusion, being possessed of the towne, and consequently of the whole realme and especially of the person of the Queene: he caused her by the iudgement and direction of the King of *Hungarie*, who had expresly written vnto him to that effect, to be executed and put to death in the same place, and with the same kind of punishment, which she not long before had caused *Andrew* her husband most wickedly to endure and suffer. Her sister the Ladie *Marie* was executed in like manner being at that time the widdowe of *Robert* late Countie of *Artois*: to whom she had bene a most disloiall and vnchast wife, and was greatly defamed for her dishonest familiaritie with Master *Iohn Bocace* so greatly renowmed amongest the *Italians* for his eloquence and great learning: who in fauour and commendation of this Ladie, made those two elegant bookes in the vulgar *Italian*, entitled *Flammette & Philocole*.

Treuisa.

Ione queene of Naples put to death.

Marie sister to Queene Ione executed.

Iohn Bocace. Flammette & Philocole.

The affaires of *Naples* being setled in good order, *Charles* returned to *Rome* where he was annointed and crowned King by *Vrban* with great solemnitie and triumph. Yet for all this were not the troubles appeazed nor suppressed in those countries: for the Duke of *Anion Lewes*, hauing bene before solicited by the Queene, and being supported both by *Clement* and also by the *French*, both to ayde and succour that vnfortunate Princesse, as also to dispossesse *Vrban* of the Papacie, being readie to march with an armie of thirtie thousand men, or (as some say) of fiue and fiftie thousand, notwithstanding the death of *Ione*, he entred into *Italie* in the pursuite of his owne right and title: and comming into the kingdome of *Naples*, he passed as farre as *Apulia* vpon the territorie of *Barie* with good successe of victorie: but there being enclosed and prested vpon with the troupes of the Count *Alberic* of *Barbian* Generall of the church forces, and being enforced to come to the tryall of a battell, he was ouerthrowen with a great slaughter of his people in the yeare a thousand three hundreth eightie three: by the default of the Count *Anguerrant*, called the Lord of *Consey*: who being sent after the Duke with a supply of twelue thousand horse did not keepe on his way directly: but a disire tooke him to force *Arezzo* in *Thuscane*, whereas he should haue made haste on his way, and haue gone on to haue ioyned himselfe with the Duke: who being sore hurte in that battell with fiue seuerall wounds, (whether it were that his Phisitions and surgeons did not well heale and cure him of his wounds, or were it through the griefe and sorrow of his misfortune) he died the yeare following at *Biseilles*.

Charles of Durez crowned king of Naples

Lewes Duke of Anion entreth the realme of Naples with an armie.

Alberic de Barbian.

The ouerthrow of Lewes the first Duke of Anion.

Lewes the first Duke of Anion died at Biseilles.

The *French* being expelled out of the realme of *Naples*: to the intent it should

Charles King of Naples & Pope Vrban enemies.

not want new troubls and tumultes, fortune made Pope *Vrban* and *Charles* King of *Naples* mortall and deadly enemies. The occasion thereof was thus: The Pope being by nature somewhat rude, and of litle ciuilitie in conuersation, was come to *Naples* to obtaine his part of the frute and benefite of this late obtained victorie: where he claimed a promise of the King of *Naples*, & vrged him vpon the same a litle too rudely, to make one *Boutill* his nephewe Prince of *Capua*: who was a most vile and base fellowe & a man of no vertue nor other good desert, and besides he would haue had the King to haue giuen him also the Dutchy of *Duras*. The King was not verie well pleased at this motion, but delaying his aunswer, he put him off cunningly for a long time. The Bishop of *Rome* on the other side did insist and vrge him verie hard to bring his purpose to effect, but all was in vaine: insomuch that growing into suspition the one of the other, from thence they proceeded to open enmitie. *Charles* making a faire shewe and carying all matters honestly, yet did beare so good an eye vppon the Pope; that he coulde neither goe nor speake freely at his pleasure: but he being willing to get from him, obtained leaue to goe onely vnto *Nocera* to chaunge the aire: where he beganne to deuise and to consult vppon the depriuing of *Charles*, causing him to be cited, and that proces should be framed against him. The King in like case did practise with some of the Cardinalles his friendes, to depose *Vrban* from his seate: and to this end, himselfe in person accompanyed with his forces went to *Nocera*, saying: That he was come thither by his assignement to present him with his obedience, and to the intent hee would be neare at hand, to heare the iudgement that should be giuen against him. During this siege, some sallies and skirmishes there were made, in one of the which *Boutill* was taken and imprisonned. The Pope being enflamed with wrath and anger, discharged his choler vppon seuen of his sayed Cardinalles, whome he caused to be shut vppe in close and streight prison, and in the ende hauing them tormented caused them to dye as Sismatiques and fauorors of *Charles*. Whilest these things were in working, the Pope inuented a meane to get himselfe out of *Nocera* by the helpe of a great summe of money which he gaue vnto Saint *Seuerin* and *Raimond Vrsin*: who conueighed him in gallies to *Genes*, where being retired, he cursed the King of *Naples*. This Prince being neare to the end and period of his fortune which seemed to fawne vppon him and to flatter him: vnder the pretence and colour of a newe crowne, tooke his iourney into *Hungarie*: where the Princes and Nobles of the countrie did greatly desire and verie earnestly expect his comming, and did offer vnto him the sceptre of *Lewes* their King, who was of late deceased without any other issue then one onely daughter.

Boutill nephewe to Pope Vrban

Vrban besieged by Charles within Nocera.

Vrban escapeth out of Nocera to Genes and curseth Charles king of Naples

Death of Lewes King of Hungarie.

Charles before that time had espoused *Margaret* the sister of Queene *Ione*, and by her had two children a sonne and a daughter, *Ladislaus* & *Ione*: at his departure from *Naples* into *Hungarie*, he left the gouernment of the Kingdome vnto the Queene his wife and certaine of the chiefest and most noble Barons of the realme: himselfe being crowned King of *Hungarie* with the outwarde consent and liking of *Elizabeth* the Queene and widdowe of the late King, and her daughter *Marie*: (who notwithstanding did it altogether of dissimulation:) within few dayes after by their practise was slaine at *Buda* in the yeare 1388. The death of this Prince gaue occasion of new troubles and tumultes at *Naples*: whereby the house and faction of *Anioy* greweto be so fauored by fortune, that they became Lordes of *Naples*: and the Queene with her children was constrained to retire herselfe to *Gaietta*. This meane while *Lewes* the second sonne of *Lewes* aboue mentioned, (at the request of those that were of his faction) sent to *Naples* for their ayde and

Charles king of Naples chosen and crowned King of Hungarie, slaine at Buda.

Margaret Queene of Naples and her children flie to Gaietta.

succours fiue gallies. But *Boniface* the ninth a *Neapolitan* hauing nowe obtained the Popedome in the yeare of our Lord a thousand three hundreth ninetie, did disanull and reuoke the censures and curse which *Vrban* his predecessour had denounced against King *Charles*: and he inuested *Ladislaus* with his fathers kingdome: and caused him at *Gaieta* to be crowned King of *Naples*, *Sicile*, and *Ierusalem*: as in like manner the same yeare *Lewes* the second Duke of *Anion* tooke the crowne of *Naples* at the handes of *Clement*, by the pursuie of the King of *Fraunce*, and thereuppon made his entrie and was receiued into *Naples* in great honour and magnificense by those of his faction: howbeit that many of the Nobles and gentlemen, adhering and taking part with *Ladislaus*, did openly refuse to acknowledge *Lewes* for their Soueraigne. Thus these two Kings contending for one onely crowne, did confound all things with most piteous disorder, and destroyed the countrey: which they laboured and striued eche of them to obtaine as his proper patrimonie: till such time as the Partizans of the house of *Anion* (wanting money and treasure (the sinewes of the warres) caused the vesselles and vtensiles of gold and siluer belonging to the Churches of *Naples*, to be molten and made into money for the paiment of their souldiours, by the leaue and permission of *Clement*: who shewed himselfe to haue small deuotion and litle conscience. But all this notwithstanding, the Count *Alberic* of *Barbian* being created Constable by *Ladislaus*, presented himselfe with a strong armie before *Naples*: and after many assaults and braue repulses, he entred the towne and brought it vnder the obedience of the *Dirrachians*, with the rest of the realme also: and the sooner for that *Lewes* himselfe was absent: (who seeing himselfe in weake and feeble estate, and the towne to be deuided by the tumultes and practises of *Ladislaus* (whose places and strong holdes were well and sufficiently furnished) had withdrawen himselfe apart out of *Italie* into *Prouence*.

Boniface the 9 made Po e.

Ladislaus son o. *Charles* crowned King of *Naples* by Pope *Boniface*

Lewes second Duke of *Anion* crowned kin: of *Naples* by Pope *Clement* & enreth *Naples*.

Ladislaus the son of *Charles* of *Dur* as recouereth *Naples*.

This done, *Ladislaus* in the yeare of our Lord 1403. went into *Hungarie*, to take vpon him the crowne of that kingdome, which the Nobles of the countrie did cast vpon him: and euen in an instant returning thence againe to *Naples*, he conceiued in his haughtie and ambitious heart the dominion of *Rome* it selfe, by reason he sawe it deuided and distracted by sundrie factions and seditions: the which after he had twice attempted by force of armes, at the thirde time he caried and entred it as a conquerour in great pompe and triumph. This his prosperitie growing odious to the *Italians*, was a cause that *Lewes* gat the *Florentines*, and the Legat of *Bologna* to enter into a firme and strong league against *Ladislaus*: the which being concluded by *Lewes* his Ambassadours, he himselfe departed speedily from *Prouence*, and being arriued at *Pisa*, he kissed the feete of *Alexander* the fifth, then made Pope at that Councell: who confirmed him in the inuestiture of the Realmes of *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Ierusalem*, pretending that *Ladislaus* had forfeited them by his occupation and seizing vppon the citie of *Rome*. Yet did he refuse to crowne him, for that *Clement* had lately done it in *Auignion*, neuertheless he created him *Gonfalonier* of the Church, with especiall charge to march against *Ladislaus* the enemie of the Church, and the fauourer and maintainer of *Gregorie* the twelfth, who had beene deposed in that generall Councell.

Ladislaus made King of *Hungaria*.

Ladislaus taketh *Rome* by force.

Alexander the fifth made Pope at the counsell of *Pisa*.

Lewes confirmed in the realme of *Naples* by Pope *Alexander*.

Lewes first made a iourney into *Prouence*, and afterwardes in the yeare 1410. being returned to the territories of *Rome*: he there had assembled and vnited both his owne forces and those of the Pope, vnder the charge and conduct of *Paul Vrsin*, and *Sforce Costignole*. *Ladislaus* with his armie was at *Roque Seiche*, betweene *Pont Corue*, Saint *Ange*, and Saint *German*. *Lewes* comming against him,

The battell betweene Lewes of Anion and Ladiſlaus of Durus Kings of Naples.

and affronting him in ſet battell, gaue the onſet vpon him moſt courageiouſly, in ſo much as the conflict grewe moſt furious and cruell: and the prowes both of the one part and of the other was noted to be admirable: ſo that hardly could it bee diſcerned who was like to haue the better. The two Kings in their proper perſons did that day ſhew themſelues both good champions and ſufficient Chieftaines, and they left not any thing omitted that was worthie of generous and noble Princes. In the ende *Sforce* on the one part, and *Paul Vrſin* on the other, did charge ſo furiouſly with all their forces vpon the troupes of *Ladiſlaus*, that they made them to giue ground, ſo that being not able any longer to keepe themſelues in order, they were quite broken and diſcomfited. The battell being finiſhed, each partie retyred into his owne quarter, not any one remembring to purſue the victorie, nor to follow after the enemie that was defeated: who thereupon hauing gathered his ſpirits vnto him, and hauing gotten the leaſure to rally his forces, and to conſider of the matter: it cauſed him afterwardes to ſay, (at ſuch time as he deuiſed or had any ſpeech of this battell) That if his enemies had done their deuoire to vanquiſh him thoroughly, and to haue gotten a full victorie: the firſt day they might haue made themſelues maſters both of his perſon and of his kingdome, the ſecond day (if they had followed him) they might haue beene Lordes of his Realme, but not of his perſon: and the third day, neither of his perſon nor of his kingdome. After this ouerſight, *Lewes* neuer enterpriſed any thing in *Italie*, but retyring himſelfe into *France*, neuer ſet foote more in that countrie: hauing eyther by ignorance or I knowe not howe, ſuffered the benefite of ſo memorable a victorie to ſlippe out of his handes, which made *Ladiſlaus* ſole and abſolute King of *Naples*. Yet was he not at reſt from newe attemptes, being of a ſtirring, troubleſome, and ambitious ſpirite, as much as anie that euer liued. For he reuiued his olde attemptes, firſt againſt *Rome*, which ſucceeded accordingly as he wiſhed, and after alſo againſt the *Florentines* in which expedition, comming to *Peruſa*, he fell ſuddenly ſicke, and dyed without iſſue in the yeare of our Lord 1414: being (as ſome ſay) poyſoned the moſt ſtraungely that poſſibly could be imagined. The noueltie thereof ſeemeth in my opinion, worthie to be inſerted in this place: to the intent it may ſerue for an inſtruction and enſignment to the poſteritie, how pernitious are the effectes of auarice and vnchaſt loue.

Victorie of Lewes not purſued.

Speech of Ladiſlaus king of Naples of the battel betweene him and Lewes Duke of Anion.

Ladiſlaus poiſoned.

Auarice & vnchaſt loue two moſt pernitious miſchiefes.

Ladiſlaus was enamoured of a young damoſell of ſingular beautie, the daughter of a Phiſition, who (being corrupted and inueigled with an exceſſiue ſumme of money paied vnto him by the *Florentines*) did giue vnto his daughter an ointment of the iuice of napel (being a preſent and moſt ſtrong poiſon) perſwading her (as it was an eaſie matter for him being her father, and ſhe a ſimple ſoule of no deepe reach or conceipt, and beſides extreamely deſirous of the loue of the King) that if ſhe did annoint herſelfe therewithall when ſhe was to haue the companie of the King: his affection towardes her would be augmented by the one halfe. The ſillie wench did willingly doe as her father had aduiſed her: whereof ſhe died within a while after: and *Ladiſlaus* likewiſe being infected with the ſame poyſon loſt his life the verie ſame time.

A ſtrange kind of poyſoning.

His ſiſter the Ducheſſe of *Guelders* or *Sterlich* (as ſome will) being afterwardes named *Ione*, the ſecond by the death of her brother, obtained the crowne of *Naples*: this woman was nothing inferiour but rather did farre ſurpaſſe the firſt *Ione*, her Aunt in all kind of lewdneſſe, whoredome and damnable laſciuiouſneſſe and incontinencie: & ſhe caried herſelfe ſo much the higher, in pride and inſolency then the other, becauſe ſhe ſaw herſelfe ſuddenly aduaunced to ſo high a dignitie, beyond all

Ione the ſecond Queene of Naples.

hope

hope and expectation: and beſides for that ſhee found the eſtate of *Naples* in peace and quietneſſe, and (as it were) aſſured vnto her, were it becauſe ſhee had no competitor to the Crowne, or by reaſon of the great forces and huge numbers of ſouldiers which her brother had left her: for ſhee had an army of 1600. horſe, lead by excellent and moſt expert Captaines. Of this Queene there was openly and commonly ſpred a certaine verſe in Latine in manner of a prophecy, the effect and ſubſtance thereof in Engliſh is this.

The latter Queene of Durazline deſcending,
Of Naples Crowne ſhall be the finall ending.

Scarce was this Lady enſtalled and ſettled in the ſiege and roiall throne of the kingdome, but ſhee committed the whole managing and gouernment of her perſon, and her eſtate to *Pandolphel Alop* a *Neopolitan* county, whom ſhee hadde nouriſhed and brought vp from his infancy and tender youth, and with whom ſhee was extreamly in loue, and beyond all meaſure. For hauing lead him with her (as one of her houſhold traine into *Gelderland*, after her husband was dead, ſhee brought him backe againe with her into *Italy*, keeping him continually neare about her perſon, not without the publike infamy of their loue and ſecret familiarity. In the end when ſhe had intelligence of this bad report that ranne vppon them, and did vnderſtand the enuy that thoſe of the Court did carie to *Pandolphel*: ſhee maried her ſelfe to maiſter *Iames* of *Narbonne*, countie of *March*, deſcended of the roiall bloud and houſe of *France*, and her alley and kinſman: vpon this condition notwithſtanding, that he ſhould not vſurpe nor take vpon him the name of King, but ſhould hold himſelfe contented with the title of Prince of *Tarentum*, or County of *March*, at his choiſe which pleaſed him. The Captaines and great men of the kingdome being both iealous, and bearing a mortall hatred to *Pandolphel*, and to *Sforce Cottignole* afore mentioned (in whom only the Queene ſeemed to repoſe her ſpeciall truſt and confidence:) they gaue to vnderſtand to the County *Iames*, that he ſhould not doubt to come to *Naples*, aſſuring him that they would ſo effect the matter as he ſhould be king. And accordingly as ſoone as he was entred within the Realme, all the nobles and captaines went to meet him as farre as *Beneuent*, and ſaluted him by the name of King: onely *Sforce* ſaluted him by the name of Count & no otherwiſe. This act (by the iudgement of the whole company) was held to be a very proud and arrogant part, and worthy to be puniſhed with impriſonment. *Iulius Ceſar* of *Capua*, one of the Captaines of the company, began to grow into ſome altercation of words, and hard ſpeech with *Sforce* in the preſence of the count: but *Sforce* (vnder colour of parting and keeping them a ſunder) was lead into a chamber, and there arreſted as a priſoner: and his company or traine that followed him, were ſacked and ſpoiled of that which they had brought with them. After this the Count being arriued at *Naples*, and receiued with great triumph both by the nobles and common people, who openly called & proclaimed him king: he had by intelligence * *Chaſtel noue*, or the new Caſtell deliuered vnto him: and *Pandolphel* being taken within the ſame, loſt his head: and *Sforce* being kept vnder ſure and ſafe cuſtody, had bene put to death likewiſe, had it not beene for *Michelet* a famous Captaine, who being at *Tricarie*, and hauing ſodainely armed the companie of *Sforce*, poſted preſently towardes *Naples*, being accompanied with *Margaret* the ſiſter of *Sforce*, and the wife of *Michelin* of *Rauignan*, a braue Captaine and fine warriour: who arming her ſelfe, and being aſsiſted with certaine men at armes, belonging to her husband: when they were come neare *Naples*, they tooke priſoners foure Gentlemen *Neapolitanes*, whom the County had ſent with ſafe conduct towards *Tricarie*, to treat vpon ſome accord and agreement with *Michelet*. Theſe did ſhee threa-

Pandolphel Alop, the loue or paramour of Queene Ioan the 2.

Queene Ioan the 2. maried to Iames of Narbon County of March.

Sforce Cottignole.

Iulius Ceſar of Capua.

Sforce made priſoner.

This is the principall fortreſſe of Naples.

Pandolphel beheaded.

Michelet.

Margaret ſiſter of Sforce her hardines and generoſity.

ten, that she would cause them to be hanged, if her brother were not deliuered vnto her: which was the occasion of the liberty of *Sforce*. This was not the last ouersight of the County, for beginning also to deale ill with the *Neapolitans*, and depriuing sometimes one, and sometimes another of their offices throughout the realme, he bestowed them vpon *Frenchmen*, and sequestring the Queene from all commaund and management of the estate and publicke matters, he held her shut vp as a recluse in her lodgings: besides that he lay very seldome and litle with her, sometimes also vsing her roughly, and with outragious speeches, whereat euery man, and especially the chiefe persons of the Court began to grudge and murmure: but the Queene for all that seemed nothing discontented, but dissembling her malicious minde and secrete malice, by a feminine craft and subtelty: she made shew as if that kind of life did please her wonderfull well, as being remoued and estranged from cares and toilesome trauell: and shee gaue her selfe to dancing and reuelling (whereunto the *French* are naturally enclined) and so passed away the time in great shew of ioy and gladnes, howbeit that by secrete signes and sighes, and sometimes by close and couert speeches, shee did sufficiently bewray and open vnto her priuate friendes, her secrete griefe and discontentment.

Count Iames his ouersight and folly.

Queene Ione of Naples her subtelty and policy.

Matters thus standing betweene the Queene and the Count: *Iulius Cæsar* (who was of late the first man that moued and incensed the Count against *Pandolphel* and *Sforce*, and had thereby brought the Queene to conceiue a mortall and deadly hatred against him) hauing now forgotten the outrage and iniury which he had offred (a vsuall matter in men giuen to be iniurious:) he began now to sound the affections of the Queen, and in the end offered him selfe to worke the death and destruction of her husband. The Queene being both wary and circumpect, and yet malicious, and seeing occasion now offered her to effect two seuerall things at once, both to auenge her selfe of the iniury receiued by *Iulius*, and to recouer the good grace and fauour of her husband with her owne liberty: shee made countenance to harken vnto him, and to take great pleasure and contentment in his discourse: counselling him to be well aduised, and accordingly to resolue himselfe: and that at the end of eight daies he should come againe vnto her, to lay downe some order for the execution of the enterprise. Thus hauing licensed *Iulius* to depart, and in the meane while beginning an extraordinary kind of sadnes, shee secretly disclosed all the practise to the Count, shewing her selfe very carefull of his safety, and her disability to resist against the inticements and instigations of that traitor: and especially shee offered to the Count, that he him selfe should both see and heare the trechery of *Iulius*. Wherefore the eight day being come, shee conuaied him behind the curtaines of her bed, with some of his most trusty and faithfull friends well armed, and afterwardes shee caused *Iulius Cæsar* to be called into her chamber, who hauing disgorged and powred forth all the mischieuous and villanous speeches that might be deuised against the Count, and against the *Frenchmen*, did from point to point there make knowen and declare vnto the Queene, what his platforme and deuise was to contriue the death and destruction of the Count. Hereupon he issuing presently out from the place where he stoode, and had heard all his talke, caused him to be apprehended, and openly to be executed.

Iulius Cæsar of Capua intendeth the death of the Count: offereth his seruice to the Queene.

Iulius Cæsar his treason bewraied by the Queene.

Iulius Cæsar executed.

This demonstration and shew of the good will and affection of the Queene to the Count her husband, was the cause of her full release and perfect liberty. By meanes whereof, maister *Ottin Carracciole* being made chiefe of the nobility, and *Anequin Morinell* of the comminalty, by the consent and intelligence of many that conspired and were confederate in the action: they inuited the Queene one day into the towne to a feast, and from thence did conduct and conuey her in safetie into the fortresse or

tower

tower of* *Capua*: and immediatly they ranne to armes, and seized vppon the towne, and with great fury sacked it and chased all the French officers out of the city, and the Count himself they imprisoned in the Castell named *de Love*. Thus the Queene being restored to her absolute power and soueraigne authority, shee tooke vnto her for her minion and paramour, *Iohn Carracciole*, a fine young Gentleman, and of an excellent beauty, and him she created Grand Seneschall, or high Stuard of *Naples*. This man being not able to abide and endure the greatnesse and authority of *Sforce*, had a determination both to depose him from all credite and countenaunce, and also to depriue him of his life: whereof *Sforce* being aduertised, and being for that cause become enemy to the Seneschall, did seize vppon *Naples* vnder colour that he would deliuer the Queene from the tyranny and power of the Seneschall. The Queene being mightily incensed with anger, depriued him of the office of Constable, and stirring vp the common people against him, commaunded to kill him. In the end a peace and accord was concluded betweene *Sforce* and the Queene, wherein it was ordered, that the Seneschall should be banished to *Rome*, and that the Count *Iames* should be restored to his liberty according to the first couenants of the agreement made betwene them. This Prince being deliuered, imagined, and beat his braines vppon nothing else, but how he might ruinate both *Sforce* and the Queene: and shee in like case on the other side, conceiuing an extreame griefe for the exile of her Seneschall, was wonderfully displeased with *Sforce*, and maligning him extreamly, did deuise his ruine and destruon as the onely author of her sorrow and discomfort: in such sort, that she did soone condiscend to the will and minde of the Count her husband. *Sforce* being enformed of the daunger wherein he stoode, did very finely worke and contriue the restitution of the Seneschall, whose returne, and the reconciliation of *Sforce* with the Queene, did so feare and terrifie the Count, that he fled secretly to *Tarentum*, and being pursued by the Queene with an army, hee made his last retraite into *Fraunce*, where he passed the residue of his daies in the vowes and habit of an Hermit.

Capoana a castell within Naples.

Count Iames made prisoner in Chasteau de loue a Castell within Naples.

Iohn Carracciole, the minion or paramour of Ione Queene of Naples, made Grand Seneschall.

Sforce enemy to the Grand Seneschall.

Count Iames restored to his liberty.

Count Iames forsaketh Naples, and returning to France, becommeth an Hermit.

These things thus past, *Braccio Fortebraccia* of *Perusa*, in the yeare one thousand foure hundreth and nineteenth, did warre vpon Pope *Martin* the fifth, who hauing recourse vnto the Queene of *Naples*, that held that Crowne of him as Feodary of the Church of *Rome*: and because he had crowned her Queene of *Naples*, he obtained succours of three thousand horse, vnder the charge and commaund of *Sforce*, both to the great contentment of the Queene her selfe, and of her Minion *Carracciole*, who had long before bene desirous to be ridde of him: and Fortune ministred her fit matter and occasion to effect her desire: for so it fell out, that *Sforce* was ouerthrowen by *Braccio*, whereupon the Queene depriued him of all his honors, estate and authority, and she retained the saied *Braccio* into her pay and seruice. The Pope being highly offended with this ingratitude, tooke *Sforce* into his pay, and hauing communicated all his affaires with him, he fell to agreement and composition with the *Perusin*, and depriued the Queene of the fee of the Realme of *Naples*: and he declared for king in her stead, *Lewes* the third Duke of *Anion*, the sonne of *Lewes* the second, and of *Iolande* of *Arragon*, in the yeare 1420. *Sforce* according to the will and direction of the Pope, tooke part with *Lewes*, and put him selfe in his pay, and by his practises hauing gotten possession of the towne and castell of *Auersa*, kept them to the vse of *Lewes*: who in the moneth of August next following, did present himselfe before *Naples* with a strong and mighty army by sea.

Braccio Fortebractia of Perusa warreth vpon Pope Martin the 5.

Sforce sent with an armie to the aide of the Pope by the Q. of Naples.

Sforce ouerthrowen by Braccio is depriued of all authoritie in Naples, and Braccio hired by the queene in his roome.

Queene Ione depriued of her kingdome by the Pope.

About the same time it happened that *Alphonsus* king of *Arragon*, being departed from *Barcelona* had assailed *Corsica* by sea: and held siege before *Bonifate*, a castle subiect to the *Genowaies*, and named of olde the Port *Siracusan*. The Pope being

Alphonsus king of Arragon besiegeth Bonifate in Corsica.

Port Siracusan.

Don Garzia Spaniard.

at that time in *Florence*, there was one *Don Garzia* a Spaniard, who being a verie wise and politicke person, was ambassador from *Alphonsus* to his holinesse: Queene *Ione* likewise had her ambassadour there also, named *Anthonie Caraffa*, otherwise *Malice*. This *Malice* had a motion to the Spaniard, that if hee would perswade with the King his maister, to take the cause of the Queene into his handes and protection, that he for his part would procure that she should adopt him for her sonne, and should declare him for her successour in the kingdome of *Naples*: and so cleanly did they conuey this their practise and conceipt betweene them, without the knowledge and priuity of the Pope: that they concluded to goe together to *Plombin*, and from thence to *Corsica*, towardes the King *Alphonsus*: vnto whom the matter being propounded, it was held long in debate and doubt: for that *Alphonsus* and *Lewes* were cosins in the third degree, and there hadde beene expresse capitulations and couenaunts betweene them (when *Lewes* first began his attemptes for *Naples*)

Anthony Caraffa, alias Malice.

Sentence.

whereby *Alphonsus* had promised not to molest him in that his enterprise. But the desire of a Crowne is too great and goodly a thing for men to make a conscience how and by what meanes it be gotten: for how so euer it was, the effect made it cleare and manifest, that *Alphonsus* in the end did accept of the offer made vnto him, yet would he not in any case set foote within the Realme, before that the Queene had confirmed all the whole matter by authenticall writings drawen betweene them, and that she had put into his handes the two fortresses of *Castell noue*, and *De loue*. These sureties being deliuered, and the Charters of the adoption and succession of the Realme being orderly done and dispatched, and the siege also being leuied before *Boniface*, *Alphonsus* was receiued with exceeding honour into *Naples*, and was lodged in the *Castell de loue*. Many and diuerse were the warlike exploites and martiall seruices that passed betweene *Alphonsus* and the Queenes forces on the one side, and *Lewes* and *Sforce* on the other side: but in processe and succession of time, (I know not how nor why) the* *Arragonoys* and *Catalans* began to grow in dislike and disfauour with the Queene, and with the *Grand* Seneschall, and there grew diuerse suspitions both on the one side and the other. The Spaniards could not endure with any patience nor abide to heare the people cry (as they went vp and downe the towne) God saue the Queene, long may the house of *Duraz* prosper, with such like acclamations: besides in all publicke edictes and proclamations, there was no mention made of any other, then of the name of the Queene onely, and therefore *Alphonsus* determined to preuent her in that, which she perhappes, and (as he thought) did pretend against him: and that was to take her prisoner, and to seize vppon the estate. But the first thing that he purposed was to bereaue her of the councell and assistance of the *Grand* Seneschall, who was a personage of great wisdome, and of a deepe reach and sound iudgement, and therefore hee faining him selfe to be sicke and euill at ease, did continue three or foure dayes priuately in his lodging without going to court the Queene, who lay in the tower *Capouane*. The Queene thinking that he had beene sicke indeede, sent her *Seneschall* to *Castell noue* to visite him on her behalfe, where he detained him and all his traine, and at the same instant taking his horse, he went to the *Capouane* to haue seized vppon the person of the Queene: but this his counsell proued vaine and frustrate, by the intelligence which she had receiued by one of the *Seneschall* his seruaunts, who was escaped from the surprize of the Seneschall. Hereuppon the *Arragonois* betooke him selfe to open force, and besieged the Queene, battering the fortresse of *Capouan* with the Canon. The Queene finding her selfe thus hardly bestead, had recourse to *Sforce*, who lay encamped at that time for *Lewes* of *Anion*, at the Monastery neare *Mirabell*. *Sforce*

Desire of a Crowne knoweth no conscience.

Alphonsus adopted by Q. Ione and receiued into Naples

Spaniards, their pride and enuie.

The Grand Seneschall held prisoner by Alphonsus.

Queene Ione besieged in Naples by Alphonsus

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(hauing had the better in a great conflict against the Spaniard, within *Naples* at *Caſe noue* neare to *Formell*, and about the tower *Capomane*, did deliuer the Queene thence in ſafety, and conuaied her with all her moueables to *Auerſa*. At the time of her retrait from *Naples*, there were more then fiue thouſand *Neapolitanes* both men and women of all ſorts, who mourning and lamenting at her misfortune, did accompany her a great way off, with great ſorrow and infinite lamentation. Within a while after *Sforce* began to treate with her, that *Lewes* (who was continually reſident at *Rome*) might returne to the Realme of *Naples*, whereunto ſhe condiſcended: and more then that, when he was come to *Auerſa*, ſhee receiued him with moſt gracious and kinde entertainement: and beſides, hauing aſſembled many great and noble perſonages of great wiſdome and iudgement, by their aduiſe and councell, ſhee ſolemnly depriued *Alphonſus* of the right of adoption, and from the ſucceſſion of the Crowne of *Naples*: pretending that he had worthely forfeited it by the vice of his foule ingratitude, and ſhee adopted *Lewes* the third to ſucceed her, as her ſonne in that her kingdome, vpon the ſame conditions which ſhe had earſt propounded to the king of *Arragon*: giuing to vnderſtand by expreſſe letters vnto all the Potentates & Princes of Chriſtendome, both the order, tenour, and cauſes of the depriuation of the one, and the adoption of the other.

Queene Ione deliuered out of Naples by Sforce.

Alphonſus diſinherited by Queene Ione.

Lewes the 3. adopted by Queene Ione.

About that time *Alphonſus* being aduertiſed, that *Henry* his brother was taken priſoner and ſpoiled of his Crowne, by *Iohn* King of *Caſtill*: he reſolued to take a iourney into Spaine for his deliueraunce, which hee did accordingly in the yeare one thouſand foure hundred twenty three, leauing *Naples* in the gard and cuſtody of his brother *Peter*. In that his voiage paſsing by *Marſeilles*, and finding it but ill guarded, he ſurpriſed it by a ſodaine aſſault onely in hatred and deſpite of *Lewes*, and he vſed it as enemy. For hauing abandonned it to the auarice and inſolency of his ſouldiours, that which he was not able to cary away, he cauſed to be burnt and conſumed with the fire: onely the women were ſaued and preſerued from the violence and outrage of the ſouldiours, the King hauing cauſed them to retire into a Church, whileſt the towne was rifled and ſacked. Of the infinite treaſures and riches which were found within the city, he reſerued nothing to himſelfe (as the report is) but onely the body of Saint *Lewes* late Archbiſhop of *Tholouſe*, the ſonne of *Charles* the ſecond king of *Naples*: the which he caried from thence, and cauſed it to be placed moſt religiouſly in a certaine ſpeciall place within the city of *Valentia* in *Spaine*, ſaying: that it was not a thing either decent or conuenient, in a towne which was burnt and deſtroied, to leaue ſo holy and precious a relique.

Alphonſus returneth into Spaine.

Marſeilles ſurpriſed by Alphonſus.

S. Lewes his body caried away from Marſeilles by Alphonſus.

Deuotion without piety or religion.

Lewes lately made King was not idle in this meane while, but he did preſently put in execution the practiſes newly concluded on, betweene Pope *Martin*, the Queene of *Naples*, *Philip* Duke of *Milan*, and the *Genowaies*. For by their meanes was *Naples* ſodainely and in an inſtant beſieged and encloſed both by Sea, with the forces and fleete of the Duke of *Milan*, and by land with the armes of *Frauncis Sforce*, the ſonne of *Sforce Cottignole* lately deceaſed: in ſo much that without any great violence or effuſion of bloud, it was recouered for the Queene in the yeare, one thouſand foure hundred twenty foure. Now Queene *Ione* being ſo happily reſtored and reinueſted in her eſtate, made her entry into *Naples*, hauing in her company the Graund Seneſchall (who was of late eſchaunged for twelue *Catalans* or Spaniſhe Nobles, by the liberality and curteſie of *Sforce* afore mentioned, who might haue hadde foure ſcore thouſand Crownes for their rauoſome,) and *Lewes* alſo her adopted and elected ſonne, whom ſhee had created Duke of *Calabria*, being the title ordinarily giuen to the eldeſt ſonne of the Kings and Princes of *Naples*)

Naples beſieged by Philip Duke of Milan. Francis Sforce, the ſonne of Sforce Cottignole deceaſed. Naples recouered for Queene Ione. Graund Seneſchall of Naples raunſomed by Sforce.

was with her at the ſame time of her returne to the Citie of *Naples*. Nowe albeit ſhe was not altogether free and exempted from troubles, but that the towne was ſometimes endommaged by the artillerie of *Caſtell nowe* (which was ſtill at the deuotion of the *Spaniard*): neuertheleſſe ſhe liued ſufficiently well and happily in her realme, vntill the yeare a thouſand, foure hundred, thirtie two, at which time the Graund Seneſhall (who till that time had with moſt happie and proſperous fortune commaunded, and in a manner abſolutely ruled all the realme) was then ouertaken and enſnared by the Queene, as you ſhall perceiue by that which followeth. Within a while after he had ſolemnized the marriage of his ſonne with one of the daughters of *Iames Caldore*, euen when he ſawe him ſelfe (as a man may ſay) ſitting aloft vpon the wheele of Fortune: one Monday about midnight, being lodged within the tower *Capouane*, certaine perſons by the ſpeciall commaundement of the Queene, and ſome other of the Nobles confederated with her, went vnto his lodging, knocking and calling at his chamber doore, and willing him to ariſe ſpeedily, and to make haſt to come to the Queene: ſaying, that by reaſon of a ſudden accident which was befallen her, ſhe was in great daunger and perill of death. The Seneſhall riſing ſuddenly to make him ſelfe readie, commaunded his page to open the doore. Thereupon they without being armed, entred the chamber and ſlue him out of hand: and hauing almoſt cut off one of his legges, they cauſed him to be caried all naked out of *Capouane* without anie pompe at all, as the moſt vile and wretched creature liuing. A moſt miſerable and vnhappie example of the inconſtancie of Fortune, and may ſerue for a notable inſtruction and admonition to all ſuch perſons, who relying vpon the fickle loue and immoderate affections of woman kind, do found the greatneſſe of their fortune vpon their vaine and vnconſtant fauours.

Grand Seneſhall of Naples ſlaine.

Sentence, The immoderate loue and fauor of women, vaine, for any man to build his fortune on.

Lewes being ſent by Commiſſion of the Queene againſt *Iohn Anthonie Vrſin* Prince of *Tarentum*: (who taking part with *Alphonſus*, did trouble and moleſt *Calabria*, when he came to *Coſſence* fell ſicke of a feauer, and there dyed, in the yeare of our Lord a thouſand, foure hundred, thirtie fower, to the great griefe and ſorow of the whole kingdome: for that he was a Prince of ſingular curteſie and benignitie, and there was eſpeciall hope of his good cariage and behauiour. The Queene liued not long after, but hauing raigned twentie yeares ſhe departed this life, hauing ordained by her laſt will and teſtament that *Rene* Duke of *Barre*, brother of the ſayd *Lewes* ſhould be her heire: (albeit that ſome doubt of this her laſt will, and ſay, it was falſified and counterfaited after her death. Thus the houſe and familie of *Duras*, which had bene ſo notable and famous by ſo manie deſcents, came nowe to haue an end, as it is likewiſe fatall to all other humane and earthly things.

Lewes the third Duke of Anion and Calabria his death.

Ione 2. Queene of Naples death.

Rene Duke of Barre ordained to be heire to Queene Ione.

Duke *Rene* being called and ſent for by the principall perſons and chiefe Nobles of the realme, could not go to take the inueſtiture of the kingdome of *Naples*, by reaſon that he was for a long time held priſoner in *Burgundie*, where he had bene reſtrained of his libertie after the loſſe of the battell of *Blainuille*, in the yeare a thouſand, foure hundred, thirtie one, againſt the Earle of *Vaudemont*, and the Marſhall of *Burgundie*: and therefore he ſent thither *Iſabell* his wife, and his children: who being ayded and ſuccoured by Pope *Eugenius* with a power of three thouſand footemen vnder the leading and conduct of the Patriarke of *Aquileia*, brought certaine places vnder her gouernement and obeiſſaunce. On the other ſide, the king *Alphonſus* (as if Fortune had meant and ſtriued to ballaunce both parties equally and alike) vnderſtanding of the death of the Queene, and hauing beſieged *Gaietta*, was vanquiſhed in a battell at ſea by *Philip* Duke of *Millan* and the *Genowayes*: and being there taken by his enemies, was ledde priſoner to *Millan*. But he found the *Italian* Duke

Rene Duke of Barre priſoner in Burgundie.

Eugenius Pope

Alphonſus taken priſoner by the Duke of Millan.

more

more gracious and friendly vnto him, then the *Burgonian* was to the *Angeuin*: for besides the great respect, wherewith he was vsed by the *Millanois*, and the good entertainement which he receiued at his handes, they, oftentimes meeting and falling into familiar discourses and seuerall deuises the one with the other, the manners, the speeches, the fashions and good behauiour of *Alphonsus* (for he was a most absolute and accomplished Prince) did so exceedingly please and content the humour of this Duke, that (in regard of the inward and rare amitie which this familiaritie and acquaintance bred betweene them) it may well be sayd: that his misfortune was the readie way to his good fortune, and did purchase him the realme which he so earnestly affected. For the Duke of *Millan* then growing suspicious of the power and puissance of the French, for the loue of the *Spaniard* did renounce the friendship and alliance of Fraunce, and leagued him selfe with their enemie, to the recouerie and conquest of *Naples*: in such sort, that hauing suddenly graunted him his free libertie, *Alphonsus* was the first that set foote within the kingdome of *Naples*: by meanes whereof (as the prouerbe is) being first come, he was first serued, and his right preuailed by reason of the absence of *Rene*, so that he insinuated him selfe verie highly into the fauour and affections, both of the Princes, & Nobles, and of the people of the countrey. Neuertheles within a while after, *Rene* being also deliuered out of *Burgundy*, and being entred into *Naples* in the yeare of our Lord 1438. he regained all her castles and strong holdes one peece after another, which till that time had bene in the custodie and possession of the *Arragonian*. But *Alphonsus* increasing in strength from day to day, came at length to besiege *Naples* with fifteene thousand men at land, and ten gallies, lying before the hauen or port of the citie: and he perseuered so obstinately in his siege, that there dayly passed many goodly exploites, and glorious deedes of armes betweene the assaylants and the defendants: notwithstanding both he and his troupes might haue dwelt long enough before the walles of *Naples*, if they had not bene holpen by the aduertisements of a certaine Mason named *Anell*: who being pricked on with the hope of gaine, did aduenture his life to augment the glory and good fortune of *Alphonsus*. For conueying him selfe closely and priuily foorth of the towne: he shewed him an auncient cesterne, or water course, which couertly led vnder the ground into the towne, by the which he conueyed in two hundred men hardie and resolute, who issuing forth into the citie by a pit or hollow vault, did seize vpon a certaine turret: where maintaining the fight for a long season (whilest the *Catalans* in the meane time, partly by escalado, and partly by breaking of the port *S. Genare* did make them selues way, and gayned the towne) by this meanes he became Lord of the Citie, hauing constrained *Rene* to retire him selfe into Castell noue.

Alphonsus set at liberty by the Duke of Millan.

Rene Duke of Barre set at libertie, and regaineth Naples and all her fortresses.

Naples besieged by Alphonsus.

Anell a mason betrayeth Naples.

Naples taken by Alphonsus.

Thus *Alphonsus* in the yeare a thousand, foure hundred, fortie two, and the one and twentieth after his first expedition, obtained the kingdome and Citie of *Naples*: the which nine hundred & fiue yeares before was recouered from the *Gothes*, by that princely chieftaine *Belisarius*, by meanes of the same conduit or water course. There remained yet the three Castels or fortresses, namely the *Capouane*, the mountaine or Castell of Saint *Hereme*, and the *Castell noue*: all which, king *Rene* being not able to defend and succour them, did followe the estate and condition of the residue of the towne, and became *Arragonois*, both them and all the realme: and the Prince of *Anion* forced to forgoe the doubtfull and turbulent possession of that kingdome, which he had held for the space of sixe yeares or thereabouts. *Alphonsus* after he had in great rest and securitie quietly enioyed the Royall scepter for sixteene yeares together, did then depart this life, leauing behind him one onely sonne, illegitimate, na-

Belisarius.

Rene enforced to forgoe Naples.

Alphonsus king of Naples his death.

med *Ferdinand* or *Fernand*, who being appointed by his father to haue the inheritance of the Crowne and kingdome of *Naples*: yet (being but meanely fauoured or beloued by the countrey) did not enioy it with like quietneſſe, nor with the publike tranquillitie: which was the occaſion, that hee vſed all meanes and poſſible diligence to ſecure and aſſure vnto him ſelfe a quiet and peaceable poſſeſſion of the kingdome.

Pope Pius 2.

The firſt thing that he did, was to make Pope *Pius* the ſecond his friend and well-willer: who being a *Siennois* borne, was of late ſubſtituted into the place of *Calixtus*. This did he compaſſe and bring to paſſe, by the mediation and intreatie of the Duke of *Millan*, and by the reſtitution of the Dutchie of *Spoleta* to the Church: the which, vpon the death of *Calixtus*, the Count *Iames Picenin* had vſurped vpon *Peter Lewes Borgia* his nephewe. The Pope, being wonne vnto him by this curteſie, did crowne *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*, *Sicilie*, and *Ieruſalem*: on this condition, that he ſhould reſtore to the obeiſſance of the Church of *Rome*, *Benuent* and *Terracine*, which his father had vſurped vppon the ſtate Eccleſiaſticall. Moreouer, in the yeare next following, at the Councell which was called and kept at *Mantua* by the Pope, and with the aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Millan*, for the taking of armes againſt the great Turke, after they had determined vppon matters concerning the publicke weale of Chriſtendome, it was alſo concluded and decreed by the Pope, that in any caſe *Ferdinand* ſhould not want ayde and ſuccours againſt the puiſſaunt preparations made for the warres by Duke *Iohn*, the ſonne of *Rene*, who was then at *Genes*. For you muſt vnderſtand, that the *Genowayes* being then freed from the feare of their *Banditi*, or outlawes by the ayde of the *French*, were content (that they might be ridde of them) to ſet them on in the voyage and iourney of *Naples*: and they concluded to giue them ſuccours. For this cauſe they cauſed to arme and make readie tenne Galleaſſes, and three great ſhippes of burthen for the cariage of their traine and neceſſaries: all which they payed for three moneths before hand: and they gaue him alſo in readie money out of the banke of Saint *George* three ſcore thouſand crownes. Beſides theſe veſſelles, the Duke had of his father twelue other Galleaſſes at *Marſeilles*, with promiſe both from the *French* king and from him, that he ſhould want nothing. Wherefore all things being in a readineſſe, and hauing appointed *Iohn Coſſe* a *Neapolitan* for the Admirall of his Nauie, he tooke ſea the fourth day of October, in the yeare of our Lord a thouſand, foure hundred, fiftie and nine: and by the benefite of their ſayles and oares he arriued at *Gaietta*, purpoſing from thence to take his courſe for *Calabria*, where the Marqueſſe of *Crotona* had called him, and did expect him: but hearing by the way, that the Marqueſſe was ouerthrowen, and taken priſoner by *Ferdinand*, he held his enterpriſe vtterly ouerthrowen likewiſe: becauſe that vpon hope of him onely he had vndertaken that iourney. But, as it is commonly and often ſeene, that things deſperate and paſt all hope do many times proue more fortunate then thoſe that are aduiſedly and conſiderately taken in hand, ſo it fell out with Duke *Iohn* at this time: for *Marin de Marſan* Duke of *Seſſe*, and Prince of *Roſſan* did reuiue both his courage and his hope. This Nobleman had his landes lying ouer againſt the towne of *Baie*, not farre from the ſea, where the *French* armie laye a floate: and hee ſent vnto them, offering both him ſelfe and his forces to aſſiſt them: and ſo was the firſt man that diſcouered him ſelfe to be the authour, and chiefe procurer of the reuolt and rebellion of the *Neapolitanes* againſt *Ferdinand*. For the newes of this reuolt being diſperſed throughout the realme, you would not imagine howe ſuddenly the inhabitaunts of the countrey were chaunged, and howe their affections enclined to the

Duteby of Spoleta reſtored to the Church.

Ferdinand crowned king of Naples by Pope Pius 2.

Benuent. Terracine.

Councell of Mantua.

Iohn the ſonne of Rene, ayded by the Genowayes againſt Ferdinand king of Naples.

The Banke of S. George at Genes.

Marqueſſe of Crotona.

Marin de Marſan Duke of Seſſe.

Rebellion of the Neapolitans againſt Ferdinand.

fauour

fauour of the *Angeuin*. For both the Princes, the Barons, and the people did in a manner ſtriue and contend together, who ſhould be the firſt to kiſſe the handes of this newe Seigniour. Beſides the Prince of *Tarentum* (who was the chiefe man, though not yet openly declared the enemy of *Ferdinand*:) the Princes of *Beſignan* and *Salerne*: the Duke of *Vennſe*: *Peter Iohn Paule* Duke of *Sora*: the Count *Cola de Campobaſſo*: *Anthonie Caldore*, and almoſt all the Nobilitie of *Apulia*, together with all the townes and fortreſſes of the countrey, taking armes againſt *Ferdinand*, did ſtand wholy for the *Angeuin*. By meanes whereof his hoaſt being greatly increaſed, and *Apulia* being open vnto him, he marched on throughout the whole countrey, ſoliciting thoſe townes to his deuotion which as yet ſtoode in doubt and ſuſpence. Afterwardes being entred farther vp into that part of *Apulia* which is plaine and champion, and was held for *Ferdinand* by the Marqueſſe *de Eſte*, and *Don Alonſo* a *Spaniard*: the ſayd Marqueſſe (being ſecretely wrought by his brother *Borze* Lord of *Ferrara*, who was a verie deuote and great fauourer of the *French*, and did abound in the reaſons of his diſcontentment againſt *Ferdinand*) came to ſeeke the Duke of *Anion*, hauing with him in his companie a traine of fiue or ſixe hundred good horſe, which made *Alonſo* to be mightily abaſhed. By the departure of the Marqueſſe, they of the plaine countrey being freed from the yoke, by his authoritie became all to ſtand for the *Angeuin*, and the townes likewiſe yeelded frankly vnto him. The Prince of *Tarentum* nowe perceiuing the good ſucceſſe and proſperitie that followed the *Angeuin*, beyond all credit and expectation, would no longer diſſemble his malicious and euill minde againſt *Ferdinand*, but made open warre againſt him with three thouſand horſe, vnder the charge and conduct of two Captaines, *Vrſe Vrſin* and *Iulius de Aquauiue*. Beſides all theſe great Princes and men of marke aboue mentioned, the Duke had drawen into his pay, the Count *Iames Piceuin*, one of the moſt famous and politicke Captaines in that age: who comming to his ſeruice accompanied with a good number of men, of his old bands of mercenarie ſouldiers, was made Generall of all the power and forces of the Duke. On the part of *Ferdinand* were the Duke of *Dande*, the Duke of *Malſie*, the Counties *de Fondi*, *de Arriane*, and *Matalune*: the *Caraſſes*, and the *Diamedes*, Gentlemen *Neapolitans* and ſome others in a verie ſmall and little number. Both the one part and the other hauing taken the field, and being both in a full reſolution, and readie appointed to trie their fortune by a ſet battell: they aſſigned the place of fight to be in the territorie of *Sarnie*. Each of them being come to the place appointed, and their battels being marſhalled and ſet in order, they went together in moſt furious and cruel maner, and for a long time the conflict continued with great obſtinacie. In the end manie being ſlaine on both ſides, the honour of the day remained to the *French*, and *Ferdinand* being put to flight, with the loſſe of his campe, and all his baggage, was chaſed euen to the gates of *Naples*.

Princes and Nobles of Naples confederate with the Duke of Anion.

Marqueſſe de Eſte.

Borze Lord of Ferrara.

Count Iames Piceuin Generall of the army for Duke Iohn againſt Ferdinand.

Princes and Nobles of Naples partaking with Ferdinand.

Battel of Sarne betweene Ferdinand and Duke Iohn.

Victory of Iohn againſt Ferdinand.

The Biſhoppe of *Rome* vnderſtanding of this diſaſter and misfortune fallen to *Ferdinand*, becauſe (for his parte) hee would not fayle in the capitulations of the league: and doubting leaſt (if the realme of *Naples* ſhould be ſubdued by conqueſt) the *French* would encroch vppon the liberte and dominion of the *Italian* Princes through the inſolencie and pride of his victorie, he aduertiſed the Duke of *Millan*, with all poſſible ſpeede of the ſtate of their affaires: and they two with one accorde and by common aduiſe did ſend *Fredericke* Duke of *Vrbin* and *Alexander Sforce* with a ſtrong and puiſſaunt armie to the ayde and ſuccour of the king of *Naples*. They being entred vppon the territorie of *Abruzze*, the Count *Iames* marched forward againſt them, and met with them neare to Saint *Fabian*, where

The Pope and Duke of Millan aid Ferdinand.

Frederick Duke of Vrbin. Alexander Sforce.

Battell of Saint Fabian.

was fought betweene them a moſt fierce and blouddie battell: but once againe the Armie of the *Arragonians* being diſcomfited, the *Angeuins* obtayned a notable victorie, howbeit it coſt them full dearely. The report hereof being brought vnto *Ferdinand*, who was fled into *Naples*, beganne to make him muſe and imagine with him ſelfe what would followe, and he feared that ere long the towne would be beſieged. He left therefore the Queene to keepe *Naples*, and being not able of him ſelfe to make head againſt the armes both of his domeſticall and forraine foes, being ſpoyled of the moſt parte of his dominions: he put him ſelfe within *Barie*, with a verie ſmall and weake companie. The Count *Picenin* being enformed of his flight, left a ſtrong garriſon in *Abruzze*, for feare leaſt ſome newe enemie on that ſide, ſhould cut off the courſe of his attemptes: and with the reſt of his troupes he followed cloſe after the king euen to *Barie*. In the meane while Pope *Pius* and the *Millanois* made new prouiſions, and ſent them for the relieſe of *Ferdinand*: but the enemie hauing ſeized vpon all the paſſages, this leuie ſerued to no purpoſe, but onely for a vaine and fruitleſſe ſhewe.

The ſecond victorie of the French againſt Ferdinand.

Barry or Barlette.

Ferdinand beſieged within Barie, by the Count Picenin.

The Pope being in greater feare and perplexitie nowe then euer before, did perceiue well, that this matter would require forreine ſuccours, and that the valure and proweſſe of ſtraunge forces was to be vſed in this caſe. Whereupon all the confederates did thinke it beſt to ſend for *Scanderbeg* into *Apulia*, who being a Prince of great eſtimation and renowme in deedes of armes, was very ſeruiceable to the See of *Rome*: and withall was of late the moſt inward friend of *Alphonſus*, and no leſſe affectionate to *Ferdinand*. Beſides that, they conſidered that *Scanderbeg* comming from the Sea, they could not hinder nor deny his landing in *Apulia*, but that he might open the paſſages towards *Italie* if neede were, ſo as the army and forces of the league might haue free liberty alſo to come on that ſide.

Confederates of Ferdinand ſent to Scanderbeg for ſuccours in the behalfe of Ferdinand.

I cannot in this place but greatly wonder, and in ſome ſort alſo it doth not a little grieue me, to ſee the ingratitude of writers to thoſe perſons, whoſe valour hath ſo well and excellently deſerued. For whereas diuerſe of all ſortes haue written very diligently, and recorded the ſumme of this warre betweene *Ferdinand* and the *French*: yet is there not any of them that hath ſpoken ſo much as one word of *Scanderbeg*, as though he had not beene (I may well ſpeake it) the principall and chiefe cauſe of the happy ſucceſſe of that warre: nay (if I may lawfully ſaie the truth) the true defendor of the Crowne of *Ferdinand*, and the deliuer of him out of the hands of his enemies. And hereof I neede giue you no other teſtimonie, then the liberall and bountifull recompence and reward giuen him by the King: for beſides that he acknowledged and held him for his father as long as he liued, he gaue him alſo in acknowledgement of his deſertes, and the rewardes of his vertue, the towne of *Trana*, and two other townes of as good reckoning in *Apulia*, which the poſteritie of *Scanderbeg* did continually enioy: after that the affaires of *Epire* (vpon the death of *Scanderbeg*) fell to decay and ruine, and they do in part alſo enioy them at this preſent, as may well be ſeene euen to this day.

The Ambaſſadours of the league were no ſooner arriued in *Epire*, bringing with them letters from the Pope, the king *Ferdinand*, and the Duke of *Millan*, but that *Scanderbeg* was willing to giue them audience. Wherefore being brought vnto his preſence, they briefly recited vnto him, howe the king of *Naples* hauing loſt two great battels in the very heart of his realme, his Nobles and ſubiects, and the moſt part of his townes were reuolted from him: and himſelfe, being (as it were) baniſhed and exiled out of his countrey, was encloſed and ſhut vp with a tedious and troubleſome ſiege, in a towne ill fortified, ill prouided, and ſcarce defenſible, without the hope of ſome

Ambaſſade frō the Pope, Ferdinand, & the Duke of Millan to Scanderbeg.

some present and speedie succours: wherefore if he had any remembrance and regard of the strict friendship and amitie so faithfully held and obserued betweene him and the king *Alphonsus* father of *Ferdinand*, that then it would please him speedily and without delay to passe with his forces into *Apulia*, to deliuer & free him frō the yoke and seruitude of strangers, and not him onely, but all *Italie*, and (it might be) the holy siege of the See of *Rome*: whereunto they did all of them intreat and require him most earnestly.

There needed no great perswasions to the king of *Albany* to draw him on in this voyage: for besides that he was most deuoutly affected to the Church of *Rome*, the memory of his late and most inward amitie with king *Alphonsus*, did so farre preuaile with him, that setting aside all the affaires of his owne kingdome, both publike and priuate, he stanckly and voluntarily made him selfe a partie in the warre of *Naples*, and prouided presently and out of hand for his embarkement and departure. But before that he left *Epire*, he found the way to assure himself of a truce with *Mahomet*: and yet him selfe was not seene to motion or moue the matter, as though it proceeded of his seeking. Whereupon hauing set the affaires of his realme in good order, he ordained the Queene to be Regent of the kingdome, to whom he adioyned for assistaunts, some of the most worthie and chiefe persons of the prouince, to counsell and aduise her in the gouernement of the Estate. Afterwardes he dispatched away *Goic* his nephew, a Knight of great and sufficient prowesse, with a choise companie of fiue hundred horse towards the realme of *Naples*, willing him there to attend his comming: and in the meane while to keepe the enemie busied by dayly roades and inuasions vpon them.

Truce betweene Scanderbeg & Mahomet.

Goic Streses sent into Apulia by Scanderbeg.

These things being thus accomplished, after that the publike processions, vowes, and prayers were ended for their good successe and victorie, and for the preseruation of him selfe and his people, he caused his armie to set forward, part of them to the gulfe of *Rizie*, where the *Italian* gallies did attend them: and part of them to the port of *Duras*, and another part to *Acrolissa* or *Media*: and the residue of his forces him selfe conducted to *Aserinia*, and from thence to *Ragusa*, where his owne vessels were prepared to receiue him. But before I passe any further, I will describe vnto you (as well as I can) the towne and estate of *Ragusa*.

Gulfe of Rizie.
Duras, or Durazchium.
Acrolissa.
Ragusa, or Epidaure.

That which at this day men call *Ragusa*, was of old and in times past termed *Epidaure*, a citie (as some affirme) seated in *Liburnia*, vpon the Adriatique sea, beautified with an excellent harbour, most fit and conuenient for shipping to ride and anker in, and defended with a great and strong tower notably fortified and well furnished. The compasse thereof is more then a mile in circuit: her castell being inexpugnable, is on euery side enuironed with mountaines, and besides excellently well fortified by art and handie worke of skilfull engineers. The towne was once abundantly stored with Churches and Temples, and richly beautified and adorned with goodly buildings, and with liuely springs and fountaines of water, which did continually flow into the towne by conduits & cesterns. The citie was wont to vse the Aristocratical forme of ciuill gouernement, by the greatest and chiefest persons of the Estate, and they do attribute the first originall and foundation of their citie to the *Epidaurians* of *Peloponnesa*. The territorie thereof is not very large, but full of woods, and hath two litle townes or hamlets belonging vnto it.

Description of Ragusa. Liburnia.

But let vs go on with the voyage of *Scanderbeg*: At his comming to *Ragusa*, all the people in generall went foorth to meete him, with exceeding ioy and incomparable triumph: and conducting him into the towne, did receiue him with all the honor that might be imagined. The next day after that the diuine seruice was ended,

Scanderbeg receiued at Ragusa.

he went about the towne to take a view and ſuruey thereof: and the third day he viſited the hauen, the arſenall, the fortreſſe, and the rampiers. The day following was employed in diuerſe ſorts of ſhewes and pleaſant triumphs: and the fifth day he went to the Senate houſe, where were preſented vnto him many goodly and rich gifts: beſides that he was there receiued with an elegant Oration, containing a commendation of his great exploits and good deſerts: and pronounced with a ſingular good grace by *Dauid* the Chancelour of that Common wealth. This Oration was anſwered by *Paul Angell* Archbiſhop of *Duraz*: who (as another *Achates*) was alwayes a companion to the Prince of *Epire*, and was a partaker with him in all his trauels, perils, and counſels. Theſe curteſies being paſt and ended both on the one part and the other, *Scanderbeg* made ſtay at *Raguſa* onely ſo long, till that his whole fleete was there aſſembled: during which time of his abode, there was not pretermitted any kinde of ſports and triumphs, at tilt, turney, barriers, and ſuch like. In all which exerciſes the *Albanians* did ſhew themſelues to be very expert, as beſeemed good and worthie ſouldiers, till ſuch time as they were commaunded to prepare themſelues to go to ſea, for that the time did now require their departure. All things being prepared in a readineſſe, the king thought it beſt to cauſe all his veſſels to come together to *Raguſa*, and that all his troupes both horſe and foote, ſhould draw thither, to the intent they might take the benefite of the firſt winde to ſayle from thence into *Apulia*. For this cauſe he diſpatched away ſundry meſſengers along the ſea ſide, to wil all the ſhips, gallies, foiſts, and brigandines which had bene ſent from *Italie* for the cariage and tranſportation of his armie, to repaire all together to *Raguſa*: beſides all which, as many veſſels of his owne as were found vppon the coaſts of *Epire* and *Macedonie*, did arriue thither in great numbers: inſomuch that both the towne was too litle for the entertainment of ſo much people, and the port was too ſtraight for ſo great a fleet. All of them ſhewed themſelues ſo forward and willing to paſſe the ſea, that they ſeemed not as men that had bene led and drawne to the warres, but as if they had bene inuited to enioy the prize of an aſſured and vndoubted victorie: there were very few men left in *Epire* or *Macedon* that were fit & able for the warres, but he had drawn them into that action. Yet is there great varietie & diuerſitie of opinions touching the certainty of the numbers that he tranſported to the realme of *Naples*: ſome affirme, that he had with him fiue thouſand foote, and fiue and twentie hundred horſe: others ſay, two thouſand foote, and three thouſand and fiue hundred horſe. Some name no certaine number at all (amongſt whom, the truth being ſo vncertaine, I meane to make one) and they ſay, that the multitude which embarked themſelues with him for *Italie*, was ſo great and incredible, that it ſeemed there were ſcant left behind any ſufficient or able men, either in *Albanie*, *Sclauonie*, or *Macedonie*, for the keeping of their houſes and priuate dwellings.

Dauid Chancelor of Raguſa

Paul Angell the Archbiſhop of Duraz.

Nowe to the intent his armie might be embarked and put aboord without diſorder and confuſion, *Scanderbeg* tooke the care of that matter to himſelf, and he appointed *Guirize de Vladienne* to be Comiſſarie of the victuals: who made prouiſion thereof for fifteene dayes, (of the which ſtore they had for fiue dayes readie dreſſed.) Euery man being gotten on ſhip boord, he ſent certaine skiffes throughout all the fleete, to giue them aduertiſement, that the Patrons and two ſouldiers of each ſhip ſhould repaire vnto him vpon the ſhore to vnderſtand his will and pleaſure: who being come he demaunded of them, whether they had freſh water and bisket aboord for as many dayes as they had victuals: and anſwer being made, that they had prouiſion of all things for fifteene dayes: he then enioyned and gaue ſpeciall charge to the ſouldiers, that they ſhould hold them ſelues ſtill and quiet, and be in a readineſſe to helpe the

Guirize de Vladienne.

Pilots

Pylots and Marriners if neede were, and that euery man should attend his charge and office without any noise or altercation amongst them. Himselfe and *Gine Musache* made the right wing with fiue Galleasses: *Andrewe*, *Zacharie*, and *Moses* had the commaund and charge of the left wing, in which were the same number of the like vessels both seruing for the safegard and defence of their shippes of charge. He ordained that euerie Galleasse should haue one lanterne, and that those of charge should haue two: and that the Admirall or chiefe Galleasse should haue three lights or lanternes. These rules and orders being set downe and pronounced, the next day he gaue them the signall to weigh anker, and to make out of the hauen to seaward, committing himselfe and his naule to the guide and protection of the diuine power. Many of his vessels were launched forth & put out to sea from the gulfe of *Rizie*, from the port of *Durazz*, from *Valona*, and from the coast of *Epyre* and of *Sclauony*: and many of them also were gone before and had taken their course all alone. Assoone as the day began to breake, *Scanderbeg* being abord the Admirall, and hauing commanded a generall silence by sound of trumpet, with a high voice began to pray in this manner.

Scanderbeg imbarketh himselfe for Italy.

Lord Iesus Christ Sonne of the euerliuing God, which sittest at the right hande of the Father most high and omnipotent in the eternall glorie, who in the beginning diddest create all things of nothing, gouerning and guiding them according to thy good will & pleasure: who from all eternitie hast forechosen the holy Christian faith and by the effusion of thy most precious bloud, and by the bloud of thy holy Martyrs and Apostles hast laide the foundation of the same, and in most wonderful maner hast caused it to be dilated and dispersed throughout the vniuersall world: hauing appointed the most blessed S. *Peter* to be the Vicar and the Prince of the Apostles, and hast giuen to him and his successors, the whole and full authoritie of binding and loosing both in heauen and in earth: and hast willed and commaunded all men liuing, especially the Christian and elect people to be obedient to their admonitions and cõmandements, and to sustaine, maintaine, and defend the Catholique faith and the Church of *Rome* euen to the death: Behold ô Lord, I a most humble and poore sheepe, altogether vnworthy to be one of thy fold, haue with a free heart & willing taken vpon me the burthen of this iorney and expedition by their direction and commaundement, to the intent vnder the conduct & protection of thy mercy, I may maintaine, & with all my power defend the libertie of thy holy Church, thy Catholique faith, the citie of *Rome*, and the countrie of *Italy* against those that haue inuaded it, and are their professed enemies. Wherefore most mercifull God and almightie Father, who art both venerable and fearfull, I do inuocate thy diuine Maiesty, and do most humbly require thee to be fauourable to this my enterprise: reach out thy hand thy outstretched arme, and send vnto me *Michaell* thy Archangell, thy holy messenger & minister: whose fauor may be with me, and may accompany me day & night (for I do gladly reuerence & honor him) who may giue vnto me & furnish me with force, strength & courage: that this voyage & passage may be happy and prosperous vnto me, and that I may attaine in health and safety with this my army to the country of *Apulia*, that the enemies being discomfited and put to flight, I may triumph in the spoyles, and prey of the enemies, and that hauing obtained the summe and ende of my desires, I may returne into my countrie and to my owne home with safetie, health and victorie.

"Praier by "Scanderbeg "going to the "aide of the "King of Na- "ples.

This praier being ended, the Archbishop celebrated the Masse, after which, the trumpet gaue them warning to fall to their oares, and with a fresh gale of wind, they were soon off the coasts & shore of *Albany*. But within a while after there arose a thick & foggy cloud or mist which did so couer them from the sight ech of other, that they could scarcely discerne how to keepe their gallies from beating one against an other.

Scanderbeg saileth towards Italy.

Neuertheleſſe holding on their courſe, they made ſaile till it drew towards night. By this time they beganne to diſcouer a little Iſle, and the Pylot demaunded of the King, whether he ſhould direct his courſe thither or not: for they might eaſily perceiue that there was a tempeſt comming, and the waues of the ſea beganne to ſwell, for it was in Autumne.) *Scanderbeg* hauing willed him to bend his courſe to the Iſle: the whole fleete did come to harbour within the port, where hauing caſt ankers, they rode there for eight dayes together, by reaſon of the outrage and ſwelling of the ſea, which being at length growen calme, and the winde ceaſed, early in the morning by the riſing of the Sunne, hauing heard diuine ſeruice, they put againe to ſea, and made ſaile all that day and the night following, ſo that the next morning by breake of day, they came within ſight of the coaſt of *Apulia*. *Scanderbeg* enquired what lande that was which appeared not farre off before them: it was tolde him, that it was the mount Saint *Angell*. God be thanked (ſaide *Scanderbeg*) bende your courſe thitherwardes: for I haue euer had a great deuotion to Saint *Michaell*. And preſently aſſoone as he had a ſight of the mountaine, he fell on both his knees and deſired of God, that this his firſt diſcouery of *Apulia*, might be to his glorie and to the benefite of him and his confederates. After this he commanded them to ply their tackling, and to hoyſe vp all their ſailes, which being filled with a merry gale of wind the armie in ſhort time arriued ſafely to the ſhore. *Scanderbeg* being gotten to ſhore together with the Archbiſhop, and a good number of ſouldiers, ſent abrode to ſee if they could haue any newes of the enemie. His currours being returned brought him word that they were not farre off: notwithſtanding he reſted himſelfe all at his eaſe, and hauing ſomewhat refreſhed him, he returned aborde his ſhippes, and from thence tooke his courſe directly to *Bary*, where he diſcharged his ſhips, and ſet all his troupes on land.

Or mount Gargan.

Scanderbeg with his armie in Apulia. Or Barlet.

Duke *Iohn* and the Count *Pyenin* being encamped before *Bary*, aſſoone as they ſaw ſo great a fleete, did preſently ſuſpect and imagine what they were: for there was of late a certaine brute or rumour raiſed in the French boaſt, that *Ferdinand* did looke for the King of *Epyre* to come to his ſuccour. Wherefore they truſſed vp their baggage in great haſte, and went to lodge about a thirtie miles from thence: at the diſcamping of the French, the *Neapolitane* King being at libertie, iſſued ioyfully out of the citie, and went to meete *Scanderbeg*. Then was the affection and mutuall gladneſſe of thoſe two Princes, to be ſeene and perceiued by the multitude of their embracements and kind greetings, intermingled with teares, and ſo did they make their entrie into *Bary* not without the infinite clamors and acclamations of the common ſort, in ſigne of the publique ioy & gladneſſe. Then might you haue ſeene all the towne as it were in a tumult, by meanes of the people running diſperſed in ſeuerall troups to meet the king of *Albany*: all the inhabitants in generall, of all ages & eſtates, and of ech ſex were aſſembled in great confuſion vpon the market place, & at the Palace: day & night might you haue heard in the ſtreetes & in all places, perſons ſinging & triumphing for ioy of the comming of *Scanderbeg*: on the one ſide the inhabitants iſſued by multitudes out of the gates to ſee the ſhips and nauie of the *Albanois*, on the other ſide the *Epyrots* reſorted into the towne, and ranged vp and downe the fields & the villages, buſying & employing themſelues in diuerſe matters. Some fell to ſadling and bridling of their horſes, others to make ready their curaſſes & their armors, euery man employed himſelfe about ſome one thing or other, & all generally prepared themſelues to the warre, as if they had beene preſently to fight with the enemie. The next morning *Scanderbeg* taking with him a ſmall companie of his men, went forth to forage vpon the lands of ſuch as were rebels to *Ferdinand*, and being ſoone returned well

Siege of Bari raiſed by Scanderbeg.

Scanderbeg receiued into Bari by Ferdinand.

well loaden with prey and pillage, he deuided it equally and in common to those of the towne as well as to his owne souldiers. Afterwards a litle before the euening hauing assembled his companies, he thought good to encourage them and vsed these speeches following.

"Oration of Scanderbeg "encouraging "his soldiers "against the "Frenchmen.

I remember (my companions and good friends) that I haue heard it reported of *Belissarius* that famous warriour, how in an expedition which he made against the *Englishmen*, with a puissant army by sea: his first act was after, he had landed his men, to set fire on all his shippes, for feare least his souldiers being caried away with the hope and commoditie of a safe passage backe againe, should be alwaies desirous to returne home to their owne countrie: and in stead of doing their best, and aduenturing their liues to get the victorie, they might happen by their default and negligence to be ouercome and vanquished. This is nowe our case (my good souldiers,) and our estate and condition is not much vnlike: we are now ouer the sea, farre from our owne houses, from our owne countrie, vppon the territories and dominions of our enemies, amongest strangers, altogether destitute and voide of hope, and without any meanes to returne againe to our owne: yea our affaires are brought to that passe, that it is impossible for vs to resolue, whether is better for vs to stande still or to go forwarde, considering that besides our armes, our horses, and our courages (wholly bent and addicted to deedes of armes) we haue nothing else left vs to relie and build vpon: for there is now no hope of life nor safety, if we get not some notable victorie vpon our enemies. But courage, (my masters) let vs consider, that this is the diuine will and pleasure, that we should maintaine the patrimony of Iesus Christ, the house of God, and the seat of his Church: and doubt you not, but that he will send vs euen from heauen an easie and a speedie victorie, vnder whose name and protection we being now to fight: soone shall we confound this our enemie, and then shall we returne into our countrie conquerours, ioyous, and triumphant. Hereof I make no doubt nor question, when (first of all) I call to remembrance your ordinary and wonted valure, when I set before my eyes so many goodly victories which you haue gotten vppon your enemies: and then being thus confirmed through the confidence of your vertue and prowes, I haue cheerefully vndertaken this present voyage, as hauing learned by your armes to breake and discomfite greater armies, and farre better then this that is now opposed against vs. Much more reason haue you (my companions) not to esteeme of these small troupes, which (as you haue alreadie seene) at the onely brute and hearing of our names, and before that euer they had anie sight of vs, did (as a man may say) betake themselues to flight, and durst not tarrie our landing, but remoued their siege, and are retyred from vs. It remaineth therefore that we pursue them whilest they are in this feare and astonishment: but yet in this would I haue you to be aduised (my good friendes,) that if it happen this our enemie should dare to abide vs, and to come to fight with vs (which I doe not beleeue) my counsell is, that at the first we onely holde him play by loose and light skirmishes, and that we doe endeuour to wearie and ouercome him with the trauell and trouble of continuall onsets and often charges: in so doing eyther shall we put them to the sworde, or get them aliue to be our prisoners. For the weight and heauinesse of their owne armes doeth sufficiently plague and afflicte them in the fight: and these barded horses, are neyther so readie to pursue, not yet so nymble to flie from vs: but that we being lightly armed and mounted, haue great aduauntage against them, being able by coursing vppe and downe, both to annoy and to disorder them with ease. Goe to then (my braue and couragious souldiers) let euerie man see that his horse and armour be in a good readinesse: for by the

aide and helpe of God, I am determined to morrowe to goe visite the enemie.

The *Albanois* (who desired nothing more then to see the enemie) being more and more enflamed with these speeches, the next morning by the breake of day presented themselues readie and resolute to march against the enemie: and hauing serued God, they tooke the fielde with Ensignes displayed with a full intent to goe seeke out the French: with whom when they came to encounter, they did not ioyne with them with the whole bodie of their forces in plaine and set battell, but they did onely taste them with a light conflict: for that the intention of the Albanian Prince was not as yet to make a full tryall of his fortune, but onely to sport a little with the enemie, and to proue what manner of souldiers they were, and how they could demeane themselues with their armes on their backes. In this skirmish there lay dead vpon the place thirtie of the French partie, and twentie taken prisoners: of the *Albanois* not any one eyther slaine or taken, only foure of them were wounded, and they returned all of them with great ioy to *Bari*.

Scanderbeg his troupes in skirmish with the French.

The next day following was a Councell called of the Masters of the Campe, and the other Chiefetaines of the armie, to the which the King *Ferdinand* ledde *Scanderbeg*: there was it propounded, that eyther they must aduenture the battell, or march into *Abruzza*, to open the passages for the troupes of the confederates, and so being conioyned with them, to goe and encounter with the enemie. The conclusion was, that they should take the way to *Abruzza*, and thereupon was order giuen to all the souldiers both those of the King and the *Albanois*, that they should be in a readinesse, and that euerie man should furnish himselfe with victuals readie dreſt for fiue dayes. This done, and the towne being assured with a good garrison, the armie beganne to march, both the King and *Scanderbeg* being present: and they passed on close and in good order, with great silence and secresie, the darkenes of the night fauouring them, in such sort that they were not diſcryed by the French campe, which lay not far off: & so held on their course directly towards the country of *Abruzza*, where being arriued, and comming suddenly vpon those that kept and garded the passages, they charged vpon them vnprouided so furiously both behinde and in flanke, and on all sides, that hauing dispersed and scattered them for the most part, or hauing taken or cut them in peeces: the wayes and passages were made open and free to the companies of the league, which were vnder the conduct and commaund of *Frederick* Duke of *Vrbin* and *Alexander Sforce*: who being vnited and incorporated one with the other army, they went and encamped nere to *Vrsara* a towne that stood for King *Ferdinand*.

Ferdinand and Scanderbeg from the passages of Abruzza.

Ferdinand and Scanderbeg ioyne with the forces of the league.

Now being so farre remoued from *Bari*, and considering that they had to deale with one the most subtle and politique warriour, and the most able and expert souldier liuing: namely *Pycenin*, who (as they thought) might eyther sollicite that place to reuolt: or vpon the feare of their absence, and by the trauerses of vnconstant fortune if they should present thēselues before the towne, they might happen with ease to cary and obtaine it: it was therefore thought conuenient to send thither some good and sufficient Chiefetaine with good and strong forces, both to secure the towne (if need were) and to preuent the enemy of any such enterprise, and the same being once done and dispatched, to returne againe, and to ioyne with them in one campe. This commission was of sufficient difficultie, and there was none that did enuie it vnto *Scanderbeg*: and therefore he offering himselfe, and requesting to haue the execution of that seruice, it was liberally and freely accorded vnto him. He had a good deuotion and great desire to see the French once againe, and to speake with *Pycenin* neerer and more at hande. Being arriued at *Barie* with his owne bandes, he found

all

all things there as he desired, wherefore hauing taken order for all accidentes, he dislodged thence as speedily, and marched directly towardes the French campe. Immediatly vpon his approach, he sent them a defiance, and challenged them to the battell: they who had vsed alwaies to vanquish and carrie away the victorie, made no long delay, but were as forwarde to meete him. Ech partie therefore tooke the fielde in good order and well resolued: the *Albanois* had deuided his armie into three partes: *Moses* of *Debria* led one of his battallions, of the second *Guirize* had the commaund, and the thirde he reserued to himselfe, hauing an intent therewithall to affront *Pycenin*. Thus all things being orderly disposed for the fight: hee made towardes the enemie by three seuerall wayes at once. The whole day was spent almost in skirmishes and light conflictes: for the *Albanois* making sometimes as though they fledde and feigned themselues to be affraide: sometimes by wheeling and casting suddainely about, then againe by often and sudden charge and retraites: coursing vppe and downe the breadth of the plaine, did so wearie and molest the French, that in the ende, the battell fell out as him selfe expected. Manie were slaine outright, and many of the Dukes side were taken prisoners, onely one of the *Albanois* was slaine, manie hurt and verie fewe taken. But the Count being quicke conceipted and politique, and wisely foreseeing that by this newe kinde of fighting: if *Scanderbeg* with his souldiers so well exercised by long practise, vse, and discipline, did not put him to the worst, yet he was like enough to giue him his handes full: he bethought him selfe therefore, that if he could get to speake vnto him, he might peraduenture obtaine some staie, and so cause him to surcease from fighting. For this cause he aduaunced him selfe alone at the head of his squadrons, and with a huge voyce called *Scanderbeg* by his name, inuiting and requesting him to come to a parley with him. The *Albanois* being of a courteous and generous disposition, and without anie apprehension of feare: knowing that it was the Countie, did not disdaine to speake with him, but put himselfe likewise in the head of his troupes. The two Chiefetaines beeing thus separated from their companies, made choice of a place equally distant from the two armies, and discouered rounde about on all sides to be free from all suspition of anie ambushmentes, and there both they mette to conferre and parley together. The Count greatly maruelling at the presence of the King of *Epyre*, stoode still without any word spoken attentiuely beholding him from the head to the foote. *Scanderbeg* was the first that dismounted from his horse, and approaching to the Count, he tooke him about the bodie (for he was a man of a verie litle stature) and lifted him vp aloft from the ground, and afterwards hauing kissed him (as his custome was) he let him downe againe very easily. The Count to colour his subtiltie, feigned that he had great matters to entreat of with him, and which could not be expressed in a short conference. For he promised so to contriue all things, that either the Frenchmen, leauing the quiet and peaceable possession of the Realme of *Naples* to *Ferdinand* should auoide out of *Apulia*, and so returne ouer the mountaines: or if not, that he would worke their confusion. And so proceeding in a most friendly and louing discourse: he saide, that he was fully assured, that if the Frenchmen (who were naturally proud and insolent, and did beare a deadly and mortall hatred to the *Italians*) should once get sure footing in the Realme of *Naples*: they would not rest contented with that portion, but they would aspire to the Dominion of all *Italy*, the inhabitants whereof they respected not nor regarded no more then as slaues, and as brute beasts & vnreasonable creatures. All this and many things else, did he promise to doe, both for the benefit and greatnesse of *Ferdinand*, as also for the reputation & immortall renowme

Fight betweene Scanderbeg & the French.

Policie of Count Pycenin

Count Pycenin his notable dissimulation.

Pycenin his parley with Scanderbeg.

of *Scanderbeg*. And to this ende he requested him, that he would cause his people to sound a retrait, as he was readie for his part to do the like: that the souldiers of both sides might take breath, and might refresh themselues from their labours and trauels which they had endured all the day long: affirming that this was a vse and custome euer obserued in warres amongest the *Italians*: and for that it was now growing towardes night, and the souldiers on both sides being faint and wearie, he held it expedient, that the two armies should retire into their tentes, and that euery man might betake himselfe to his rest. He also entreated him of all courtesie, that he would meete him the next morning with a small company (to the intent Duke *Iohn* & the French men might doubt and suspect nothing) in such a place as he would assigne, that they might there conferre more at full vpon these matters. This fraudulent plot did *Pycenin* conuey with singular dissimulation equall to his malice and despightfull humor. For his drift was to bring the *Albanois* within his daunger either aliue or dead (an act most dishoneſt, and litle practised amongst true Knights) or at the least wise he thought by drawing out the parley at length to gaine time, and to bring it to passe, that the night should separate them: for he perceiued full well, that the *Albanois* had the aduantage of that dayes iourney. *Scanderbeg* giuing faith and credite to his speeches, by reason he was a personage of great renowme and authoritie, did simply and plainely condiscende to his request, causing to sound a retrait and to cease the combat. In this meane time *Moses* and *Guirize* (who in the late skirmish had taken prisoners foure squadrons of the enemies) did present them vnto their Generall: which *Pycenin* seeing, he beganne to blush for shame, and being sore troubled in his mind, he stood a while as if he had bene dombe: afterwards being come to himselfe, he spake againe to the Prince of *Albanie* according to his wonted dissembled manner to this effect.

Count Pycenins dishoneſt practise against Scanderbeg.

Speech of the Count Pycenin to Scanderbeg.

» I perceiue (quoth he) most noble and generous Prince, and I cannot but be abashed at it, to see that thy Captaines and souldiers, doe shewe themselues to haue but » small discipline, and to haue but litle regard and respect of thy commaund. For (as » thou seest) after we had set downe an order and published it with one voice and consent, that the souldiers of both the armies should withdrawe themselues from the » battell: these men notwithstanding haue assailed and forced these my squadrons, who » were obedient to our edict, and they haue now brought them hither prisoners vnto » thee to our great reproach and dishonor, a thing in my iudgement vniust and iniurious, and contrarie to thy faith and reputation. Neuertheleſſe trusting in thy vertue » and valure, for that I haue euer reputed thee to be a Prince of great magnanimitie and » faithfull of thy word, I haue good hope that thou wilt obserue the faith and promise » which thou hast giuen me, and wilt cause these souldiers to be set at libertie, as being » vniustly taken and made prisoners. But the Count went not away without an answere: for *Scanderbeg* replyed vnto him in this manner.

Answere of Scanderbeg to Count Pycenin.

» Certainly Count *Iames*: I cannot chuse but greatly maruell that thou being a » man so famous and renowmed, wouldest either speake or so much as thinke such » speeches not onely vaine and friuolous, but of litle truth or appearance. For, to say » that our Captains and men at armes haue taken or defeated thy squadrons when they » were disarmed, or after that publication of our edict and agreement: thou thy selfe » hast seene the contrarie, and thou maiest not denie it, but that at the verie first that » wee two met together in this place, my men had both foyled and taken those pri» soners before that euer there was any abstinence of armes either concluded or signified throughout our armies: and therefore I know not how it should be that this » matter should seeme so strange and iniurious vnto thee: for if our troupes (as thy selfe » hast confessed) haue bene in fight all the day long: is it possible that our agreement

should

« should in so short a space be published and made knowen throughout all the quarters
« of our campe? and can it be that thy men seeing my forces still in armes and in fight,
« could so simply laye downe their armes and giue ouer fighting? then must I needes
« thinke that whilest thy souldiours would shew themselues (as thou sayest) precise ob-
« seruers of thy commaundements: they are iustly and to their shame made prisoners
« vnto vs: or rather in despight of their willes being ouercome by right of armes, they
« haue lost the victorie and haue deserued this captiuitie. Moreouer how canneſt thou
« call or account my men either rebellious or careleſſe of discipline, with whom many
« times in fewer & lesser numbers (be it spoken without boasting) I haue broken and
« ouerthrowen so many puissant and mightie armies of the Barbarians? with whom
« I haue tamed, subdued, and made captiues so many proud and braue Chieftaines of
« the Turkes and Infidels? and if I should speake the truth of their obedience, and their
« order in militarie discipline: I dare auow that they feare and reuerence me more as
« their Leader and Generall, then they doe stand in feare of you being their enemies.
« And as concerning that request of thine, that these thy squadrons (being by right of
« warre made my prisoners) should be freely restored and redelliuered vnto thee: truly
« thy demaund shall not be in vaine: for those whom the furie of the fight hath spared
« aliue, it is not my vse nor custome to deprive them either of life or libertie.

Now the number of them which were so taken, were about 100, all which *Scanderbeg* deliuered with their armour and gaue them freely vnto *Pycenin*: who after that this parley was ended, betooke himselfe to his campe, and the *Albanois* went towards *Bari*, from whence the next morning very early, being accompanied onely with seuen horsemen and no more, he went backe againe to meete with *Pycenin* according to the promise and agreement concluded betweene them the day before. As he was ryding on his way, there presented himself vnto him one that came from the enemies campe, sent (it may be) by *Zachary Groppe*, who (as some write) was then in the pay of the French: or else some one of them who had lately proued the bountie and courtesie of the Prince, holding it an vnworthy and dishonorable part, that the Count against the lawes of armes and honorable warres, should vse such falshood & disloialty towardes *Scanderbeg*: but howsoeuer it was, seeing in so great want and obscuritie of writers, we cannot learne nor yet coniecture any otherwise of the case: let it suffice that this souldier did discouer and make knowen vnto *Scanderbeg* this practise of the County: giuing him to vnderstand, that the long parley of the day last past, was nothing but an illusion both to draw his owne armie out of the danger of that daies iourney, as also to entrap him and to bring him within his danger: telling him also, that the place appointed for their meeting was full of ambushments purposely disposed and prepared to that effect: and he willed him in any case not to passe any farther, for if he did, he should be either slaine or taken. *Scanderbeg* to proue the truth of this matter, sent forth certaine horsemen to discouer the countrie, and they found it accordingly as it had bene reported. The guile and fraud of the Count being reuealed and made manifest, the Prince of *Epire* began to reproach him in his absence with the note of plaine treason and infidelitie: and he obiected vnto him a thousand villanies, calling him periured and disloiall: and he sent vnto him presently a defiance, willing him to prepare himselfe to the battell against the next morning. But *Pycenin* without returning any answer, about the first watch of the night following, trussing vp his baggage together with Duke *Iohn* and his french forces, made a long march the same night and retired himselfe at last to *Nocera*, doubting least that *Scanderbeg* would haue inuaded him before day: for he had heard that the *Albanois* did often and commonly vse to take the aduantage of the night, for the execution of his most notable

Zachary Groppe in paye with the French in Italie.

Count Piccinins practise discouered to Scanderbeg.

Scanderbeg challengeth Count Piccinin to the battell.

Piccinin & the French secretly dislodge to Nocera.

and greateſt exploits. The day following early in the morning, *Scanderbeg* with his armie in good order and with full reſolution to fight, tooke the field: but there was none to be found that would come againſt him, by meanes whereof his expectation being fruſtrate, he was greatly diſcontented and aggrieued that he had loſt the oportunitie to reuenge himſelfe: and he referred it to ſome other time. He returned therefore towardes *Bari*, where hauing taken order and ſeene all things ſafe and ſure, he tooke his way to *Vrſara* where *Ferdinand* with his *Italian* forces did then lye encamped.

Scanderbeg ioyneth with Ferdinand.

Deſcription of Vrſara

Vrſara is a litle towne in *Apulia*, which being ſeated vpon the deſcent of a mountaine, is eight miles diſtant from *Nocera*, foure from *Troy*, and ſixe from mount *Segian*: ſo that the two armies were not aboue eight miles aſunder. The towne of *Segian* being betweene both of them, from whence *Troie* was two miles, and to *Nocera* ſixe: in ſuch ſort that the common opinion was, that he which could firſt ſeize vpon this hill of *Segian*, was moſt likely without all doubt to haue the honour of the battell, not onely for that the ſituation of this place would giue them ſome aduantage, but alſo becauſe it yeelded the oportunitie of a good and commodious retraite in caſe there ſhould be any neede to retire: as in battelles it falleth out often and vſually. *Picenin* who made account to be there firſt and to get the poſſeſſion of the place, thought it meete to encourage his people and to put them in hart by the rehearſall of their valiant acts, and he ſpake vnto them in this manner.

Segian. Troie. Nocera.

Oration of Count Picenin to his ſouldiers.

» There is no man (my good friends and companions) but knoweth the greatnes
» of your valour and prowes: and I hold it needleſſe to diſcourſe thereof at large. Lea-
» uing therefore to begin, with the recitall of your firſt deſerts, I will onely glaunce
» at ſome of your valiant and worthie exploites. Are not you the men that more then
» once haue broken and put to flight the armies of *Ferdinand* in open and ſet battell:
» and reducing them to the extreamitie of a ſhamefull ſiege, firſt within *Naples*, and
» afterwards within *Bari*? Are not you thoſe braue warriors which once or twice haue
» ſcattered and cut in pieces the forces of the Pope, and of the Duke of *Milan*, which
» came to the aide and ſuccour of the *Catalan*? what reſteth then (my good ſouldiers,)
» but that you purchaſe vnto your ſelues, the Empire not onely of *Apulia* and *Calabria*,
» but euen of all *Italie*? Who ſhall ſay you nay? who ſhall be able to oppoſe himſelfe
» againſt you? Shall this *Ferdinand*, whom you haue lately vanquiſhed and chaſed fly-
» ing before the furie of your armes? Then turning his ſpeeches to the French forces:
» And you (ô valiant and thrice fortunate Frenchmen, the terror and feare of all *Ita-*
» *lie* and of all the world:) where are now the *Romanes*, who once triumphed ouer the
» whole earth? ſo often ouercome and diſcomfited by your braue valour in plaine fight
» and ſet battell? where is *Rome* the capitall citie and Empreſſe of the world? hath ſhe
» not bene made the prey and ſubiect of your furie? All eſtates Chriſtian ſtand in
» doubt & feare of you: the Infidels the *Mahumetans*, and in briefe all the Barbarians,
» and all peoples and nations doe feare and reuerence you, flying at the onely brute
» and report of your name. You are the true warriours: to you it is giuen by the Fates
» and diuine Deſtinies: to you valiancie hath the heauen promiſed the ſouereigntie,
» not onely of *Apulia* and *Sicilia*, but euen of the whole world. Be you therefore con-
» ſtant, reſolute and courageous: be not affraid of theſe men whom I will ſhortly deli-
» uer vnto you for your priſoners, and I will giue you the ſpoiles of their perſons, their
» armes and their horſes. As for *Scanderbeg* lately come from *Albanie* with his *Epirots*
» naked or halfe armed: they ought not to moue you, neither are you to make any rec-
» koning of them: their faſhion is to runne and courſe vp and downe here and there, ra-
» ther then with reſolution and conſtancie to enter the combat. They ſhall not encoun-

ter

ter here with *Turkes* and *Asians*, who are people delicate and effeminate: but they « shall meete with men stout and valiant, hardened and enured to the toyles and trauels « of the warres, whose hearts are vnconquerable, and whose bodies be armed and « mounted to the aduantage. This is the time (my friendes) that we must bring this « warre to a glorious and happie end, that we may purchase vnto our selues the quiet « and peaceable possession of these goodly townes, this rich champion, and this frute- « full countrie.

There is no doubt but the Count *Pycenin* was a most worthie and vigilant Chieftaine, yet did he not rise timely enough that day to preuent the industrie & diligence of *Scanderbeg*, who was alreadie seized and possessed of the mountaine when the other thought to haue gone and taken it. Whereupon growing very sad and in a manner confounded, from that time forward he was out of all hope of victorie, and (as some say) he adiudged the fortune of the field vnto *Scanderbeg*. Notwithstanding as that Pylot or Marriner is nothing worth, which is not able at all times, but onely in faire and calme weather, to guide and gouerne the ship, and to stand to the helme: so *Pycenin*, to shewe that he knewe how to vse all fortunes both good and bad, put in execution and triall at this time all his skill and experience which he had gotten and learned by the continuall practise and exercise of armes, in ordering and disposing his squadrons against the battell following according to a most exact and perfect order. And first of all he helde it not amisse once againe to encourage his companies, shewing them, that they had no reason to despaire of the victorie, the euents of warre being more vncertaine, then in any other humaine action whatsoeuer: and that only vertue and valure which was careless and prodigall of life, was that which made « men to be immortall. This did he speake vnto his souldiers, because he was resolued, to aduenture the hazard of a generall battell with all his companies vnited and in one both *Italians* and *Frenchmen*.

Count Pycenin encourageth his souldiers, &c

The two Generals both on the one side and the other, did not omit by all meanes and perswasions possible, to enflame and set on fire the hearts of their souldiers, in so much that ech of them speaking vnto them with a loud & high voice did vrge them with these & the like considerations: That euerie man should prepare himselfe both « with his armes and in courage to the last combat and tryall of their vertue and for- « tune: and that they should now striue to vanquish not for a day but for euer: that they « should see the next day before night, this quarrell decided and concluded betweene « Duke *Iohn* and king *Ferdinand*, whether of them twaine should be Maister of the « fielde, and giue the law to the *Neapolitanes*: that the realme of *Apulia* and *Calabria* « should be the prize and reward of them that were victorious: that the perill was no « lesse then the recompence of them whom fortune had determined to frowne vppon « and to disfauour: for that neither the *Albanois* nor the *French* (if they should happen « to flie and to haue the worst) had no place of refuge in a strange and vnknown land. « Thus those two Noble and generous Princes, those two excellent and famous chieftaines, and those two armies of rare and vndoubted prowes, did prepare and make ready themselues to the hazard and aduenture of the battell, and preferred themselues ech in view and sight of other, in hope either to augment and increase their forepassed honour and reputation, or else vtterly to make an end thereof, and to extinguish it for euer. Their mindes were distracted with doubtfull hope and feare, sometimes regarding their owne troups, and sometimes those of the contrarie partie: and comming to consider of their forces rather by the eye then by their reason: they did deuise vnto themselues all at one instant, somtimes matter of sorrow and griefe, and sometimes of ioye and gladnesse. That which of themselues they did not remember: the

exhortations and briefe admonishments of their Generals did supply: a matter needfull amongest so many nations differing and disagreeing in manners, in language, in lawes, armes, habit, and humours. *Scanderbeg* put his men in minde of their eighteene yeares warres, of his noble exploites and deedes of armes in *Asia*, in *Macedonie*, in *Thrace*, in *Epyre*, of so many Chiefetaines and numbers of Turkes and circumcised Miscreants slaine by them, and of so many armies of the *Mahometistes* which they had ouercome and defeated: and if by chaunce he came to make mention of anie one of his combats, he forgot not the notable deserues and particular commendations of ech man in seuerall. The Count *Iames* fell to recount likewise his famous actes, and the late battelles which he had foughten to his great honour and commendation both in the Marqueidome of *Ancona*, in *Apulia*, in *Naples*, and in other parts of *Italy*.

Order of Scanderbeg his battels against Pycenin.

Scanderbeg deuiding his foote forces onely into two battallions, placed in the forefront his harquebusiers, and after them his crosselbowes, his archers, and the slinges, the reregard he enforced with his pikes, both *Sclauonians* and *Albanians*. He did not order his squadrons in grosse, but parted them into seuerall bandes, each at large and a litle distant one from the other, to the intent that there might be some space left betweene ech of them, by which the men at armes and barded horses of the enemies being receiued in amongest them might passe & not trouble nor disorder their rankes. This done, he placed the King in the left wing, being garded with his men at armes both *Neapolitans* and *Italians*: *Moses* and *Guirize* did garde the right side, and with their light horses being *Dibrians* and *Macedonians*, did fill vp the emptie and voide places betweene the seuerall squadrons of the vauntgarde, who were willed, that if they sawe the men at armes of the French to charge vppon them with their barded horses, that either they should retyre themselues behinde the rankes of the middle troupes, or else galloping and coursing vppe and downe, sometimes here, sometimes there they should ioyne themselues to the wings either of the right hande or of the left, to giue waye vnto the footemen, and to abide the shocke of the barded horses.

Order of the Count Picenin his battels against Scanderbeg.

The Count *Iames* in the meane space arraunged his troupes in a maruellous good order of battell: first for the greater terrour to the enemie, he placed his artillerie mounted vpon wheeles and cariages, in the head of his battelles: then followed his Harquebusiers and crosse-bowes intermingled with pikes and corselets: in the second battalion were the companies of the *Neapolitans* and *Apulians*: who were seconded in manner of a reregard with the *Genowais* and *Calabrians*, flanking the two pointes of their battelles with the men at armes, on the right wing the *French*, and on the other the *Italians*.

Battell of Scanderbeg & Picenin.

Now beganne the drummes and trumpets on the part of the *Arragonois* to summon euerie man to do his deuoire: and the souldiers on that side raising a huge and horrible crye, went so furiously and vehemently to charge vppon the enemie, and with such readinesse and celeritie, that their vauntgarde after some fight was ouerthrowen and beaten backe in a manner before their peeces could haue the leisure to playe vppon the Kings battalions: whereby you may iudge of what importance industrie and diligence are in the warres: oftentimes preuenting the counselles and purposes of the enemie, and troubling and confounding their order and directions. For the horses were so terrified with the noise of the ordinance, that they ouerthrew and disordered their owne troupes, especially in the left wing. *Moses* and *Guirize* did soone augment and encrease the feare and terrour of this affraie: for they verie egerly charging and fiercely setting vppon that side, did disfurnish the maine battell

Sentence. Diligence in the warres of great importance.

of

of their horſemen: and ſome of their owne horſes which were in the forefront of the battell neare the artillerie, ranne in amongſt their owne Harquebuſſiers and archers: where albeit they were grieuouſly wounded, yet did they cauſe a great confuſion and deſtruction of their owne people: inſomuch that on the right hand, the men at armes of *Fraunce* were compelled to turne their backes and to betake themſelues to flight.

When the King *Ferdinand* perceiued the enemie to be in diſorder, he encreaſed their feare by preſſing in vpon them, ſo that the battalion of the *Neapolitanes* was left bare and naked of her flanckes. This was euen then when the infanterie on the one ſide and the other, being farre vnequall in hope and in puiſſance, came to affront eche other, and to ioyne together. The *Albanois* at the firſt onſet beganne of purpoſe to recuile and giue backe a litle from the battalion of the enemie: but anon after all of them at one inſtant both the wings and the ſquadrons, charging and preſſing vpon them moſt furiouſly did ſoone cauſe them to ſhake and to diſtrancke themſelues, and thus preſſing ſtill forward, they marched on a while as if nothing had ſtoode againſt them, the hindmoſt ſtill thruſting and bearing forwarde the foremoſt, in ſuch ſort that they had quite displaced the battalion of the enemies, and made them to leaue and forſake their grounde: (a thing which gaue them ſo huge a terrour) that it was of great force and efficacie to breake them for altogether. The reregard of the *Angeuin* namely, the *Calabrians* and the *Genowaies* preſently beganne to yeelde and to giue ground alſo: and hauing their recourſe to the battell of the *Neapolitanes*, they did not onely not ſuſtaine and ſecond them, but rather on the contrarie fearing leaſt if they which fought manfully in the forefront, ſhould be ouerthrowen and diſcomfited, that then the enemie would breake in next vpon them: by litle and litle they beganne to recuile. Thus the *Genowaies* and the *Calabrians* beganne to make away, and turning their backes, one part of them retired to the ſecond battalion, and another part (as being forſaken on the one ſide, and excluded on the other) beganne to ſtrike in amongeſt their fellowes that denyed to receiue and entertaine them: ſo that nowe you might haue ſeene as it were two conflicts at once mixed and intermingled together: the *Neapolitanes* being forced to defend themſelues both from theſe and from their enemies. Notwithſtanding they would not ſuffer them for all this to recuile within their ranckes (were they neuer ſo fierce and deſpiteſull) but keeping cloſe together, and holding their rancks in good order on the open plaine, they repulſed theſe their troubleſome companions who were quite forlorne, both by their owne flight and alſo by their blowes: for feare leaſt being ſuffered to enter amongſt them, they ſhould cauſe their battalion alſo (which as yet was ſure and whole) to be diſordered and brought in diſarray. By meanes of this tumult and great trouble, the place where they fought ſo obſtinately in the head of the reregard, was ſo filled and peſtered with the dead bodies of thoſe which were then ſlaine and with weapons, that the paſſage there was almoſt more hard and difficult, then through the thickeſt of the enemies: but the pikemen were the firſt that made themſelues way, who paſſing ouer thoſe high heapes of the dead, and of their weapons which lay ſcattered about: and through the bloud of the ſlaughtered (which lay moſt horrible to looke vnto) followed cloſe after their enemies to the vttermoſt of their powers, ſo that their owne rancks beganne to growe into diſorder. The Harquebuſſiers and the croſſe bowes when they ſawe that their battell being goaten before them was (as it were) wandering, diſioyned and ſeparated from them, beganne to be greatly aſtoniſhed and abaſhed: *Scanderbeg* incontinently perceiued and manifeſtly ſawe the diſorder of the one

and the astonishments of the other: whereupon he caused the pikes to retire themselues backe againe, and hauing bestowed those which were wounded in the rereward of the battell, he led forth the Harguebusiers and the Archers to the two points for the better strengthening of the pikes and the middle battell. By this meanes the conflict beganne to be renued and to grow more cruell and deadly then before, and so continued the better parte of the day. Many there were that fell both on the one side and the other: but the victorie continuing still variable and vncertaine, did sway sometimes to the one side and sometimes to the other: for now were they busied on all sides, and euerie man had his handes full. Both sides were equall or not much vnlike, in the qualitie of their weapons, in practise and experience militarie, in honour and reputation, and in the greatnesse of hope and of the present daunger, but in number and multitude they were nothing equall: for therein the *Albanois* and *Arragonois* were superiour and did exceede them, as also in courage and resolution, and the rather for that they had put to flight both their light horsemen, and their men at armes: and hauing chased their first battell, hadde giuen the onset vppon the second. *Moses* and *Guirize* hauing pursued and followed the chase after the enemies horse that were fledde, were now retourned and in a readinesse to charge in vpon the backe of this battalion. This last charge and onset did cause their vtter ruine and ouerthrow: for many were enclosed, and murthered vpon the place, and many being scattered and dispersed as they betooke themselues to maine flight ouer the large and wide plaine: were forced by the horsmen to turne and returne here and there: so that being enclosed and (as it were) besieged on all sides: what with the bullettes and shot of the Harguebusiers, and what with the sword both of horse and foote that pursued them, many of them were shot and many of them were beaten downe and slaine: so that the slaughter on all partes was most extreame and pitifull.

Victorie of the Arragonois.

The number of those which were counted slaine that day in the field, both of *Neapolitans* and of their confederates, was valued to be better then foure thousand: of prisoners there were taken about a thousand, besides fiue and twentie ensignes and standards. Of the victors there died nere a thousand. The Count *Picenin* and Duke *Iohn* with a fewe horsemen in their companie being compelled to yeelde and giue place to their ill fortune, did saue themselues after that the combat was past all hope, and they withdrew themselues amongest the thickest of those that fled, escaping by the goodnesse and swiftnesse of their horses. The Counte before his departure had giuen all good and sufficient proofe of his valour both before and during the whole time of the battell, and *Scanderbeg* himselfe both by his owne confession, and of all those (who were skilfull and practised in armes) did yeeld him this praise and commendation, that he ordered and martialled his battelles that day with singular skill and iudgement. For, first his artillerie was placed in the head and front of his battels in regard that the force and violence thereof was intollerable. After it, followed the companies of mercenarie men and straungers arranged in verie good order: against whom he was in hope that the troups *Albanois* should haue bene opposed. After those strange succours succeeded the *French* battallion, to keepe the other that they should not flie when they thought good, for that being mingled of so many sorts of peoples (whom desire of gaine, and not the regard of their faith and honour did draw thither) he thought by meanes of the *French* following at their backes, they would be enforced both to abide the shock and charge of the enemy and also hauing wearied and foretrauelled them partly with their shot, and partly with the killing and wounding of them selues in the vauntgard: the violence and fury of the enemy would by this meanes

Count Picenin his praise and commendation

meanes be much abated. And therefore had he placed immediately after them the *French* and the *Neapolitanes*, in whom consisted the strength and sinewes of their hope: to the intent that being in all things equall vnto the enemy, they might in this point haue the aduantage of them, when that they being freshe, whole, and lusty, should be opposed against the others already wearied and wounded, with their long fight against them of the vauntgard. As for the *Genowaies* and the *Calabrians*, he had seuered them a good space from the rest, as being a people in whom he had no trust nor affiance whether they were either friendes or foes, and therefore had he reserued them to the reteward.

The Count *Picenin* after this daies seruice, being (as it were) the last proofe of his vertue, being escaped from the field, went vp and downe *Italy* secret and vnknowen as a fugitiue and vagabond in a very poore estate and disguised habite, till such time as being alluted with the flattering speeches, and entising wordes of *Francis Sforce*, then Duke of *Millan*, who beguiled him vnder the colour and pretence of a fained mariage, and made him his sonne in law, and then shortly after sent him as a friend to King *Ferdinand*, by whom being receiued and entertained as an enemy, he was in the end put to a pittifull and cruell death. The Duke *Iohn* being hardly and nearly pursued by the horsemen of the King of *Albany*, by very good hap and singular Fortune recouered *Troy*, where he was receiued and drawen vp ouer the wals with a cord: and from thence flying away secretly by night towardes the sea of *Genes*, by good chaunce he found there a Barke which caried him into *Fraunce*.

Francis Sforce duke of Millain

Count Picenin his pitifull end.

Duke Iohn his retraite into France.

The *French* campe being sacked, and the souldiours enriched with the spoiles which they had gotten: the King entred into *Naples* with great pompe and triumph, and *Scanderbeg* with him, the prisoners being led on before them. Then in signe of gratulation and publicke ioy, all the temples were set open: solemne processions were made, plaies and feasts of all sorts were publickly celebrated for three daies together. These things thus accomplished, *Ferdinand* determined in the company of *Scanderbeg* to take armes for the recouery of all those townes and places, which were lately rebelled and reuolted to the *Angeuins*: and so well did he follow and dispatch this voyage, that in a very short space, he pacified all the countrey, and reduced it to his obedience and deuotion, by the helpe and mediation of the King of *Albany*. For all of them were more willing to rely vpon his word, then vpon the faith of the king: fearing that by reason of their reuolt, and the breach of their faith to his Maiesty: he would haue dealt very hardly and iniuriously with them: but they were very well assured, that the *Albanois* should be so respected by *Ferdinand*, that if he gaue them his faith and promise in the word of a King, that they should haue no wrong nor damage, neither in their persons nor possessions. Thus by the means and intercession of this Prince, did the King *Ferdinand* in few daies reconquer his whole estate, and the *Neapolitanes* continued vnder his obeisance in rest & quietnes, all former matters and offences being for euer forgiuen and forgotten.

Ferdinand returneth to Naples in triumph

Ferdinand recouereth all his kingdome.

There remained yet one only difficulty to be remedied within *Apulia*, which *Scanderbeg* also accomplished and effected in good and friendly maner. Within the towne of *Trana*, there was a certaine *Sicilian* named *Frisian*, a man notably fierce and warlike, who hauing bene sent by *Ferdinand* (before the comming of the *French* into *Apulia*,) to be gouernour of the garrison at *Trana*, had there settled and made him selfe very strong: he seeing that the Realme was turned in a maner topsie turuy by the wars and tumults of the *French*, had seized vpon that towne to his owne vse, and made him selfe absolute Lord and Seigniour of the same, supposing that the King being in a manner spoiled of his realme, would neuer be able to recouer it againe. Dayly there

Trana.

Frisian.

came vnto him in great abundance huge troupes of lewd and looſe fellowes, drawen thither by the deſire and couetouſneſſe of gaine: and with the ſweetneſſe which they purchaſed vpon the Prouince. The report hereof being come to the eares of *Scanderbeg*, he had ſome ſpeech with the king touching this matter, whereuppon being permitted to depart from his campe with a ſmall troupe choſen forth amongeſt his owne men, he marched directly on towardes *Fuſian*, who being enformed that *Scanderbeg* came to ſeeke him, he went to meete him very well accompanied. Both the one and the other of them hauing ſingled themſelues from their company, and diſmounting from their horſes, cauſed their ſoldiers to retire on the one ſide and the other in equall and like diſtance, and ſo came to talke and conferre together all alone. *Scanderbeg* was the firſt that boorded him with theſe ſpeeches.

Scanderbeg goeth to talke with Fuſian.

Speech of Scanderbeg to Fuſian.

» Braue and worthy knight *Fuſian*: I doubt not but thou haſt already heard, how the
» army of the *French* being ouerthrowen and diſcomfited, all things are now in quiet
» and peaceable eſtate, and euery man hath ſubmitted him ſelfe to the authority and go-
» uernment of King *Ferdinand*: onely thy ſelfe (I know not vpon what humour) art a-
» lienated from his Maieſty: in ſuch ſort that in ſtead of being his friend, his ſeruaunt,
» and his lieutenaunt: it ſeemeth that thou doeſt reiect his commaund and authority,
» whereat I cannot but greatly maruell. Notwithſtanding (my friend *Fuſian*) if thou
» wilt doe me the honor to giue credit to my wordes, aſſure thy ſelfe it ſhall be for thy
» good, and thou ſhalt be in the good grace and fauour of the King, which if thou be
» wiſe, thou wilt not in any ſort refuſe nor deny: and I promiſe thee on my faith, that
» I will cauſe thee to finde ſuch honor and aduancement, as thy ſelfe ſhalt in reaſon de-
» mand, on condition that thou do reſigne and deliuer vp *Trana*, and the fortreſſe into
» his Maieſties hands. On the other ſide, if thou be otherwiſe minded: I denounce war
» againſt thee as againſt the Kings enemy, whoſe fury and indignation, I do not ſee how
» thou canſt poſsibly ſhunne and auoide.

Fuſian being puffed vp with the fauour of the popular ſort, and with his own good fortune and proſperity, was become verie proud and arrogant, and therefore he made

Anſwer of Fuſian to Scanderbeg.

» this anſwere to the Prince of *Albany*. That he meant not to leaue the poſſeſsion of the
» place vnto the King: except he were firſt ſatisfied and paied of all his wages and pen-
» ſions from the time, the day, the houre, that he firſt came to the Kings ſeruice, euen
» to that preſent. And moreouer that he would haue the chiefe and principall place
» vnder the King, in the gouerment of his realme and kingome: With many other
ſuch conditions which he did rather preſcribe, then ſeeme to requeſt of the King his Maieſty, being notably preiudiciall to the honour and dignity roiall, and derogating greatly from the reputation of *Scanderbeg*, vnto whom he durſt make thoſe inſolent demands. After which alſo, he powred forth many vile and contumelious ſpeeches, both againſt *Ferdinand* and the Queene. *Scanderbeg* could not any longer ſuffer this his inſolency, but choler and deſpite abounding in him, and his countenance beginning to change, he tooke him by the necke, and ſo ſeized vpon him. The *Scanderbegians* making haſt to approch to their maiſter, bound him faſt, and lifted him to horſebacke without any tumult or trouble: the traine and company of *Fuſian* not any way contradicting them, or oppoſing themſelues againſt it. *Fuſian* ſeeing himſelfe captiue and in perill to fall to the mercy of *Ferdinand*, began to make faire weather, and was ſoone contented vpon condition he might enioy his liberty, to reſigne and yeeld vp *Trana* into his handes, which being accepted, and faith giuen to that effect: *Scanderbeg* entred freely with his company into the place to take poſſeſsion thereof: and hauing aſſured it with a good and ſufficient garriſon, he releaſed *Fuſian* to goe at his pleaſure: who when he was deliuered and courteouſlie licenced to depart,

Scanderbeg ſeizeth vpon the perſon of Fuſian, and taketh him priſoner.

Trana yeelded to Scanderbeg by Fuſian.

depart, embarked himselfe, his traine, and all his baggage in a certaine vessell, and so setting saile from the part of *Trana*, retired him selfe into *Sicilia*.

Scanderbeg after this happy exploit atchieued, returned to King *Ferdinand*: after which both of them being very glad and ioyous to see all troubles and seditions appeased and suppressed within the Realme, and hauing prouided and taken good order for the surety and safety of all the townes and places of any importance, they returned backe againe to *Naples* the chiefe & capitall city of the kingdome, with new ioy and exceeding great triumph. And for the better encreasing and honouring of the same, the Bishop of *Rome*, the Duke of *Millan*, and almost all the Princes and Potentates of *Italy*, in signe of the ioy and great contentment which they conceiued for their good and happy successe, did visite the King of *Naples* and *Scanderbeg* with most honourable Ambassades, and rich and sumptuous presents. But aboue all the rest, did the Pope honor the Prince of *Albany* with excellent gifts and rewards: for he did not only gratifie him with gold, siluer, and other goods and temporall things, but he adorned him with most ample and large priuiledges, prerogatiues, and spirituall graces: making him also a faithfull and assured promise, that as soone as his holinesse with the army of the *Crusado* could possibly get into *Epire*, (which he purposed to doe very shortly, and to march in proper person against the Turkes:) he would then crowne him king of *Epire*, *Macedonie*, *Thrace*, and *Romania*, and would commit the army of the Christians to his charge, and that he should haue the command and gouernment of the same, as chiefe Generall of the warres against the Infidels.

Scanderbeg honored with ambassades & presents from the Pope and other Princes of Italy.

By this time was there a full and whole yeare past and fully complet, since the arriuall of the *Albanois* into *Apulia*: now was the warre ended and determined, *Ferdinand* restored and reestablished in his kingdome, and all things settled within the prouince according to his owne desire. *Scanderbeg* therefore hauing had long conference with the King touching many affaires of great waight and importaunce, was now willing to prepare for his departure, and to appoint a time for his iourney by sea homewardes. Wherefore *Ferdinand* (before he would accord or agree to any thing) first caused all his Chiefetaines and the Captaines of his army to be assembled, and in their presence made a long oration: wherein he gaue *Scanderbeg* great thanks and infinite praises and commendations, oftentimes repeating and calling him by the name of Father: and by which euer after as long as he liued he neuer ceased to honor him. Afterwards he commaunded generall processions and publicke praiers to be said from Church to Church, whereat the King himselfe, his Court, and all the people were present, and did assist them in all humility and deuotion. Other like seruices and religious ceremonies were presented and offered vp vnto God for their good and happy victory, as to the sole and onely author and giuer of the same. After this he fell to triumphes, as turneies, iustes, and combattes, to publike and solemne huntings, to pleasant spectacles and shewes of all fashions: the which being ended and finished, the King made a great and bountifull largesse amongst the souldiers of *Albany*: but principally vnto their King for a perpetuall signe and memorie of their mutuall good will and singular loue and amitie: for besides the inestimable treasures, horses barded, proude and rich caparizons and such like presentes fit for Knights and men of armes, of singular prise and estimation bestowed vpon him: he gaue him also the citie of *Trana* and two other noble and strong places in *Apulia*: one of the which was the mount *Gargan*, commonly called Saint *Angell*, where is seated the famous towne of *Sypont*, and the venerable church consecrated to the honour of Saint *Michaell* vpon the sea *Adriaticke*: the other was Saint *Iohn de Ronde*, all which places with their territories he graunted vnto *Scanderbeg* and his heires for euer: and he ratified and

Townes in Apulia giuen to Scanderbeg by king Ferdinand
Trana.
Mount Garzã or Saint Angell.
Sypont.
Saint Iohn de Ronde.

confirmed his sayed gift and graunt by good and authenticall writings and charters.

Scanderbeg taketh his farewell of king Ferdinand.

To conclude, *Scanderbeg* hauing cauled the most part of his armie to go to *Trana*, where his shippes and gallies did then attend him, and hauing taken his leaue of king *Ferdinand*, not without many kinde farewels, teares, and tokens of sorrow, with many friendly embracements and mutuall congratulations: he departed from him at the last, being accompanied and conueied on his way throughout *Apulia*, with many Princes and great Lordes of the countrey: the high waies also being filled with people who came scattered from all places, both out of the townes and countrey to see and to salute him. Thus being come at length to the Port, and going abord his vessels, as it were in pompe and triumph: he found the windes fauourable, and seruing well for his passage. Wherefore leauing the coastes and banckes of *Apulia*, he crossed the seas with a mery wind, and in few daies arriued safe and sound with all his troups in his owne countrey of *Epire*: some of them landing at *Durax*, and some at another litle gulfe called by the inhabitants, *Cape de lach*: and from thence he went to *Croia*, where he found all things in good and prosperous estate. His comming was no sooner spred and published throughout the Prouince, but that daily there arriued vnto him new ambassades of the Princes, Lords and estates his friends and allies in demonstration of their ioy, and in congratulation of his good and happy returne. This was the end and issue of the warre of *Naples*, in the seuenteenth yeare of the raigne of *Scanderbeg*.

Scanderbeg returneth out of Apulia into Epire, Cape de lach.

The end of the tenth Booke.

THE

THE ELEVENTH BOOKE OF THE FAMOVS ACTES OF GEORGE CASTRIOT, SVRNAMED SCANDERBEG.

The Argvment.

Mahomet during the truce betweene him and Scanderbeg atchieueth many & great conquests: the war being renued betweene them, Mahomet sendeth diuerse of his chiefetains with puissant armies eth after other against Scãderbeg, who remaineth victorious against all of them. The Sultan desireth peace of Scanderbeg, which being accorded & concluded, is at length broken by the Infidels, who sodenly ouerrun and spoile the borders of the Albanois. The Venetians hauing their dominions likewise inuaded by the Turkes, send Ambassadours vnto Scanderbeg, perswading him to renue the warre, and to ioine with them against Mahomet. Scanderbeg inuadeth and preieth vpon the Turkish territories. Pope Pius the second and the Princes of Christendome, prepare a voiage or Croyzado against the Turkes, purposing to make Scanderbeg Generall of their forces. Mahomet desireth to reconfirme the peace betweene him and Scanderbeg, who absolutely refuseth it. Seremet one of the Turke his Bassaes, is sent with an army against Scanderbeg, by whom he is discomfited. The Pope being come with the army of the Christians to Ancona in Italie, and ready to take sea, sickneth and dieth: whereuppon the voiage of the Christians against the Turkes is broken off, to the great griefe of the Albanois. Ballaban Badera is sent with an army against Scanderbeg, by whom he is discomfited in the battell of Valcala. Moses and certaine nobles of Epire, being ouer rash in following the chase vppon the Turkes, are taken prisoners, whom Mahomet causeth afterwards to be executed with extreame torments. Ballaban is againe sent against Scanderbeg, and is defeated in the battell of Oronichea. The third iourney of Ballaban against Scanderbeg, by whom he is againe ouerthrowen in the battell of Sfetigrade. Ballaban and Iagup are sent with two seuerall armies at one time and by sundry waies, to enclose & oppresse Scanderbeg, who meeting first with Ballaban in the battell of Valcala, putteth him to flight, and most of his army to the sword: and after encountreth with Iagup, who in the battell of Cassar is slaine by Scanderbeg, and his forces likewise slaughtered. Scanderbeg inuadeth & spoileth the Turkish territories and so returneth to Croy triumphant and victorious.

WHilest that *Scanderbeg* was occupied in the warre of *Naples*, and that the truce continued still in force betweene him and the Turkes, *Mahomet* had made great profite and benefite by reason of this aduantage, and had notably enlarged the bounds of his Empire, both in *Asia* vppon the Infidels, and in *Greece* vppon the Christians. For first of all 1460. *The conquests of Mahomet during his truce with Scanderbeg.*

interpreting it to be a signe and token of good Fortune, and taking it for an assurance of victorie, in that he had put *Vsuncassan* to the retraite in the battell of *Arsengua*, as is before mentioned. He held on his course, and in an instant subdued *Sinope* (the countrey where *Mithridates* was both borne and buried) and all the Prouince of *Paphlagonia*, and with the like course and successe of victorie, hauing planted his Campe both by sea and by land before the city of *Trebisonde*, and hauing pressed and forced it with extreame fury, in the end he obtained both the citie and all the royall treasures and riches within it, taking prisoner also the Emperour of *Trebizond* (named *Dauid* and his two sonnes) whom most cruelly he caused to be put to death. And after he had reduced these Realmes into seuerall Prouinces, and added them to the rest of his conquests, he bent his puissaunce against *Piramet*, King of *Caramania* whom he ouercame in battell, taking from him many townes and cities in *Cilicia*: and as touching *Greece*, before that time of these expeditions in *Asia*, he entred with force of armes into *Peloponnesa*, commonly called *Morea*, and deprined the *Paleologues* of the principality of that Prouince, by the dissention of the two bretheren *Thomas* and *Demetrius*. This done, he being enformed that the *Venetians* had restored the wall of *Hexamile* (a worke and building of great antiquity) he laied waste and desolate the countrey of *Coron* and *Modon*, and by sodaine irruption ouerrunning it with foure score thousand horse, after he had defeated the *Venetians* in a bloudy battell, and thrust them out of all *Morea*, he appropriated the same vnto him selfe, and ouerthrew the wall before mentioned from the very foundation, laying it euen with the earth, whereas from time of antiquity it had enclosed the *Isthmus* or straight of *Corinth*, which is a narrow space of land running about fiue or sixe miles from the *Mediterrane* sea, to the *Arche Pelagus*, or sea of *AEgeum*. Hereby now you may gather and coniecture, that this fortunate Prince by this his vsurpation of all these countreis and estates, did not a litle encrease the greatnesse of his forces and puissaunce. For the countrey of *Peloponnesa*, is the most principall and chiefest part of *Greece*, both for the nobility, and the puissaunce of those nations and peoples, which did once inhabite it. And if we will but behold and contemplate onlie the site and situation thereof, it will soone make shew, that it deserued the principality and Empire of all *Greece*, by reason that it hath many goodly gulles, many points and promontories, many great and proude cities, and magnificall Prouinces, as *Achaia*, *Messenia*, *Laconia*, or *Lacedemon*, *Argolica*, and *Arcadia*, which is seated (as it were) in the middest of the countrey.

Sinope the countrey of Mithridates. Trebisond, or Trapezond, besieged and won by Mahomet.

Piramet king of Caramania.

Peloponnesa, or Morea.

Hexamile.

Modon, or Methone, a place frequented by pilgrims from Venice to Ierusalem.

Isthmus, a narrow space of land lying between two seas.

This Monarch, whose hopes did aime at nothing else, then the dominion and Empire of the vniuersall world, being now puffed vp in pride, and growing insolent by the happy successe of those his conquests: began to haue recourse to his wonted and former attempts, which was, to inuade and ouerrunne *Scanderbeg*, thinking to haue oppressed and broken him to nothing. For it grieued him exceedingly, that this onely man should extend the glory of his triumphes so neare vnto him, and should (as it were) braue him euen vnder his nose. Wherefore leuying an army of 20000. men, he committed the charge thereof to *Sinam* one of his Saniackes, whom de dispatched away sodainly and speedily, to the intent he should surprize and take *Scanderbeg* at an aduantage and vnprouided. But the Prince of *Albany* standing alwaies vpon his gard, had after his returne to *Croy*, in very good time dispersed abroad his espials, and remued his intelligencers neare about the *Sultan*: in such sort that he was aduertised of the intent and drift of the *Sultan*, so fitly and timely, that both he had the leisure to leauy an army, and was the first that tooke the field. Notwithstanding he kept himselfe close and in couert, attending the approach of the Saniackes whereof as soone as he had

Sinam sent against Scanderbeg with an armie of 20000. Turks.

notice,

notice, he marched on against him all the whole night: in the darke whereof, and vnknown to his aduersary with 8000. fighting men, both horse and foote, he seized vpon the mountaine of *Mocres*, and there quietly expected the comming of *Synam*, for there lay his way, and that was the place by which he was of necessity to passe. There did he take him so vnprouided, and set vpon him so sodainly, that he easily defeated both him and all his army, and that with so notable a slaughter and butcherie, that more then two third parts of them lay dead vpon the place: all their ensignes and all their baggage became a prey vnto the Christians, who enioyed it as the reward for their paines and trauell. Their Generall had much adoe to saue himselfe from the fury and heat of the slaughter by the speedinesse of his flight: those which yeelded themselues prisoners, and whose liues were saued, were redeemed for money, the which together with the other spoile, the Prince of *Albany* freely left vnto his souldiers.

Scanderbeg marcheth with an armie of 8000. men against Sinam.

Victorie of Scanderbeg against Sinam and the Turkes at Mocres.

About the same time had the *Ottoman* Emperour sent an other Turke one of his Chieftaines also, named *Assambeg* with another armie of 30000. men against *Scanderbeg*, who hauing gotten somewhat of this side of *Ocrida*, was made to yeeld so good an account of his voyage, that being vanquished, or rather vtterly broken and wholy oppressed in one onely battell: his fortune was such, that he had good experience aswell of the curtesie & clemencie of his enemy, as of his martiall force and fury. For as this Turke was furiously and valiantly fighting in that battell, the gardes of his body being all slaine and his sides left all open, his horse sore hurt, though not deadly, himself was also wounded in the right arme with an arrow. In this hard plight & difficultie of all things being both confounded and discouraged, aswell by the remembrance of this fresh discomfiture, as by the griefe of his wound, and (which more troubled him) being ouertaken with the darknes of the night, & but badly accõpanied, for euery man, as the present danger aduised him, had withdrawen themselues out of the way, & standing more in feare of their enemies then of the discõmodities of their way in the darke of the night, did keepe themselues close and secret. In this anguish (I say) & griefe both of body and of minde, was *Assambeg* retired & rested himselfe vpon a little mountaine, or rather in a thicke wood not farre from the borders of the Christians and about foure myles from their campe, in a countrey altogether vnknowen vnto him, and where he was wholy ignoraunt of all the wayes, pathes, and passages. Howbeit he stayd not there long ere he was discouered by the vigilancie of the souldiours of the *Albanois*: for that one of them, who had bene sent before day to discouer, & to make search ouer all the coast, hauing diligently surueyed all places, came speedely vnto his Captaine, and acquainted him with the whole matter, onely in this one point was he deceaued, in that by reason of the shadow of the place & the thicknes of the wood, he thought the number of the enemies to be greater then they were in deed, and so had he assured it vnto his Generall. In so much that *Scanderbeg* him selfe mounting on horseback, did make hast in great heate to seize vpon these relickes of his victory, being accompanied with all his cauallary. The Turkes discerning his cõming a farre off, you need not doubt but it troubled them greatly, and they acquainted their Chieftaine with the matter, who was more aggrieued then all of them. Immediatly they fell to consultation, and resolued vpon a course which perhaps was vnbeseeming so great a chieftaine and braue souldiers, and yet was it both safe & necessary: and that was to march without armes, and without their horses, and so to go & meet the conqueror. The captaine himself, who was the author of this counsell, led the way vnto his company, & was the formost that went against him, being all ouer deformed with bloud and filth. Not much vnlike to *Marke Anthony*, at such time as he fled from the battell of *Modena* or *Mutina*, to *Lepidus* the *Triumuir*: when he came neare him

Assambeg with an armie of 30000. against Scanderbeg.

Victorie of Scanderbeg against Assambeg at Ocrida.

Assambeg wounded is in great extremitie after the losse of the battell of Ocrida.

Assambeg hidden in a wood is discouered and assailed by Scanderbeg.

he tooke *Scanderbeg* his horſe by the reines of the bridle, and by three or foure good wordes, he ſaued the liues both of him ſelfe and his companie. For he found his enemie to be wonderfully paſſionated at his misfortune, vpon the ſpeech which he vſed vnto him.

Speech of Aſſamberg to Scanderbeg.

Whither goeſt thou (quoth he) ô *Scanderbeg*? what wouldeſt thou? It is not for thine honour ſtill to vanquiſh and ouercome thine enemies. Suffer I pray thee, ſuffer thy ſelfe ſometimes to be ouercome: for being ſo vanquiſhed, thy victorie ſhall be greater then if thou wert victorious: and with more glorie and commendation ſhalt thou recken the triumphs of thy clemencie amongſt thy victories, then thoſe which thou haſt purchaſed vpon thine armed enemies.

Sentence.

Answer of Scanderbeg to the ſpeech of Aſſamberg.

The Chriſtian Prince ſmiling, and turning about to his people: Nothing, ſaid he, is more ſubtile then aduerſe fortune, nothing is more ſharpe conceipted or politicke then neceſſitie: ô how wiſely and eloquently can we ſpeake when we are conquered, which being conquerours, we know not how to do? And then taking him by the hand, he ſayd vnto him: Aſſure thy ſelfe my friend, thou ſhalt haue neither harme nor iniurie, if I can helpe it. And hauing ſent him away, he commaunded, that his wound ſhould be well looked vnto, and that he ſhould want nothing: and afterwards he cauſed certaine of his people to conduct him into ſome place of ſuretie. For what thing is there more honorable or commendable, then to know and to be willing to vſe mercy and pity to an enemie, who is conquered, miſerable, and afflicted? *Scanderbeg* marched on with his armie, courſing vp and downe on all ſides here and there, and finding the Prouince to be cleare of all ambuſhments of the enemies, he returned to his campe, and from thence neare to *Croy*, where he ſolemnized the reſt of his ioy and gladneſſe for the victorie.

Clemencie of Scanderbeg to Aſſamberg.

Sentence.

Iuſſumbeg ſent with an armie of 18000. Turkes againſt Scanderbeg.

Within a few dayes after came *Iuſſumbeg* being ſent likewiſe againſt the *Epirot*, but he followed the ſame courſe and fortune that his companion had done, and he was ſo much the more likely to be beaten then the other, becauſe he came in a more weake and feeble eſtate to ſeeke out that aduerſary, who was newly victorious, and was as yet all embrued in the bloud of his enemies. For being entred into *Scopia* the chiefe city of *Macedony* with eighteene thouſand men: he preſumed and had determined in his thoughts, that he would march euen into the heart and bowels of *Epire*, not conſidering with him ſelfe, nor looking into the late miſhap of *Aſſamberg*, ſuch was his raſhneſſe and temerity. His comming being reported to the king of *Albanie*, made him greatly to wonder, that theſe men could ſo ſtraungely and (as it were) ſo wilfully forget them ſelues: or rather at their immoderate deſire and vnſatiable thirſt which they had after his bloud and life. Then turning him to his ſouldiers thus he ſpake vnto them.

Scopia in Macedonie.

Speech of Scanderbeg to his ſouldiers encouraging them againſt Iuſſumbeg.

Goe to my good friends and companions, you that are borne to trauels, or rather to continuall victories: let vs go on to meete with this new enemy, and with this new Captaine let vs not refuſe to doe him this honour, who at the firſt ſhocke (I dare aſſure you) will giue vs good matter of honor and glory.

The battell of Scopia betweene Scanderbeg & Iuſſumbeg.

Euery man with loud clamours and acclamations did applaud his wordes, and ſo prepared them ſelues to follow their Chiefetaine: who drawing neare to *Scopia*, and hearing by his vauntcurrours, that the enemy had taken the field, gaue the ſignall vnto his ſouldiers to giue the onſet vpon them. The Barbarian (who was not prepared neither in courage nor reſolution to the combat) receiued him notwithſtanding, yet ſo as he ſeemed to doe it with the countenaunce of one that came rather to talke of the matter, then to fight. For he did not thinke that *Scanderbeg* would haue had either him ſo greatly in contempt and diſdaine: or that hardineſſe in him ſelfe, as

that

that he durſt (ſo farre off from his owne frontiers) come to hazard the fortune of a battell within the territories of his enemies: frō whence (if he ſhould be vanquiſhed) he could not haue eſcaped, & where he could not either repaire his forces: or (though he were victorious) be well aſſured, nor in ſafetie. This was the reaſon that the Painim, euen at the very beginning, looſing both ſtrength & courage, did find no courſe better nor more expedient, then to turne head and make haſt away: ſhewing the way vnto his people of a moſt ſhamefull and ignominious flight: who kept him company in like maner, excepting ſome 300. or thereabouts, who preferring their honor before their liues, died valiantly with their armes in their hands. But they that fled found themſelues in worſe caſe by flying then they expected. For, whereas they ſuppoſed that they might haue fled with ſafetie, and ſhould not haue bene purſued by the enemie, by reaſon they were in their owne countrey, and, as it were, vpon their owne dunghill: therein they were greatly deceiued, and with thoſe their fellowes which were before ſlaine in the fight, they made vp the full number of 2000. at the leaſt. There were very few taken priſoners, by reaſon of the great difficulties and diſcommodities which hindred the ſafe conueying of them, as alſo becauſe of the length of their retrait which they were to make, for that the paiſants might haue aſſailed them on their way. *Iuſſumbeg* thought to haue rallied his troupes, and to haue layed ſome ambuſhment, or to haue dreſſed ſome deuiſe for the entrapping of the enemie: but his ſouldiers would not by any meanes hearken vnto him, but holding on their ſcattered courſe, they had a greater deſire to returne home (though it were with the diſpleaſure of their Prince) then not to returne home at all. And they excuſed themſelues vpon this their diſcomfiture and ouerthrowe giuen them by *Scanderbeg*, which they pretended to be a ſufficient reaſon and lawfull cauſe of their reſoſall. But *Scanderbeg* for all this wanted not ſome one or other to be the ſucceſſour of ſo many and great dangers, neither was he at any time without enemies.

Victorie of Scanderbeg againſt Iuſſumbeg.

Number of Turkes ſlaine at the battell of Sopia.

Amongſt the eldeſt and moſt auncient Chieftaines of *Mahomet*, there was one an *Aſiatique* named *Carazabeg*, a very graue and auncient perſonage, and of ſpeciall marke and reputation, by reaſon of many honorable places of charge, and diuerſe voyages wherein he had bene employed, and had acquitted himſelfe well and worthely. The *Sultan* alſo had him in great account, and hauing placed him in no ſmall authoritie, he retained him neare about his owne perſon, as of late alſo his father *Amurath* had done the like. This aged Sire, as if he had bene ſome young hotſpurre, found himſelfe pricked on with the ſpurres of his glorie (or rather misfortune) which ſeemed continually to lye in waite to ſeduce and entrap the greateſt and moſt notable perſons: to the intent it might obſcure the brightneſſe of all their former renowme, and the merites of their forepaſſed triumphs, by the vnhappie ſucceſſe of this warre of *Epire*: for neither the late ignominie and opprobrious ſpectacle of *Iuſſumbeg*, nor the like miſhap which had euer attended vpon ſo many others beſides him, nor yet the fatal deſtiny of the *Albanian* felicitie, which had continued euen to that day, could not any thing diſſwade him, but that he was deſirous to proue his fortune againſt *Scanderbeg*: wherfore repairing to the preſence of the *Sultan*, he thus ſpake vnto him.

Carazabeg ſaith to Mahomet to be ſent againſt Scanderbeg.

"Hitherto (moſt ſoueraigne Prince) and euen vnto this day, both vnder thy Maieſtie, and vnder thy father of happie memorie, I haue heaped vp and obtained in a maner, ſo many triumphs by my merits, as yeares by my age and courſe of life. But now both the one and the other of them is grieuous and lothſome vnto me, and I take no pleaſure to remēber them, through an extreme deſpite which I haue conceiued, to ſee *Scāderbeg* obtain ſo many victories: to ſee the many ouerthrows & diſcōfitures which he hath giuen vs: & to ſee the pride and inſolency of the *Albanians*. I am reſolued (as

"Oration of "Carazabeg, "to Mahomet, "deſiring to be "employed a- "gainſt Scan- "derbeg.

» old and vnfit as I am for armes) to abandon all to the hazard and chance of fortune,
» and either to bring vnto thee, and to prostrate before thy feete dead or aliue this wic-
» ked and vngratefull wretch, sometimes the slaue of the house of *Ottoman*, & now the
» king of the vnhappie *Epirots*: to the intent he may be accomptant vnto thee for the
» slaughter of so many and so great armies, and for the death of so many of thy noble &
» worthie chieftaines: or else this head and this throate of mine shall more and more
» enoble the glory of his fame and reputation. Giue me leaue therefore (most worthie
» Emperour) presently to leuie forces, and to muster an armie to my owne liking: I my
» selfe will take vpon me the charge and managing of this matter, not as a commander,
» but as thy minister: and both in the chusing, the arming and the trayning of the com-
» panies, I will not relye vpon any other person, but my selfe alone will looke to
» the handling and dispatching of all things. For it is with a notable thiefe and a famous
» robber that we haue to do: and the warre which we make, is with such a one, as is
» an arch maister in pollicies and sleights of subtiltie: who is growen haughtie and in-
» solent with his many victories, and who is as it were fatted with the multitude of the
» spoyles which he hath gotten of vs.

Carazabeg sent with an armie of 40000. Turkes against Scanderbeg.

Whatsoeuer this Turke demaunded, was freely and fully accorded vnto him by the *Ottoman*, who referred all to his discretion, & added vnto his demand an ouerplus of ten thousand men: for him selfe had made choise onely of thirtie thousand, with whom he thought to haue put this matter in execution, notwithstanding that it was of so great importance. He sent before him certaine spies, whom he willed to disperse them selues ouer the countrey, for to discouer and giue him some intelligence of the enemie. *Scanderbeg* on the other side wanted no good aduertisements, both throughout the prouince of *Epire*, and in *Macedonie*, and also in the heart and most inward partes of the enemies countrey, by meanes whereof the iourney and comming on of *Carazabeg* was soone made knowen vnto him, in such sort that our men had both time and opportunitie to make readie their preparations. But when *Scanderbeg* heard this newes reported vnto him, the report is, that he vsed this speech vnto some that were neare him:

Speeches of Scanderbeg touching Carazabeg.

» If this Chieftaine (quoth he) were not too farre striken in yeares and ouer aged; I
» should haue feared him alone, more then all his great puissaunce which he bringeth
» with him: (for both of them knew each other very inwardly, and they had bene
» companions in armes in a certaine voyage made into *Asia* vnder *Amurath*) much
» better (sayd he) and more wisely should *Carazabeg* haue done, if he had made spare
» and taken compassion of his old age, and especially of his fortune which seemeth
» now to faint and to be ouer-wearied, and doth as it were, repent her selfe of the ma-
» nifold victories and fauours which she hath bestowed vpon him. Wherfore though
» he be now fiftie yeares of age, yet being growen as it were, crazie and decrepit, I haue
» no reason to stand in awe of him, whom euen in the strength and prime of his youth,
» my selfe being then but a child and in a manner a verie infant, I did so little feare, that
» I did euen despise and contemne him.

Hauing thus spoken, he assembled his forces greater and more in number then those which he had against *Assambeg*, by reason of the great fame and renowme of the Turkish Captaine. Then trussing vp baggage, he tooke his way into *Dybris*: and from thence with two thousand horse he ranne vp euen to the confines of the *Tryballians* (for in this place was the comming of the Turke expected.) And he layd them in an ambuscado here and there throughout the mountaines, to the intent he might enclose the enemy in the middest of his forces, and take them at an aduantage. The Barbarian likewise hauing caused the maine body of his armie to stay in a cer-

Ambuscado layd by Scanderbeg against Carazabeg.

taine

taine place within *Macedonie* commonly called *Chieri*) had sent before 4000. horsemen, who being discouered, were suddenly charged by the *Albanois*, the greater part of them being discomfited and slaine, and the rest being scattered and dispersed in their flight, caried the newes of their misfortune to their Generall before that euer he came neare to the confines of *Epire*. He therfore being before sufficiently weakned with age & sicknes, began by the astonishment of this mishap to grow more faint both in mind and in body: being not so much aggrieued at the losse of his men, as that his coming was disclosed and discouered to the Christian. Many and diuerse things did he cast & deuise vpon in his mind, being in doubt what course to take, & whether it were best for him to hold on his iourney, or else to turne head towards *Constantinople*, & to deferre this expedition till the next spring: for the Autumne was now in a maner at an end. In the end, shame & feare of dishonor did so farre preuaile with the old man, that he thought it not best to giue ouer the warre. Hauing therefore in two dayes space, dispatched almost all his iourney towardes his enemie, about the first watch of the night he came to a certaine plaine, which they of the countrey call *Liuad*, where he encamped his armie, and the same night he set all things in order & readinesse against the time of the conflict: and the next morning he sent an herauld vnto *Scanderbeg* to giue him the defiance, challenging him to the encounter in a set, open, and plaine battell, and not secretly and by stealth, after the maner of theeues and robbers. *Scanderbeg* terming him a Dotard, and an old Beldam, told him, he should heare of him ere long: and without any pause, he went on roundly to giue the onset vpon him, who was not yet readie to receiue him, but stood consulting vpon his businesse, as the maner of old men is. Notwithstanding he sustained the brunt of that charge wel enough, by meanes of a great showre of raine that fell at the very beginning of the onset: the which did soone separate them asunder: so that there was nothing done worthie the remembring. For for three dayes together, there fell such great store and abundance of water, that if the *Mahometan* had not remoued his host into a higher ground, and more mountainous, it is most certaine that the quarrell had bene determined by the destruction and losse of his souldiers in that deluge and abundance of waters. And yet, as carefull as he was to preuent the daunger, a great number of their horses were drowned and lost. The Infidell taking this to be prodigious, and as a presage of his ill fortune, gaue ouer his enterprise, and (assoone as the time and tempestuousnesse of the weather would giue him leaue) he secretly withdrew his forces and dislodged his army, & by long iourneys he bid *Epire* farewel, hauing an intent to returne againe the next spring, if so be the destinies would be answerable to the desires of this credulous old man. At his returne towards *Mahomet* with those forces which he had left, the report goeth, that at the first he found but bad entertainment, & was receiued with a frowning countenance: yet afterwards he was highly praised, and much made of, because he had so wel and carefully saued and preserued his people. But now when the *Ottoman* saw that *Scanderbeg* was not to be forced by armes, he aduised and bethought him selfe howe he might surprise and ouerreach him by guile and subtilties. He sent vnto him therefore an Ambassade with presents of great value, and with letters: the copie whereof is as followeth.

Chieri.

Turkes to the number of 4000. of the armie of Caraz-abeg defeated by Scanderbeg.

The plague of Liuad.

Caraz-abeg charged by Scanderbeg within his campe.

Caraz-abeg retireth secretly with his armie out of Epyre.

Ambassadour sent by Mahomet to Scanderbeg.

Mahomet, Beg, Amira, Sultan of all parts of the world: Lord and Emperour of the Orient and the Occident, to Scanderbeg Prince of the Albanois and Epirots sendeth health.

I knowe not (my deare friend *Scanderbeg*) any amitie more cordiall and heartie, nor any familiaritie or friendship more fast and sure then that which proceedeth of

Letters of the Mahomet to the Scanderbeg.

» long and mutuall conuerſing together, and eſpecially when it beginneth in the
» greene and tender age of youthfull yeares, as did the old amitie betweene vs two: who
» in our firſt infancie, as it were, at ſuch time as thou wert hoſtage in the Court of *Amurath* my father, did for a long time liue together in ſingular, and almoſt incredible
» loue and concord. Wherefore (my good *Scanderbeg*) as often as I do call to minde
» both theſe and other matters wherwith our age at that time was delighted: & more-
» ouer remembring all that which thou haſt heretofore done for the ſeruice of our Em-
» pire, for the houſe of the *Ottomans*, and for the glory & enlarging of our crowne and
» dignitie: my deſire and endeuor is to loue and to make much of thee with all poſſible
» and moſt ardent affection. And I proteſt before God, that nothing can happen vnto
» me more acceptable or more agreeable in this life, then to ſee thee neare about me,
» and for a time to enioy thy preſence. If our ſouldiers haue of late violently inuaded
» thy dominions, or entred vpon thy realme, committing there any exceſſe or outrage,
» yet ought not that to be any occaſion or impediment to hinder thee from comming
» vnto vs. For what ſoeuer hath bene done in that caſe, was without our command or
» knowledge: and (as reaſon would) I haue and do take it in very ill part, neither doth
» it in any ſort diſpleaſe me that they haue bene chaſtiſed for their mildeeds, and recom-
» penced according to their deſerts. But omitting theſe matters, let vs returne to our
» ancient amitie and alliance, which doth eaſily perſwade and induce me to deſire that
» we may be reconciled, and that we may haue peace each with other for euer from
» hence forward: to the intent that by a ſacred and indiſſoluble league and confederacy,
» the friendly bond of our old and auncient acquaintance (which hath in a maner bene
» extinguiſhed by our long and continuall abſence each from other) may nowe againe
» be renued, increaſed, and ſtrongly confirmed betweene vs. The articles of our accord
Conditions of peace propoſed by Mahomet to Scanderbeg. » ſhall be theſe, if ſo be thou thinke it good, or that they ſeeme not iniurious vnto thee:
» for I know that it is not for him that deſireth and demaundeth peace to preſcribe and
» ſet downe the conditions of the peace. The firſt thing that we demand of thee, is that
» thou ſuffer our armie to haue free and ſafe paſſage throughout thy realme and domi-
» nions, to inuade, ouerrunne, and to make warre vpon the countrey and townes of
» the *Venetians*: that thou deliuer vs in hoſtage thy ſonne *Iohn*, whom we do promiſe
» and vowe continually to acknowledge and reſpect as one of our owne children: that
» the traffike and trade of marchandiſe may be free & open for all our ſubiects through-
» out all thy Seigniories, as in like caſe it ſhall be for thine ouer all parts of our Empire.
» Beſides alſo I do offer vnto thee full power and libertie in all ſecuritie, ſafely to come
» and to haue acceſſe vnto vs. In theſe caſes if thou wilt gratifie and yeeld vnto vs, we
» do faithfully promiſe thee in the word and faith of a king, that we will keepe and ob-
» ſerue true and continuall peace and friendſhip with thee and thy people: and that no
» perſon what ſoeuer ſhall be more deare, nor more acceptable vnto vs then thy ſelfe:
» and we will to the vttermoſt of our power, defend thy countrey from being troubled
» or moleſted, either by our owne armes, or by any others whom ſoeuer. For other
» matters, we pray thee to giue full credit vnto that which *Muſtapha* our agent ſhall by
» word of mouth impart vnto thee. Dated in our Imperiall citie of *Conſtantinople* this
» ſecond of May, in the yeare of the generation of Ieſus 1461.

» Theſe letters of *Mahomet* being openly read in a full aſſembly and generall Coun-
ſell of all the Princes, Lords and Captaines of *Epire*: they did all with one voyce and
full conſent agree and conclude, that they eſteemed it to be greatly to the honour and
reputation of *Scanderbeg*, and of the Eſtate of *Albanie*, that ſo puiſſant, mightie and
fortunate a Monarch as *Mahomet*, vnder whoſe yoke and ſubiection ſo many realmes
and Empires, ſo many cities and nations had ſubmitted them ſelues, ſhould now offer
him

himselfe as a petitioner for peace, and should require his friendshippe and amity. This was the occasion, that all of them with one minde did set downe this for their conclusion, that reiecting all the other clauses and motions propounded by the *Ottoman*, they would agree to make peace with him vppon this one condition onely, namely: That the mutuall traffique and trade of marchandise should be free and open betweene them and their Dominions. This matter being thus agreed on, *Scanderbeg* returned letters vnto the *Sultan*, the tenor and contents whereof were in this manner.

George Castriot, named Scanderbeg, Prince of the Epyrots and Albanois, and the Souldier of Iesus Christ, to Mahomet soueraigne of the Turkes sendeth health.

Most noble and renowmed Prince, we haue receiued thy letters, & by the contents thereof haue seene the greatnesse of thy loue and singular affection, which thou doest protest to beare vnto me: and which (as thou saiest) hath bene ratified by our olde and auncient nouriture and education, and is so bound and deepely rooted by long vse and conuersation, that being in a manner conuerted into a second nature it shall flourish and endure betweene vs perpetually. Thou saiest also, that whereas this our familiaritie is (as it were) laide a sleepe and in a manner discontinued, by reason that we haue beene so farre and so long disioyned and seuered each from other, thou hast a great and earnest desire to reuiue and recontinue the same by some newe league of friendship and amitie: the conditions whereof thou doest propound to be these. First that thy troupes may haue free and sure passage through our countrie, to inuade and endamage the *Venetians*: to which thy demand, we cannot, nor may not consent nor agree without the manifest breach of all right and equitie, and without great dishonor to our royall estate and dignitie, for that the *Venetians* are our allyes and confederates. And as touching thy desire to haue my sonne for an hostage for the surer confirmation of the peace betweene vs, it might be peraduenture that I would gladly doe it, if the affection of a father did not dissuade and detaine me from it. But he being my onely childe, and of a verie young and tender age, nowe that it behoueth him to be nourished and trayned vp in our manners and customes, he cannot be taken from the embracements of his parents, without the great and singular preiudice both of himselfe and me. As for that which thou requirest of me concerning thy subiects and marchants, that they may haue free passage to come and go, to buy, sell, and traffique their wares and marchandice throughout our Dominions: all my Captaines doe like and allow of the motion, and my selfe also, who doe desire nothing more then that the traffique and trade of marchandice may haue his full and free course euerie where betweene vs. Moreouer thou doest inuite me with great shew of affection to come and visite thee, and that I should not doubt to doe it in all confidence and securitie, to the intent that our mutuall sight and conuersation each with other, might satisfie the desire of our so long continued absence. I doe highly commend most worthy Prince, the bountie of thy minde, and the liberalitie of thy good nature and disposition, in regard whereof, if my vrgent affayres, and the managing of this my estate would giue me leaue, or would affoord me any time of leasure and oportunitie, I would be so bold and hardie as to embrace thy good aduise and counsell. But what should I doe? I haue here my sonne a very infant, a child of a most weake and tender age, and altogether vnfit and vnmeete for the rule and gouernement of this Realme, or the publique affaires of my estate. Moreouer, my people (as thou knowest) is a Nation altogether impatient of rest and idlenesse: they are a fierce and vntamed kind

Letters of Scanderbeg to Mahomet.

» of people: and my selfe doe finde it a matter of sufficient trouble to rule and gouerne
» them in good order. Neuertheles assoone as I shall see a fit and conuenient time I will
» not faile to come vnto thee, and I will obey thy pleasure in that behalfe. From our
» campe the 30. of May. 1461.

These letters being deliuered to the Turkish Monarch assoone as he had perused and read them, he presently replied vnto them by other letters written to this effect.

Mahomet Beg, Amira, Sultan, and Emperour of all partes of the world: to Scanderbeg Prince of the Albanois and Epyrots.

Letters of Mahomet to Scanderbeg.

» Thou hast written vnto me by *Mustapha* our agent, that of those conditions of
» peace which we offered vnto thee, there is not any but one onely that liketh thee:
» namely, that our marchants may lawfully and freely transport and sell their commo-
» dities: and vpon this condition onely thou doest make offer of peace vnto me, alleag-
» ing, that such is the will and mind of thy Captaines. I am content to accept of it, and
» as touching thy other excuses I do take them in good part. And therefore *Scanderbeg*
» I doe promise thee faithfully, that all that which thou for thy part doest demaund of
» me is very gratefull and pleasing vnto me: and I doe willingly accorde to the mindes
» and good liking of thee & thine. I do here sweare vnto thee by the great God whom
» I call to witnesse, that I will obserue this peace with thee, most sacred, perpetuall and
» inuiolable during our liues, so that thy selfe doest not first infringe it, or giue occa-
» sion to violate it. And to this end thou shalt receiue these present letters signed with
» our owne hande, and sealed with our imperiall and ordinarie seale: in token and assu-
» rance of the strength and confirmation of this our peace, that it shall be firme and
» permanent. For which cause also we desire thee (if so thou please) to subscribe these
» of ours likewise and to firme them with thy accustomed and vsuall seale, that we may
» haue some testimonie of thy intent and meaning. Moreouer we pray thee to take
» order throughout all thy Dominions that vppon the conclusion hereof, open pro-
» clamation may be made, and publique notice may be giuen by good solemne edicts
» to all thy subiectes of this peace and league concluded betweene vs: which we like-
» wise for our partes will cause to be done throughout all parts of our Empire. And
» to the intent our loue and good will towardes thee may be the more apparant, I
» will that thou shouldest vnderstande, that of our owne free and proper motion, and
» of our franke and pure liberalitie we doe graunt vnto thee, and are well content
» that thou shalt freely, lawfully, and entirely enioy, holde, and keepe all that which
» by force and strong hande thou hast taken and wonne from *Amurath* our late Fa-
» ther: and that thou shalt quietly possesse and retayne it, as if it had euer beene thy
» auncient inheritance, and descended vnto thee from thy auncestors, and we doe ab-
» solutely renounce and release vnto thee, all the right, prerogatiue and authoritie
» which we haue at any time heretofore had vnto the same: and we doe giue, graunt,
» and confirme the same vnto thee, protesting that from hencefoorth we will ap-
» proue and allow thee for the true and lawfull King of *Epyre* and of *Albanie*, and
» so will we alwayes repute and entitle thee. Neither will we at anie time hereafter
» molest and trouble thee with our forces, as I haue alreadie sworne and protested:
» prouided that thou giue vs no iust cause or occasion thereunto. Wherefore we doe
» expect that thou send vnto vs a copie of these presents sealed with thy Seale, by this
» our Ambassadour, vnto whom thou maiest giue credence touching any thing which
» he shall declare vnto thee on our behalfe. Giuen in our Imperiall citie of *Constan-*
» *tinople* the two and twentieth day of Iune, and in the yeare of the generation of
» Iesus 1461.

Fortie

Fortie dayes were fully past and expired since that the Turkish Herauld made his first voyage to *Scanderbeg* about the treatie of this peace, at such time as he returned now againe with this second charge and commission for the full ratifying & concluding of the same according to the mind and liking of the King of *Albany*, who hauing receiued it, caused the same to be read openly before all his Princes and Chiefetaines whom he had assembled to that intent and purpose. All of them were well contented and did allowe of the peace, as being for the honour and benefite of the whole Prouince: wherefore the matter being thoroughly concluded and past betweene the two Princes, the peace was solemnely and publique proclaimed in all the quarters and principall places of their Realmes and Dominions, to the great ioy and contentment of them all in generall: and it was faithfully kept and obserued betweene their peoples and subiectes for the space of two yeares or thereaboutes, till such time as the Barbarians and Infidelles were the infringers and breakers of the same. The occasion of the breach thereof I thinke needelesse to be deliuered, considering that the onely reason that led them to desire this peace, was that they might with the more ease enlarge and amplifie their Empire, by the dammage and detryment of others, and that the *Epyrots* in the meane while might be lulled a sleepe in securitie. Nowe therefore they did shewe them selues to be the first breakers of the league, and they violated the fayth which had beene solemnely sworne and vowed, inuading in hostile manner the landes and territories of the *Albanois* from whence they carried away an inestimable prey and bootie. *Scanderbeg* finding himselfe highly aggrieued at the matter, complained thereof by many letters and ambassades sent of purpose vnto the *Sultan*. But all the answere he had of him, was, that it was doone vnknowen to him and without his consent and priuitie. And he fed him with good words and faire promises, that he would take order to see it remedied, and feigning himselfe to be displeased with those that did it, he caused some part of the bootie to be restored.

Peace betweene Scanderbeg & Mahomet.

1463. *The peace broken & violated by the Turkes who inuade Epyr.*

This happened about the same time, that the Infidels did likewise ouerrunne and pill the Dominions of the *Venetians*, which was the occasion, that the Senate of *Venice* (being in league and ioyned in a most streight bonde of amitie with *Scanderbeg*) did send vnto him their ambassadour *Gabriell Trenisan* to exhort and instantly to pray him to denounce open warre against *Mahomet*, and to renounce the peace and amitie made with the Infidell: which he might easily doe, and with a good conscience, for that he had first broken and violated the couenantes of their compact and agreement, and had falsified his faith publiquely giuen for the obseruation of the peace betweene them: he aduertised and warned him to open his eyes, to awaken his spirits, and to preuent the perill which was nowe neere at hand & imminent ouer all Christendome, inferring that though the mischiefe were but now in breeding, yet it would not be long ere it would seize vpon all *Europe*, if it were not speedily preuented. That he might clearely see and perceiue, howe this Traytour and periured wretch, had not for anie other cause made peace with him, but onely of a minde purposely bent and disposed to periurie and infidelitie, and to the intent that after he had imposed the yoake vpon other Christian Princes and Estates his neighbours, and had by such guilefull deuises augmented his force and puissance, and enlarged his Empire, that then he might all at leasure, and with more ease bring him also to be at his discretion. That there could not be anie such friendship or amitie betwene the Turkes and the *Epyrots*, for that they were euen by nature enemies ech to other. That he should note and obserue it well, how that the Infidell (after he had once assured himselfe not to be troubled by the armes of the *Albanois*)

Venetian Dominions inuaded by the Turkes.

Gabriell Trenisan Ambassador from the Venetians to Scanderbeg.

Perswasions of Gabriell Trenisan to Scanderbeg, to renue the warre against Mahomet.

had suddenly bent and conuerted his forces against the *Rascians* and *Triballians*: and hauing brought them vnder his subiection, he went against the *Thracians* and the *Illirians*, and last of all hauing subuerted and abolished the Empire of the *Greekes*, he adioyned the Empire of *Trebisond* likewise to his owne crowne and Monarchy. Now therefore that he had surmounted and made a conquest of all others: and that fortune seemed to smile vpon him in all his actions, what other thing rested there for him to enterprise, but to oppresse and swallowe vp him also, and so to surprise all of them one after another? That it behoued them therefore betimes to looke vnto it, and that ioyning their forces and meames all in one, it were farre better to haue him for their open and professed enemie, then for their cruell and couetous Lorde and Master. That it were meere folly to thinke that the intent & meaning of the Turke was only to spoyle, waste, and destroy the Prouinces and Dominions of the Christians, and not to extirpate and abolish their religion: for the verie name and profession of Christianitie was so odious and hatefull to those Miscreants, as their whole drift and meaning is to roote out both the knowledge and the remembrance thereof from the face of the earth. Wherefore the most safest, fittest, and shortest course for them was to get the start of the Infidell, and in time to oppose themselues against the mischiefe, rather then to stay till they should find themselues oppressed by their enemies, and then to goe seeke a remedie for their woundes. That all the peoples and nations of Christendome did call vpon him, entreat him and inuite him thereunto: that the most noble and famous Senate of *Venice* by name, did instantly pray and request him to betake himselfe to armes, offering to furnish him with gold, siluer and men, and with all other things and prouisions whatsoeuer that should be needfull and necessarie for such an expedition.

Answere of the Albanois to the Ambassadour of the Venetians.

Scanderbeg hauing heard these reasons and perswasions of the *Venetian*, albeit of himselfe he was not vnresolued in his owne opinion, yet because he vsed not to determine vpon any matters of consequence without the aduise of the people, he called a councell of all his Chieftaines and Colonels: where after long debating and discoursing vpon the matter, there was not so much as any one of them who had a desire to renue the warre with the *Mahometist*, for that the *Sultan* himselfe seemed to the vttermost of his power to shunne and auoide it, and was vnwilling to enter againe into armes: and the rather because he had of late caused the most part of the bootie to be restored, which (as he protested) his souldiers onely in sport and of a certaine militarie licentiousnesse had taken and carried away out of *Epyre*. Hereupon the Ambassadour hauing heard this answere and resolution of the *Albanois*, departed from thence very sad and sorrowfull for this repulse: and he tooke his way to the Archbishop of *Durac*, whom he knew to be in wonderfull good credite with the King of *Albanie*, and that all the people of *Epyre* had a marueilous good opinion of him, in so much as there was not any thing (were it neuer so hard and difficult, but if he pleased to vndertake it, he could perswade them vnto it. The cause that made him to resort vnto this personage, was to see if he could perswade him to take the matter in hand, and to deale with the King and his Captaines to make open warre vpon the *Ottoman*. For he was as yet in some hope, that the case was not altogether desperate.

Paul Angell Archbishop of Durac, his discent & vertues

This Prelate being most affectionate to the seruice of the commonwealth of *Venice*, in regard of the reuerence which he bare to that Senate was content to make a iourney to *Scanderbeg*. This Archbishop being an *Epyrot* borne, and in the citie of *Driuasta*, was the sonne of *Andrew Angell* (of whom we haue heretofore made some mention) he was a man of excellent conceipt and vnderstanding, of incomparable eloquence, perfectly well seene in al good letters both diuine and humaine, & notably

learned

learned in the languages both Greeke and Latin, and therewithall his grauitie & integritie of life was so singular, and so great was his zeale and feruentnesse in the Christian religion, that it purchased him high praise & commendation with all men. And *Scanderbeg* had him in great honor, reuerence and estimation in regard of his modestie, sinceritie, and vncorrupt life: and the people of *Albany* did alwaies hearken vnto him and beleeue him, as if he had beene some diuine Oracle. Nowe this personage comming to see *Scanderbeg*, and hauing humbly besought him, that he would assemble his Captaines and the seuerall companies of his souldiers, enforced himselfe by his perswasions to induce them to resume their armes, and to renue the warre against the Turkes, speaking vnto them in this manner.

The diuine *Plato* (most worthy Prince) did affirme those cõmonweales, realmes, and Empires to be most happie and fortunate, which were gouerned by men of wisedome and vertue. The truth whereof we our selues doe see more cleere then the daylight to be now verified in the people and estate of *Albanie*, liuing vnder the rule and commaund of thy Maiestie, a most sage and vertuous Prince, and a peerelesse and inuincible Chieftaine. Good reason therefore had the Kings and Potentates thy next neighbors to elect, choose and nominate thee alone for their worthy Chiefe and Generall, as being sent from heauen to defend and protect their crownes and estates from the rage and fury of the *Ottomans*, and from the fiercenesse of the Barbarians, as they haue bene hitherto most excellently well defended and preserued vnder the protection of thy armes and the valure of thy souldiers. The which being well perceiued by *Mahomet* a most subtle and wilie Foxe (who lies continually in waite to entrap and beguile all Christians, and is the most cruell and vehement persecutor of the Christian faith, farre exceeding all that euer liued) he hauing a greedie desire to satisfie his brutish & extreame hatred conceiued against the name and profession of Christianitie, by his crafty & cunning dissimulation (a thing familiar and vsuall to the house of *Ottoman*) hath gotten and procured thee to conclude a peace with him, condescending gladly vnto such lawes and couenants as it pleased thee to prescribe vnto him, onely becaus he would not be molested and troubled by thy armes, of which he stood in doubt more then of any thing else whatsoeuer. But alas (most sage and prudent Prince) who is there that cannot discerne and discouer, how this Barbarian by a barbarous kind of craft and deceipt, hath drawen thee to this treatie, and hath fradulently wonne thee to this peace, onely first of all to roote out the other Princes thy neighbours, that afterwardes he might come vpon thee also as he hath alreadie begunne, and partly put in practise? where are the *Rascian* Princes? where are the Kings of the *Illirians* or *Sclauonians*? what is become of the Emperour of *Trebysond*? See how this traytor euen now of late against his owne faith, and all couenantes and rights of the lawe of Nations, hath bent his forces against thee also, wasting and sacking thy Prouince, and by daily inroades and continuall inuasions doth trouble and vexe thy allyes and confederates. For who can expresse the immortall rancour of this tyrant against thee? doest thou thinke, that he will suffer the death of his father, such huge slaughters of his armies, so manie murthers of his Captaines and Chiefetaines to remaine vnreuenged? Is it possible that thou canst repose any trust and confidence in the wordes of this infamous deceiuer? or canst thou admit his excuses? doest thou thinke that he will keepe his promise and faith with thee, who neuer yet had anie faith in him, nor euer to this day did keepe his fayth with anie man liuing? Good God, who can number the villanies and mischiefes of this fellonous and cruell tyrant? and yet to let them passe in silence and vntouched, I holde it no lesse then plaine impietie. For to inueigh against one that is notoriously wicked,

The oration of the Archbishop of Durazzo to Scanderbeg and the Epirots perswading them to renewe warre against the Turkes.

» and to make them knowen vnto the worlde which are the authors of vice and wic-
» kednesse, is a thing not only delectable and delightfull, but it is greatly profitable and
» beneficiall: because that men being terrified by their examples, may abstaine from
» mischiefe and vitious actions. And therefore as vertue ought not to be suffered to goe
» vnrewarded or to be without commendation, so ought vice likewise to be checked
» and reprehended. For by the one and the other of those twaine, do we reape like frute
» and benefite both by the exalting of the good and the suppressing of the wicked. This
» then is a thing both iust and reasonable, that they which are vicious and lewdly giuen
» should heare their wickednesse openly reproued and condemned: and aboue all o-
» thers this Turkish tyrant *Mahomet*, as being one that farre surpasseth and excelleth in
» all kindes of mischiefe and villanies: whose life, manners, and detestable deedes,
» I hold it not amisse briefely to runne ouer, and to lay open, to the intent they may be
» the better knowen vnto thee, and that thou maiest the sooner shun and eschew them.
» First of all, to say nothing of his originall and offspring as that he is descended of the
» *Scithians*, issued out of a base village called *Otmanesh* from whence proceeded the fa-
» mily of the *Ottomans*: this *Mahomet* being endowed with a notable vigour & dexte-
» ritie both of spirit and of bodie, but of a most peruerse and mischeeuous nature, is be-
» come the common enemie of mankind, a cruell bloudsucker, a chiefe ringleader to all
» vice, a Prince of all wickednesse, delighting in the death and destruction of men, the
» father of all mischiefes, and an vnsatiable murtherer. And as his auncestors were of
» litle better disposition, so hath he retayned this barbarous fierceneese and intempe-
» rance, persteuering in the whole course of his life in one and the same peruersenesse of
» a most crooked and diuelish nature. From the very beginning of his youth, he hath
» euer had a singular delight in warres, murthers, rapines and dissentions, and in these
» hath he alwayes bene trayned and exercised. A man of a most stout courage and au-
» dacious, and withall variable and vnconstant, full of deceipt and double dealing, a
» deepe dissembler in all his actions, greedy of other mens goods, burning in his owne
» lustes and desires, and continually couetous of things immoderate and vnpossible.
» First of all there grew in him an vnmeasurable desire of money, and afterwardes of
» Empire and dominion: his soule being plentifully furnished with wicked and dam-
» nable artes, wanteth not corrupt and lewd lustes, a most shameleese ribaud, a common
» adulterer, an inuenter of new vices which euen nature it selfe hath in horror and de-
» testation. This is that same *Mahomet*, who of an ambitious humour strangled his
» owne naturall brother, and with notable treachery and infidelitie murthered the
» Princes of *Rascia*, and the King of *Bosnia*: and all those which were of their bloud and
» linage, some of them he brought into miserable bondage and seruitude, others he de-
» prined of their sight, and put out their eyes, or else mangled them in some part of their
» bodies. What should I speake of infinite others, vppon whom he hath practised all
» kindes of torments? and I doe verily beleeue that in the end, if he find none elsewhere
» vpon whom to execute his monstrous crueltie, he will not spare to vse it against him
» selfe, so infinitely is his nature enclined to fierceneese and inhumanitie, that the wrath-
» full and fierie rage of his minde can neuer be contented or satisfied. For towards God
» his soule is most impure, towards men it is dangerous, and it neuer ceaseth from plot-
» ting and contriuing how to worke the dammage and ruine of others. He maketh no
» account of the amitie or enmitie of any man, but only to serue his owne turne. He re-
» gardeth not to keepe a meane or measure in any thing, but committeth all kinde of
» villanies and cruelties against his friends and against his owne subiects. He spoyleth
» and robbeth the temples both in publique and in priuate, he profaneth all holy and
» sacred things, he polluteth all things, he seizeth vpon euery thing, he maketh no diffe-

rence

rence of honour and dishonour, of shame and shamefastnesse, of honestie and dishonestie, of diuine things and of humaine things: but he mingleth & confoundeth them one with another. All those to whom he euer gaue any faith or made any promise, hath he not contrary to his faith & his owne couenants, either subdued them or slaine them, or enthralled them? Is it therefore any nouelt ie most worthy Prince, if this periured *Mahomet* do not keepe his word and promise with thee? especially seeing that he being defiled and polluted with all kind of vice, doth possesse impietie (as it were) by diseent, and his periurie is hereditarie vnto him. Trust not therefore to this tyrant, build not vpon his promises, but shake off his acquaintance and repute that peace for dissolued and broken which he was not afraid first of all to infringe and violate, and let it not cause thee to refraine from inuading his dominions with sworde and fire. Prouide I say, prouide for thy selfe and thy estate (most prudent Prince) for feare least the Barbarian doe by his traines entrappe and oppresse all of vs. This false traitor who is so well beaten and practised in fraud and subtilnie, deuiseth nor medirateth vpon nothing else, but only how he may destroy and extirpate the faith of Christ, for the which (as thou knowest) thou diddest once determine, yea thou diddest vowe by a solemne oath, that thou wouldest alwayes labour and trauell euen to the death: and I doe well remember, I haue oftentimes heard thee say, That only for the defence and preseruation thereof, thou diddest thinke thy selfe to be created and to be borne into this worlde. What reason then hast thou, ô *Scanderbeg*, (pardon me I beseech thee in speaking it) to lay aside thy armes? what, wilt thou nowe liue for thy selfe alone? doest thou thinke that thy estate will be little or nothing the worse, in that thou being an olde souldier doest now sit still and doe nothing? is it not a shame that any man should see that same ancient lineliuesse and quicknesse of spirit in so excellent and worthie a Prince, now to waxe rustie through idlenesse, and to vanish away to nothing? the stirring spirit of thy good friend *Mahomet* is not idle: he doeth not passe away the time in sloth, nor sitteth still as thou doest. He accustometh himselfe to waking and watching, he laboureth and bestirreth himselfe, and he hasteneth with all possible speed and celeritie, to defile and prophane the Gospell of the sonne of God: to ouerwhelme the ship of blessed Saint *Peter*: to teare and rend in peeces the coate of Christ our Sauiour being without seame: following therein the steppes of his auncestors, and the traditions of his false Prophet, who ordained that the name of Iesus Christ should be persecuted as prophane and odious: and that the bloud of the innocent and faithfull Christians should be spilt by those which were his followers: hence is it, that this bloudie hangman hath continually more then any other, pursued the faith and religion of the Christians with a most mortall and deadly hatred: against whom if thou most worthie Prince, doest not display thy armes: if thou doest not aduance thy forces: if thou doe not inuade and make warre vpon him, it is not to be doubted, but that all men generally will repute and hold thee for faint hearted, fearefull, and giuen ouer to sloth and idlenes. Hast thou not heard how all the Kings and Princes of the Catholike faith together with the soueraigne pastor of the church haue conspired against this bloudie tirant and are fully determined by God his assistance to pursue and persecute him with all their power and puissance, and to expell him wholly out of *Europe*? Alreadie hath the holy father sent forth his Bull, and published the same throughout all Christendome, by vertue whereof all those Kings and christian Princes, are to haue full remission of their sinnes assoone as they shall come to accompanie the supreame Bishop and shall march with him against this cursed enemie both of God and men. Wherefore the *Venetians*, both the Duke and the Senate also, who haue made incredible

» preparations both by sea and land, and the Popes holinesse likewise, and all the Chri-
» stians in generall do conuite thee, do call vpon thee, and they do nominate & appoint
» thee to be their chiefe & principall leader, as a Prince most worthy of this charge in
» so holy a warre & expedition. And assoone as his holinesse shalbe arriued on this side
» the sea, and shall haue made his entry within *Durus*, he is determined to crowne thee
» King of *Epyre* & of *Albany*. What doest thou then o *Scanderbeg* most fortunate and
» happy Prince? wherefore doest thou temporize? either must thou from henceforth
» for euer giue ouer to beare armes and forgo the warres, & so quietly submit thy necke
» vnto the yoke of the Infidell, or else thou must contend with this common enemie,
» and thou must not in any case yeelde vnto him either in patience or in vertue, with
» whom thou art to contend, for the totall summe of supreame power & soueraignitie.
» Stirre vp once againe the vigour of thy haughty courage & of thy puissant forces, call
» together thy Chieftaines, leauy men & souldiers from all parts, inuite the Princes thy
» neighbours & confederates, dresse in a readinesse, and dispose in order thy squadrons
» and thy legions: march on before the generall assembly of the faithfull, and the col-
» ledge of Christians, conforme thy selfe to the will and counsell of the vniuersall Bi-
» shop, purchase thou pardon for thy owne offences, and for thy army likewise. Behold
» thy friends the *Venetians* haue sent me hither to declare these things vnto thee, to sum-
» mon and inuite thee, to exhort and perswade thee: to the intent thou maiest conioyne
» thy forces with their forces, thy ensignes with their ensignes, and thy troupes with
» their troupes. Thou knowest that the *Venetians* are most Christian Princes, most
» bountifull, and most puissant both by sea and by land: they doe promise and proffer
» vnto thee, golde, siluer, and men, in all plentifull manner. Goe to then *Scanderbeg*,
» now or neuer, shewe thy selfe truely to be *Scanderbeg*: thou who art the honour
» and the glorie of Princes: be thou the formost man with thy bands to warre vpon the
» miscreants: inuade his land, giue him iust cause of feare and terror, euen to him I say,
» who hauing broken his couenants and falsified his faith, and violated the peace, did
» first prouoke thee to betake thy selfe to armes: for all lawes and all rights do openly
Sentence. » permit and allow this for lawfull: That faith and promise is not to be obserued to-
» wardes such as haue first violated their faith and fidelitie. March on therefore, march
» on hardily before the Catholique armie, giue the first charge and attempt vpon thy
» enemie: denounce open and generall warre to the Barbarian: prepare the waye to
» the soueraigne Pastour of Christendome: for behold now Pope *Pius*, behold the
» *Venetians*, behold the *French* and the *Almaines*, the *Spaniardes*, the *Flemmings*, the
» *Hungarians*, the *Bohemians*, the *Polonians*, the *Italians*, and briefly, all Christian
» nations and peoples doe follow after thee, and they doe come to helpe and to second
» thee: now therefore will not this Pagan, this *Mahometist* be euer able to resist so
» many Kings, so many Princes, so many nations and warlike armies: he will soone
» betake himselfe to flight, he will soone forsake and forgoe *Europe*: the pride and
» insolencie of the *Ottoman*, his fraudulent and deceiptfull dealings, his secret traines
» and wicked deuises will now profit him litle or nothing: his wonted policies and
» sleightes will not be able to helpe him. Neuertheless it is needfull that thou be cir-
» cumspect and prouident, and thou must vse singular prudence and wisedome: for that
» assoone as this wily and craftie foxe shall perceiue these preparations to be made a-
» gainst him, he will speedily send his Ambassadors vnto thee to flatter thee, to entise
» thee and to diswade thee from taking armes against him: but harken not vnto him, a-
» lienat thy mind frō his wicked & peruerse nature, stop thy eares against his flatteries
» & smooth perswasions: thou art sufficiently acquainted with the inward affections of
» his hart: thou seest well enough what a maner of man he is: and there was neuer any

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one in this world to whom the fraudes of the line and house of *Ottoman* were more perfectly and better known, then they are now discouered and layed open vnto thee.

This oration being pronounced by the Archbishop of *Duras* with great vehemencie, *Scanderbeg* withdrewe himselfe to counsell with his Chieftaines and souldiers, and the matter was long and doubtfully debated betweene them. There were two especiall yet diuerse and different opinions: the one which argued that the spirits and thoughts of the *Albanians* were now estranged from deeds of armes (as it is commonly seene, that the sweetnes of gaine and interrest doth corrupt and bastardize our spirits, and by litle and litle doth make them to degenerate into another nature) they would in no case heare any speech of renuing the warre with *Mahomet*, but they wished that the couenants and conditions of the peace concluded betweene them should be in all points obserued and fulfilled: of the which (saied some of them) there doth proceed great benefit and commoditie: the people, the townes and cities, growing rich and welthy, and their profit was like daily to be augmented: besides that, the Turkish monarch had restored in a maner all the pillage which had bene taken vpon the countrie of the *Albanois*. The other opinion was cleane contrarie: for they held that in any case it was needfull to haue recourse to armes, and that they ought not to trust to the wordes of the *Sultan* who neuer kept his promise with any, especially with any that was a Christian: and that so much the rather they ought to doe it for that he had first broken the peace, and had violated the summe of the capitulations past betweene them. Moreouer that there was litle or no faith to be giuen to the tirant, or to his promises, which tended to no other end then to draw them on by deceit and cunning, and to entertaine them with faire wordes now that he saw all the Christians ioyned in league against him: and that shortly he was like to feele the weight and burthen of their fearefull and terrible forces to the singular dammage of the circumcised: which was the onely cause that kept him in feare and awe, and that brought him to this point to promise wonders: that otherwise he would neuer haue suffered them to rest in quiet not would haue restored the bootie which had bene taken: that therefore it behooued them without delay, and with most cheerefull and resolute mindes, to begin the warre against this common enemie of the Christian faith, the preseruation wherof was to be preferred before their owne particular safety and cõmoditie: and so much the rather, for that the head of the church did mind to be there in person, and to come with all his forces of Christendome in armes against the *Mahometan*. This latter opinion being held as the best and most sound, and being also most agreeable to the mind and liking both of the King and the better part of his Captaines, was allowed and chosen as being for the good and benefit of them all: and it was fully concluded & agreed, that they should renue the wars & take armes for the defence of the common weale of Christendome. Besides they held it requisite, and an acte well beseeming Christians, to be obedient to the supreme Bishop and the vicar of Christ, & to adhere close to the congregation of the faithfull. Moreouer there was not any one of them but would haue made it scrupulous to reproue the perswasions of the Archbishop, whose counsels and admonitions they held it no lesse needful to obserue and obey, then as if they had bene the diuine precepts. For (as we haue alreadie said) the grauitie, good life and worthie example of this personage had purchased him wonderfull authoritie amongst them: insomuch that all matters were managed by his counsell and sage aduise: for that ordinarily being with the King in court, *Scanderbeg* would euer harken & giue eare vnto him, and had learned of him all the ancient histories and worthy exploits both of the *Greeks* & *Latines*: and he was also maruellously well beloued of all the Chieftaines, Lordes and Princes of *Albanie*. The

Sentence.

Warre vowed by Scanderbeg against the Turkes.

warre therfore being generally concluded and agreed on, commissions were directed forth and commandements were giuen to diuerse Captaines to muster souldiers on all sides, and to assemble and leauie an armie, and that assoone as it should be in a readinesse, they should without all delay set forward against the enemie.

Epirots inuade and ouerrunne the Turks his territories.

Vpon the rumor and report of this newes, those souldiers of *Scanderbeg* which lay in garrison vpon the frontiers were the first that tooke the field, and they ouerranne and ransacked the countrie of the *Ottoman* with great violence and terror to the inhabitants: and hauing farre and wide forraged and wasted all places, they retired with a notable prey and bootie, driuing away with them at the least 60000. head of kine, and oxen, 80000. sheepe, and 3000. mares with their colts which were of the race and breed that the *Ottoman* had for his owne store: and yet this was not all: for being entred verie farre into the prouince of the Barbarian, they put all to sword and fire, and left not standing vpon the ground either trees or any thing else bearing frute, but filled all parts with horrible feare and terror: the tidings whereof when it came to the eares of *Mahomet*, he was newly enflamed and incensed against *Scanderbeg* beyond all credit and imagination: neuertheless afterwards stroking his forhead with his hand, and suppressing his extreame griefe, the report is, that with a cheerefull and gladsome countenance, he vttered these wordes. What meanest thou *Scanderbeg*? what doest thou thinke to do vnto me, who am the great commaunder and supreme Prince both of the Orient and the Occident?

Speech of Mahomet vpon the inuasions of his territories by the Epirots.

Notwithstanding hauing conceiued and imprinted a deepe reuenge in the inward thoughts of his heart, he then sware and vowed the ruine and destruction of *Scanderbeg*. But by reason of the great report and bruite that ranne of the Christian forces, and for that he had heard howe they were alreadie raised and on foote readie to march against him, he was greatly troubled and perplexed: and therefore he thought it best to haue recourse to his wonted cunning and sleights (familiar to the *Ottomans*) and he sought by his traines and deuises, to reconcile himselfe vnto him. Now was it commonly reported & it ran rife in euery mans mouth, that Pope *Pius* had assembled from all parts of Christendome great and huge forces, and that he would within fewe daies set forward against the Turke: and that the first thing which he meant to do after his arriual into *Epire*, & after he had celebrated a masse within *Duras*, was to honor the Archbishop of that place, with the hat and honour of a Cardinall, and to crowne *Scanderbeg* King of the *Albanians* & *Epirots*: whereupon the infidels also gaue it out openly amongst themselues: that if *Scanderbeg* did take the field as the generall and supreme commander in this enterprize, there was no doubt but the victorie would fall to the Christians: and they were all of an opinion, that the Turkish forces would be hard bested, & that they could not but be reduced to a most deiperat estate: so great an astonishment and horror had the verie name of *Scanderbeg* brought vpon them. And this was the principall and chiefest reason that made *Mahomet* to beate all his braines, and to set abroach all his plots and cunning deuises to allure *Scanderbeg* vnto him; to fall to a new composition with him for all matters, and to reconfirme and reassure by a solemne oth both on the one part and the other, the first couenants and conditions of the agreement past betweene them: he wrote vnto him therefore certaine letters in manner and forme following.

Pope Pius and the Christian princes prepare a iourney against the Turkes.

Mahomet, Beg, Amira, Sultan, Emperour of the Orient and the Occident, to Scanderbeg King of the Albanois and Epirots.

Letters of Mahomet to Scander-

I haue alwaies heretofore admired the excellencie of thy faith and thy rare integritie and iustice (most noble and princely *Scanderbeg*:) and therfore I cannot easily be perswaded

perſwaded, that ſo generous and magnanimous a Prince, ſhould ſo inconſiderately falſifie his faith and breake the peace eſtabliſhed betwene thee and me. For (as I am giuen to vnderſtand) thou haſt with great forces inuaded my lands and territories, and turning all things vpſide downe in moſt pitifull and foule diſorder, thou haſt gotten and carried away an inestimable booty & infinite goods from me & my ſubiects. Of the which exceſſe (as I am credibly informed and fully perſwaded) the *Venetians* haue bene the cauſe & motiue: by whoſe inſtigation & enticement, thou haſt bene pricked forward & incited againſt vs. By their practiſes & flatteries haſt thou bene drawen on to make warre vpon me, openly ſhewing thy ſelfe to be a breaker of thy promiſes, & the violatour of the rightes & the law of Nations. Wherefore I neither do, nor will attribute any or very litle fault & blame vnto thee, conſidering the cauſe of the ignominie rather then the ignominy it ſelfe: but I do impute the whole offence vnto them who haue bene alwaies my ſworn & profeſſed enemies. But what harme is this vnto me, ô *Scanderbeg*, who am the Lord & commaunder of ſo many peoples & Prouinces? doeſt thou thinke that thou haſt done me ſo great or notable a diſpleaſure, or that thou haſt wrought any great dammage to our crowne and dignitie, by waſting and ſpoyling of our fields ſo inſolently, and by the chaſing and dryuing away of our beaſts and cattell, after the guiſe and manner of theeues & freebooters rather then of true & worthie ſouldiers? And yet for my part I repute it no iniurie: nay I can be content that thou go forward in doing the like, and that thou doe continue and holde on ſtill thy courſes and inuaſions, if ſo be thou thinke it meete and conuenient. For I proteſt vnto thee I do more prize and ſet by thy friendſhip and amitie, then any thing whatſoeuer, which is moſt deere vnto me: becauſe, as thou knoweſt, I haue alwayes loued and highly affected thee: and as often as I recall to minde our tender age, and the yeares of our youth, wherein we were nouriſhed and brought vp together in the court of *Amurath*, I cannot chuſe, I aſſure thee, but acknowledge my ſelfe to be thy debtour in all poſſible meanes wherein I may any way pleaſure thee. Wherefore my good friend *Scanderbeg* I doe hartely pray thee, and earneſtly entreat thee, that we may renew our former couenants, and that we may once againe reconfirme the peace with a ſolemne and mutuall oath betweene vs: which courſe if we had heretofore taken, or had thought vpon it in our firſt treaſe: I am ſure thou wouldeſt neuer haue ſuffered thy ſelfe to be ſeduced and lead away by the *Venetians*. This if thou wilt nowe doe at my requeſt, and wilt giue credit vnto me as I hope thou wilt: I ſweare and proteſt vnto thee, that both thou and thy poſteritie ſhalt raigne peaceably, quietly, and in good ſecuritie and aſſurance continually: otherwiſe beleeue me and be thou ſure thou wilt repent it ſpeedily: thou knoweſt the greatneſſe of my puiſſance, againſt the which I would wiſh thee to be well aduiſed, and to conſider throughly, whether thou be able to reſiſt or not: neither thy neighbours, nor thy friendes the *Venetians* canne protect and defend thee from the iuſt violence of my anger, wrath and furie. Doeſt not thou ſee the *Greekes* how they are all deſtroyed and conſumed away to nothing? The Emperour of *Trebiſond* whom we haue deſpoyled and depriued of his empire? The Princes of the *Raſcians* and *Triballians* how they are rooted out and ſubuerted? the *Illyrians* broken and waſted, and all the realmes of *Aſia*, with many other Princes tamed and ſubdued? Hearken therfore to our counſell ô *Scanderbeg*: be thou ſtable and conſtant in thy word and promiſe: ſo ſhalt thou be ſure to proſper, and it ſhall goe well with thee: we haue commited the care of this buſines to *Mahumet Baſha* to whom thou needeſt not doubt to giue aſſured faith and credit. Farewell from our imperiall city the ſeuenth of May in the yeare of the generation of Ieſus 1463.

beg deſiring to renue the peace betweene them

Answere and reply of Scanderbeg to the last letters of Mahomet.

These letters being perused and read, *Scanderbeg* returned an answer from his campe by other letters in the fiue and twentieth of the same moneth: wherein after a summarie and briefe recollection of the principall points of the *Ottoman* letters, in the first place was contained: that the *Sultan* ought not to thinke it strange, if the *Albanois* had sought a iust reuenge of their wrongs vpon his country and subiects: seeing the lawes & rights of war were equall and indifferent for both of them: that there was no cause of maruell if the *Albanois* aswell as his owne subiectes, had sought by a certen military kind of licentiousnes (as himselfe did before excuse them in that sort) to reuenge an old iniury, & not to offer him any new wrong, but as good husbands had prouided for their owne estate, & had recompenced one dammage for another. That although his people were vehemently incensed at the iniury offred them, yet he would neuertheles haue restrained them from ouerrunning & inuading his borders, if he for his part had shewed himselfe willing either to make full restitution & recompence of that which had bene taken & destroyed: or else if he had chastised the licentiousnes of his souldiers as he ought to haue done. And whereas in regard of the particular loue and good opinion which he had of him, he did impute the whole fault of the renuing of the warre to no other then to the *Venetians*, he did wrongfully slander them, for that there was not any likelihood or probability, that they should go about to seduce him and to make them enemies: seeing that the *Venetian* commonweale is of sufficient puissance by themselues alone whensoeuer they see cause, not onely to compare and contend with him in armes, but also to surmount and excell him. And as touching the perswasions which he vsed vnto him, to leaue their friendshippe, he had litle reason to perswade him to that matter, seeing himselfe knew very well, that the amitie betwene them was verie ancient and of long continuance: whereof it seemed he had small or no regard, when notwithstanding the same, he had not forborne to waste and destroy their country & possessions in *Morea*, but had chased them in a manner cleane out of all, to the great preiudice and contempt of the accord and peace betwene them. As for those vaine magnificall titles of Emperour of the Orient and Occident, in which he seemed so to glorie and boast himselfe: he recounted vnto him infinite Prouinces and Realmes, who had scarce as yet heard of the bare name of *Mahomet*, & put the case (which God defend) that all were brought vnder the yoke of his subiection, and that his Dominions did extend euen to the maine Ocean: yet ought not he for all that to be so puffed vp in glorie, and to exalt himselfe aboue others: but he was rather to looke into the reuolution and inconstancie of worldly things: and to take an example by the *Assirians* who were once the Monarches of the whole world, and by the *Medes*, the *Persians*, the *Greekes*, and last of all the *Romanes*, yea by *Tamberlain* himselfe, who was euen of late yeares the proud and mightie King of the *Tartarians*, the scourge of the race of *Ottoman*, & the terror of nations: all which notwithstanding were now consumed and extinguished by the extinguisher of Kingdomes, Empires and Nations, euen the finger of the great God: That he therefore ought to acknowledge himselfe to be but an earthly mortall creature, and the vassall and slaue of fortune: and that he was not to put his trust & confidence in his innumerable legions & huge armies: the which oftentimes (as is to be seene by the testimony of many histories) are confounded and ouerthrowen by those which are much lesser and farre inferior vnto them: and that therefore neither he, nor any other Chieftaine howe great and fortunate soeuer, could iustly merit any true praise or commendation: till such time as he should see himselfe euen entred into his triumph. That in vaine he did solicit him to renue the friendship and alliance betweene them, so notably was his faith suspected vnto him, & so odious was his acquaintance. Last of all hauing

threatned

threatned him with the generall league of Christendome, and with the incomparable forces of *Europe* comming vpon him, he friendly and charitably aduised him to abiure the impure sect of *Mahomet*, and to turne to the truth of the Gospell of Christ, shewing him that that was the true and only meane (besides the saluation of his soule) to retaine continually, and to make sure his estate and Empire for euer to him and his posterity, and to make the possession thereof most quiet and peaceable: whereunto he counselled him betimes to haue an eie and to doe that willingly, which shortly he should be forced and compelled to do, by pure constraint and necessity.

This then was the reply which the Prince of *Epire*, made to the importunate and fallacious letters of the great Turke: the which was no sooner dispatched, and sent away, but that he receiued letters from the Pope, aduertising him that he would shortly remoue from the city of *Rome*, accompanied with infinite forces which had taken the *Croysado* against the *Ottoman*, and that from thence passing to *Ancona*, and so embarking himself to the sea, he ment to passe into *Epire*, where he was determined to make the Archbishop of *Durax*, *Paul Angell* a Cardinall, and then to crowne *Scanderbeg* king of *Epire* and *Albany*, and to commit the absolute authority of the Christian army to his charge and conduct: to the intent that all their forces being vnited, he might pursue the war against the Infidell, which all the Christians in common had vndertaken against him. And therefore he admonished and sollicited him to march on with his owne forces, and to denounce open war against the Painim. These newes caused great ioy & gladnes both to the Princes and Chieftaines *Albanois*, & to the common sort of souldiers: and thereupon did *Scanderbeg* with a strong & puissant army, enter into the enemies frontiers, marching a good way into their countrey, ouerrunning & spoiling all things both farre and wide: and he plagued them with all sortes of miseries and calamities, and wheresoeuer he came, he left nothing but a most hideous and horrible view of extreame desolation, making the whole Prouince as a wild and solitary desart: and in this manner, did he begin a generall and open warre against *Mahomet*. Scarcely were the letters of *Scanderbeg* come to *Constantinople*, when the fame and renowme of those his blouddy exploits was brought to the eares of the *Ottoman*: who being both in an extreame feare and terrour, and enraged with wrath and fury against the king of *Epire*, presently he dispatched away one of his Bassaes named *Seremet*, with 14000. horse, more to stay and hinder the violence of the roades and inuasions made by the *Albanois*, then for any great glory or honour which he expected by that voiage: and in the meane time, hauing caused his Chiefetaines and Colonelles to be called together before him, he thus began to speake vnto them.

Letters from Pope Pius the second to Scanderbeg.

Inuasion by Scanderbeg vpon the Turks his dominions.

Seremet sent with an army of 14000. Turkes against Scanderbeg.

You are not ignoraunt (my good friendes) how that at all times you haue beene partners with me of all my good fortunes, as well as my selfe haue borne a part with you, of your sinister and aduerse fortunes. Wherefore the safety and preseruation of this our Empire, ought to concerne and import you no lesse then me: you know all of you, how I haue alwaies honored & respected you, with what courtesie, loue, and beneuolence I haue euer vsed you, carying my self amongst you, not as your king and soueraigne, but rather as your souldier and companion. It hath bene granted vnto vs by the diuine clemency, and by meanes of your vertue and prowesse, that all things haue succeeded according to our desires: what should I reckon vp *Asia* which is now become ours through your victorious armes? the dominion of *Thrace* gotten out of the hands of the Christians, the *Rascians*, the *Seruians*, and the *Bulgarians* subdued, the region of *Taurique** brought vnder our subiection, *Negrepont* possessed, the Princes of *Selauony* expelled their estates, & the *Hungarians* extreamly weakned? what nations are there, be they neuer so inuincible, but they haue stood in fear of your name & valor

Oration of Mahomet to his chieftaines animating them to the war against the Christians.

This is the lesser Tartaria, called by the Barbarians Gazaria where is the noble city of Capha which Mahomet won from the Genowaits, and was once called Theodosia.

* Or the Isle of Eubœa in the sea of Aegeum.

» euen before they haue felt or perceiued the force of your ſtrength and power? and yet
» now at this preſent, fie for ſhame, I ſee you all amazed & aſtoniſhed, and it ſeemeth that
» theſe new tumults haue terrified you: it ſeemeth that the new brauadoes, & vaine me-
» naces of this petty gallant *Scanderbeg*, do make you to quake and tremble. What, ſhall
» the world find you now ſo faint hearted, ſo beſotted and ſenceleſſe, ſo deuoide of cou-
» rage and magnanimity, that you will ſhew your ſelues like men that are mindfull ra-
» ther of flight, then of your wonted and accuſtomed vertue? will you without fight,
» without reſiſtance, yeeld vnto theſe effeminat and idle Chriſtians thoſe goodly con-
» queſts which both your auncеſters and your ſelues haue gotten and purchaſed, with
» ſo many and ſo great labors and trauels, and with ſo many woundes and daungers?
» What, will you now without any expence and loſſe of bloud abandon and forſake
» *Europe*, which you haue with ſo great paine & deſire obtained, and will you ſo ſhame-
» fully flie backe againe into *Aſia*? tell me (I pray you) ſhall you be more ſafe on the other
» ſide of the ſea then on this ſide? aſſure your ſelues they will not ceaſe to purſue you in
» all places: then what will you do? what hope haue you? what King or Prince will re-
» ceiue vs, whom the whole world doth hold ſo hatefull and odious? Hearken to mee
» therefore (my good friends and companions) plucke vp your hearts, awaken your co-
» rages, reuiue and ſtrengthen your ſpirits, to the intent your enemies grow not too too
» audacious: hold your ſelues quiet, and let not your minds be troubled with any tumul-
» tuous counſels or imaginations, but do all of you with one mind & generall conſent
» (as your duty is) caſt the care of this matter ſo weighty and important vpon me: com-
» mit it into my hands, and refer it to my diſcretion. If you count it a glorious and hono-
» rable act to defend your owne liues, and the liues of your wiues and children: to main-
» taine ſo many ſcepters and Empires granted vnto you, euen by the diuine fauour: then
» doe you brauely betake you to your armes, & arme your ſelues againſt the Chriſtians:
» behaue your ſelues manfully in the fight againſt them, & let the world ſee the fireenes
» of your corages. Let it not trouble you though you heare that the princes of chriſten-
» dome are combined in league againſt you, & that they are entred into a commō con-
» cord together to make war vpon vs. All this ought not to make you doubt of the vi-
» ctory: for you haue had triall enough of this kind of men, how nice, delicate & weake
Mahomet deſpiſeth & diſpraiſeth the chriſtians. » they are. They be all of them ſlothfull, fearfull, faint, ſecure and careles, idle, & addicted
» to all pleaſures and delights: they are all of them brought vp daintily: they lie vppon
» their beds of Downe and ſoft feathers: they are trained vp in luxurioufnes and volup-
» tuouſneſſe: they are braue men and valiant in the courts and pallaces of Princes, borne
» to nothing but to play the courtiers: they haue not any care to ſtudy or practiſe deedes
» of armes: they haue no deſire or delight to follow the wars, or to profeſſe the art and
» profeſsion military: their bodies are impatient of labor and trauell, and their mindes
» cannot away with the hazard of perils and dangers: their members are delicate & effe-
» minate, not enured nor hardned to diſcipline, nor to endure heat and cold, hunger and
» trauell. In ſumme they are ignorant and careles of martial matters, and of the traine of
» armes, in compariſon of you (my dear companions) amongſt whom I ſee not any one
» that beareth the name of a ſouldier, but I account him a good and perfect captaine: for
» it is an vſuall thing with you to ſpend your life in continual ſeruices, and day & night
» are you accuſtomed to watch in armes, and to weary your ſelues in warlike exploits:
» there is nothing ſo hard, nothing ſo rough and difficult, but ſeemeth vnto you moſt
» pleaſant, acceptable, and eaſie: you are ſo acquainted daily & hourly with a million of
» perils, that you are growen into a contempt and careleſnes of all perils, and as you are
» free from the feare of dangers, ſo are you ignorant how to feare them: it is your faſhion
» to contemne and deſpiſe ſoft featherbeds, you vſe your hardened members, to a more

ſtrict

ſtrict and hard yoake of diſcipline both in war and in fight: you are contented with a
litle, yea with nothing in a maner: you make your beds of the hard ground, & you do
accuſtome your ſelues to all extremities: your vſe is ſo to march and to run on to the
victory, as that you neuer dreame what you muſt endure and ſuffer, but only whither
and whereabouts you are going: and you are altogether forgetfull both of death, of
wounds, and of danger. Behold (my braue Captains) this is the true deuoir & duty, this
is the true exerciſe, this is the true art and diſcipline of ſoueraine & excellent ſouldiers:
theſe be they that do fight valiantly, theſe be they that doe vanquiſh their enemies eaſi-
ly, theſe be they that are euer ſure and certaine of the victory. Let come then theſe
great Princes of the Chriſtiãs, theſe magnificall bablers & great talkers, whoſe fierce-
neſſe is only in their glorious ſhew and oſtentation, who are meerly ignorant and vn-
skilfull of martiall matters. Shall ſuch perſons be able to aſtoniſh you? ſhall they make
you to giue backe? call to remembrance your proſperous fortune, the which in all
your warlike exploits hath euer followed and ſeconded you. Shall not the fortunate
ſucceſſe of your affaires, make you to grow couragious, and to plucke vp your valiant
hearts? Theſe tumultuous Chriſtians haue not yet forgotten, but they haue ſtill be-
fore their eies the freſh teſtimony of their lamentable misfortune, euen the ſcattered
and diſperſed relickes of their calamity at *Varna*, and *Baſill*. And what do the Greekes?
All theſe alterations, changes and emotions, what harme haue they done vs? ſaue on-
ly that they brought them ſelues to be bought and ſold for ſlaues and vaſſals vnto vs?
Some of them haue come to deſtruction by the ignorance and vnskilfulneſſe of their
Chieftains: others by the puſillanimity of their troupes & legions. Some of them haue
bene ouerthrowen by the doubtfull chaunce and hazard of diuerſe battels, and other
ſome by their owne ſeditious and inteſtine ciuill wars. Some of them haue bene ru-
nated by the groſſe credulity and the infidelity of their owne domeſticall friends, and
other ſome in briefe haue found them ſelues moſt endammaged by the ouer careleſſe
and diſſolute contempt of their enemies. What reaſon then haue you to feare their
comming? If I ſhould ſpeake openly what I thinke, I am fully perſwaded that they
will not come at all: they will keepe ſtill at home in their houſes, and they neede not
greatly to be entreated to lay aſide (euen of themſelues) theſe their inſolent threats and
menaces. Moreouer, I know well that they are diſtracted and troubled with priuate
ſeditions and continuall partialities: euery man will be a commander: ech man ſeeketh
to be the higheſt and chiefeſt: none of them will obey: none of them will be comman-
ded: ſo ſtrange and diuers are their affections, and ſo greatly doe they differ betweene
themſelues. There be amongſt them many Kings, many commaunders, and euery one
of them is tranſported and caried away, according to his own appetite, and they do all
follow their owne wils in their counſels and deliberations: there is none of them that
ſeeketh the publicke good, nor the common profit & commodity. The Chriſtians doe
diſſemble one with another notably, they are all of them exceedingly ambitious, and
immoderatly couetous, & they do exerciſe immoderat hatreds & rancors ech againſt
other. There is no conſent, no agrement, no regard of duty, or obedience: in which ne-
uertheleſſe conſiſteth all the ſtrength and vertue of Monarchies, and kingdomes, eſpe-
cially in the time of war: and if theſe happen once to faile, the art and ſcience military
muſt needs come to naught & be vtterly extinguiſhed. More then this, theſe holy, god-
ly, and religious people, doe take a ſingular delight in mutuall murthers, poiſons, and
maſſacres, & there is no other talke amongſt them, then of reuenge, of conſpiracies, and
of ſecret trains and counterwaits. I ſee that all Chriſtendome with their Pope (as they
tearme him) haue conſpired againſt vs: I ſee that all their Kings and Potentates haue
combined them ſelues together againſt our Empire and eſtate: they haue betaken

» them to armes on all sides,to depriue vs of *Europe* their auncient patrimony: so did *A-*
» *gamemnon* in *Homer*,one day determine to ouerthrow the wals of *Troy* before sun-set,
» but *Iupiter* turned his eies another way, and derided the vowes of that fooliſh Prince:
» the like(I doubt not) will happen to the fond preſumption of the Chriſtians, they ha-
» ſten to purchaſe vnto themſelues ſome ſingular and glorious renowme vpon vs,albe-
» it very difficult, but indeed they will enlarge and amplifie your triumphes and your
» Empire: I know it well, and I dare promiſe you as much vpon my honor. For (not
» to ſpeake of the commodities of places, of victuals,munitions,and ſuch like helpes: in
» which the ſtrength and ſuccour of the wars,doth conſiſt very much) and whereof the
» Chriſtians will haue great ſcarſity, and we ſhall haue plenty, I can aſſure you that the
» Empire and dominion of the whole world is promiſed vnto vs by the celeſtiall pow-
» ers, as I haue learned by the courſe of the ſtars, and the ſcience of Aſtrology, by which
» I haue reaped wonderfull profit, and whoſoeuer hath the perfect knowledge thereof,
» cannot poſſibly erre nor be deceiued. For without all doubt, the whole frame of this
» world here below, is ruled and gouerned by the ſuperiour motions of the ſtarres and
» planets. Moreouer you ſhall not want ſtore of reſolute & obedient ſouldiers, you ſhall
» haue ready at hand diuerſe great and puiſſant armies, you ſhall haue infinit troups and
» bands of men,and you ſhall haue plenty of armes,horſes,engines: & in briefe,all kinds
» of neceſſary and needfull prouiſions,whereby the victory may be purchaſed & gotten
» with eaſe and facility. Only haue you a regard for your parts,that you be well aduiſed
» in all your councels, that you bring with you coragious hearts and ſtout ſtomackes,
» and that your hands be prompt and valorous. This is it(my good ſouldiers)that muſt
» purchaſe you, either aſſured liberty or perpetuall ſeruitude: this is that knot and band
» of the whole matter, this is it wherein conſiſteth the preſeruation of your countrey,of
» your Empire, of your children, of your goods,and poſſeſſions: to this doth the com-
» mon perill,and the common ruine of your ſelues and all yours,both inuite you,admo-
» niſh you,yea and conſtraine you: and all of you are equally & alike ſummoned there-
» unto, by the equall hazard and danger of this war. Hereunto alſo ought the variable
» euents and alteration of great things to ſpur and pricke you forward, the which in all
» humaine actions are oftentimes in great perill, and ſubiect to notable dangers, for de-
» fault of prompt and ready deliberation, and for want of good and ſettled reſolution.

This oration of the Turkiſh Emperor,was generally approued by all the aſſiſtants, and it wrought in them with ſuch efficacy, that all of them confirmed the deuotion of their fidelity and obeiſaunce, with a new and ſolemne oth,promiſing without any regard of perils,paines or trauell,to expoſe their liues and vttermoſt meanes for the Maieſty of the *Ottoman* name and Empire,and for the amplifying of his crowne and dignity. Thus did they ſhew them ſelues deuoide of all feare, of hazards and dangers, and they ſeemed to regard nothing elſe,but onely to conforme themſelues to the will and pleaſure of their Prince to the ſeruice of the weale publicke.

Let vs leaue *Mahomet* for a while, beating his braine and bending all his thoughts and imaginations, to prouide fit and neceſſary preparation for the generall warre of the Chriſtians, and let vs returne to our religious Prince *Scanderbeg*, who being enriched with the ſpoiles of the Turkes,was now retired into his campe,where he was no ſooner arriued, but that it was told him, that *Seremet* did approach and was neare at hand, one of the braueſt Captaines that the *Sultan* had, and that with a ſtrong and mighty army, he was come vpon the confines of *Thrace* and *Macedony*: and *Scanderbeg* being no leſſe forward then he was alwaies wont, tooke the field three hours before day, being determined to fight with him if it were poſſible. The *Mahometan* was come only to aſſure and defend the frontiers, and to hinder the inroads & inuaſions of

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the *Albanois*: he lodged part of his men within *Ostrida*, or *Alchria*, and part of them in the subburbs and thereabouts, where they had entrenched them selues very strongly. Neare to the towne was a large and great lake abounding in fish of diuerse kinds, out of the which the riuer of *Drine* hath his source & beginning. Towards this place was the *Albanois* aduaunced within three miles of it or thereabouts, where he placed himselfe in an ambush with ten thousand men, and he sent before him about 500. horse, of the most resolute & hardiest souldiers, conducted by *Peic Mannell*, & *Andrew Angell*, brother to the Archbishop of *Durac*, both of them worthy personages, and highly accounted of, both for their experience, and for the antiquity of their bloud and linage, and he gaue them instructions to skirmishe with the enemy, onely to draw and allure them forth to the fight. For *Scanderbeg* was aduertised, that there was one in the Barbarian army, who was the treasurer or receiuer of the impost & tributes of the great Turke, a man that was very rich, and that tooke great delight in deedes of armes, who he thought would soone and easily be drawn out with the first to aduenture the fight. Now *Scanderbeg* had charged these two Captaines, that in case the Infidels did come forth to the skirmish, they should make but could resistance, but by litle and litle reculing, they should faine them selues to fly: to the intent that the others pursuing them, might approch to the place of the ambuscado, where he meant to hold himselfe still & to attend them, and it fel out accordingly. For the Infidels being gotten very neare the place, saw themselues sodainly charged most brauely by the *Epirots*, on all sides, both in front and in flanke, and behind at their backs, in such sort that being soone broken and scattered, there lay dead vpon the place more then 10000. There were also a great nũber taken prisoners, amongst whom was the treasurer aboue mentioned, and the son of *Seremet*, with twelue others of especiall reckoning and estimat, who being brought to *Scanderbeg*, paid a ransome of 40000. crowns, & being set at liberty, they bestowed many gifts and rich rewardes throughout the campe of the *Albanois*: especially the treasurer who made a larges of his impost of fish both fresh & salt amongst the christians: which came in a very good & conuenient time, as if God had sent it of purpose. For it was then the vigill of the Assumption of the blessed Virgin the mother of our Sauiour, vppon which day, as men religiously disposed, they did abstaine from eating of any fleshmeats. Thus making mery amongst themselues, they said by way of mirth, that their prince was the Apostle of him who had fed the Iewes with fiue loaues and two fishes. This done, they returned victorious with great ioy into their Prouince, where they enioyed the fruite of their happy exploit, attending in great deuotion the troupes of the *Croysado*, which they daily expected to passe ouer the seas into *Epire*.

Alchria, or Ostrida.

The riuer of Drino, or Drinon.

Ambushment by Scanderbeg against Seremet.

Peic Mannell.

Andrew Angell.

Victory of Scanderbeg against Seremet neare Alchria.

Number of Turkes slaine neare Alchria.

A saying of the souldiers Epirotes of Scanderbeg.

But Fortune, enuious and despitefull Fortune, which neuer suffereth men to enioy any long contentment, which lieth continually in wait, and watcheth for some occasion, either to crosse all our good and glorious enterprises, or else vuerly to ouerthrow and disappoint them, did now turne all these Princely and honorable attemptes to nothing, and the preparations of this great and holy voiage vanished away like smoke in the aire. For within few daies after, newes were brought to *Scanderbeg*, how that the Pope hauing already set forward on the way with a goodly army, of *Almains*, *Hungarians*, *Spaniards*, *French*, and *Italians*, & being accompanied with the Duke of *Venice*, immediatly vpon his entry into *Ancona*, was departed and gone to God, which was the occasion that this noble assembly was dissolued: and all those which had disposed themselues to this holy voiage, were disbanded & dispersed here and there on al parts, and were returned to their own houses, as if they had bin come together, & had made that iourney only at the will and pleasure of one mortall man, who was now laied in his Sepulchre, and not for the common cause of Christendome, nor for the glorie

Death of Pope Pius the 2.

Voiage of the Christians against the Turke, broken.

and seruice of the sonne of God, whose venerable image and representation, they carried not in their hearts and in their soules, but onely in their outward garments, and in their ensignes and standards: such and so great is the inconstancy and vanity of mankinde. But I doubt I should doe great wrong vnto this reuerent personage, if I should let passe in vngratefull silence, these deserued praises of his rare vertues and perfections.

Pope Pius the second his birth and commendation.

Pius called *Aeneas Siluius* the Poet, sometimes chancellour to the Emperour *Fredericke* the third, was a *Senois* by birth, descended of the auncient family of the *Picolhominins* in *Siena*. He was a man of most rare vertues, and most renowmed for the holinesse and integrity of his life: he was so addicted to the study of humaine letters, that it was hard to iudge whether were more excellent in him his knowledge or his eloquence: the which he emploied so happily in the councell of *Mantua*, that he moued and perswaded all the nations and Princes of *Europe* to take armes against the miscreants, excepting onely *Lewes* the eleuenth. The *Frenchmen* who at that time had an hard opinion of him, by reason that they tooke part with king *Rene*, of the house of *Anoiw*, whereas this Pope did mightely impugne his title, in fauour of the *Arragonois* in the warre of *Naples*, (as you haue seene in the booke last going before.) He was wonderfully zealous of religion, and of the glory of God, seeking nothing but the aduancement of the same, and the safety of the Christian flocke: by reason whereof his end was greatly lamented ouer all Christendome, but aboue all others, the subiects of *Scanderbeg* made great sorrow and lamentation. For although they were yet fierce and glorious through their victory lately gotten against *Seremet*, yet vpon the hearing of this newes, they were as men amased and confounded, and as if they had bene striken with thunder and lightning from Heauen, so infinitly did they grieue for that this enterprize and expedition against the Turkes was broken off, but *Scanderbeg* carying a courage, and a mind pliable to all the assaults and crosses of Fortune, did not in any sort bewray him selfe to be grieued or discomforted, neither did he shew any alteration for this vnfortunate and vnhappy chaunce, but with a chearfull countenance, nothing chaunged nor troubled, he comforted his friends and familiars with these speeches and perswasions.

The oration or speech of Scanderbeg to his subiects comforting them after the breaking of the viage intended by the Christians against the Turkes.

» God the searcher of all secrets, who knoweth all things before they be done, to
» whom things past and to come are open and manifest, as well as things present, by
» whom all things are made and established in equity and iudgement, and are perfectly
» guided and gouerned, whose diuine and incomprehensible wisedome, extendeth it
» selfe from the beginning to the ending, gratiously disposing and ordering euery thing
» in particular: God I say, that auncient of daies and of all eternity, doth sometimes
» make frustrate and disappoint the wishes and desires of mortall men, and doth not suf-
» fer them alwaies to enioy them, according to their owne willes and contentment. For
» though in the eie of man the may seeme good and profitable, yet in the sight and se-
» cret knowledge of his diuine Maiesty, he knoweth them to be otherwise: and there
» be many things which vnto vs appeare to be profitable and beneficiall, but his wise-
» dome foreseeth that they will greatly preiudice vs. For example: there is no city so
» populous, there is no nation so puissant, but if they want enemies abroade, they are
» sure to finde some euen at home amongst them selues: and you shall neuer see any bo-
» dy so strong and lusty, but if there be no externall cause to molest or grieue them, yet
» they will at one time or another be oppressed and ouerborne by their owne proper
» forces, by reason of some inward contrariety. If it had pleased God that the *Romaines*
» had not ruinated *Carthage*, which was emulous and enuious of their greatnesse, and
» that they had not rooted out this their forraine enemy, but that they had still had him

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to haue kept them in feare and awe, they had not then bene consumed by inteſtine ciuill warres within themſelues, they had not then turned their ſwordes againſt their owne throates, and their Empire peraduenture had bene ſtanding euen till this day. For the feare of a forreine and outward foe (which as ſome ſay, is a ſure gardian, and a moſt ſtreight and perfect bond of amitie and concorde) had preſerued and ſtill maintained them in ſafetie. The like may we ſay perhappes of the Chriſtians, and of the nations profeſſing the faith of Chriſt: for if we were exempted from an externall and forreine enemies, and had not an aduerſarie elſewhere to keepe vs in awe, conſidering our impietie and ambition, our rancours and diuiſions paſt all hope of reconciliation, and the bloudy ſtreames of troubles and tumults nouriſhed from time to time within the body of the common weale of Chriſtendome, do you not thinke that we ſhould finde a hundreth times more diſaduantage and miſchiefe by our owne enmities and diſſentions, then by the violence of our outward enemies? Aſſure your ſelues we had long ere this time bene conſumed and worne out by the furie and outrage of out owne proper armes. I conclude therefore, that it is not happened altogether for the worſt, that this voyage is diſcontinued and broken off: for it was greatly to be feared, that when we had once chaſed away this greeuous and bloudy enemie farre from vs, leaſt that then we would haue kindled ſome fire within our owne houſes, which ſhould haue proued more bloudy and fatall vnto vs. Howbeit it is not to be doubted, and we may hold it for a certain and infallible truth, that the Empire of the *Ottoman* cannot continue long but that it muſt needes decay and periſh, if at leaſt wiſe this may be called or termed an Empire, which is but a waſt and ſolitarie deſert of Barbariſme depriued of all light of true doctrine, being without lawes, without iudgements, without any good order and policie, and euen in thoſe parts, eſpecially where as once, the artes, & ſciences, the true and perfect diſcipline, the moſt famous Churches with many other ornaments were moſt glorious & floriſhing: as we ſee it now come to paſſe in *Aſia*, and a great part of Europe ſubdued by the armes and violence of the Turkes. And albeit *Daniell* in his Prophecies diſtinguiſhing the fortune and vertue of euery Empire, hath deſcribed all of them: namely that in this old and declining age of the world, there ſhalbe more confuſions then haue bene in times paſt: and that God notwithſtanding (as long as mankinde ſhall endure vpon the face of the earth) will preſerue ſome Kingdomes and Empires: which as the end of the world doth more and more approch, ſo ſhall they grow more faint and feeble: and yet neuertheleſſe that there ſhould ariſe a certaine Barbarous nation of a wonderfull puiſſance, named in the diuine Prophecies *Gog* and *Magog*: howbeit let vs not be troubled at the power and puiſſance of the Turkes, which by manifeſt and auncient teſtimonies is condemned and reiected of God, as being raiſed and encreaſed by deceipfull and vnlawfull meanes, and plunged in all kindes of vices, filthineſſe, and wickedneſſe. And let vs not make any doubt of the promiſes and predictions left vnto vs by the voyce of the ſonne of God: but let vs fully aſſure our ſelues, that the dignitie of the Empire is not nor ſhall not fall into the handes of ſo Barbarous and execrable tyrannie, which vomiteth forth blaſphemies againſt Chriſt the Sauiour of the world, and aboliſheth all honeſt and ciuill policies, but let vs rather aſſure our ſelues, that there onely and not elſewhere the ſacred maieſtie of the Empire both is and ſhalbe continued, where the true Religion is maintained and obſerued, where the diuine lawes, and other ciuill lawes and good ordinaunces deriued out of them do rule and beare ſway, where the lawfull adminiſtration of iuſtice is vpheld in our ſtrength and vigour, where good men are rewarded, and offenders are puniſhed: laſt of all where the honeſt and godly aſſemblies and ſocieties of good men, are preſerued and

Smith.

Empire of the Turkes is not durable.

Dignitie of the true Empire where it is to be ſought.

mainteined by the vse of lawfull and iust armes, there onely and not elsewhere is the dignitie and maiestie Imperiall howsoeuer that the greatnesse thereof do appeare to be very little or small in comparison of that of the *Mahometan*. For (as hath bene sayd) it will not be long ere the same wilbe ruinated and come to nothing, because, as wise men haue written,) things euill gotten, are soone wasted, and do speedely perish, and no man can long possesse or retaine the dominion, that is purchased by iniurious force and violence. Contrariwise, the Christian Empire, & the Church of God founded and erected by the deuine oracle, shall endure for euer, & shall neuer haue an end. Wherefore let vs pray our good God, the king almightie and omnipotent (who knoweth better what is good and needfull for vs, then we know how or what to demaund at his hands) that it would please him to wash away our sinnes by his grace, and to defend his holy faith, and his chosen people from the rage and furie of the Infidels, the which this cruell tyrant doth continually persecute, & by his brutish fiercenesse doth endeuour to destroy and suppresse.

Thus did *Scanderbeg* comfort and encourage his people, that they might not be dismayed for the breaking vp and dispersing of the Christian armie. But leauing him for a while with these discourses, we will now returne to speake of *Mahomet*. After he vnderstood of the slaughter and flight of the people of *Seremet*, the Painim Prince being incensed with rage and furie, rather then discouraged with this misfortune, speedily dispatched away *Ballaban Badera* one of his Colonels with fifteene thousand horse and three thousand footemen. This Chieftaine was no lesse prompt and hardy in executing any thing with his hand, then he was of an expert and aduised iudgement in the politicke handling of martiall affaires: for he was a man that had bene long practised in armes, and had giuen many proofes of his sufficiencie and valour vnder *Mahomet*, especially at the taking of *Constantinople*: where he was the first man that mounted vpon the wall, and entred into the Citie. For this cause the *Sultan* had exalted him to the estate of an Aga or Colonell: he was an *Epirot*, borne of a very base and obscure race and kindred, & the subiect of *Iohn Castriot* the father of *Scanderbeg*: but in his younger yeares, being a verie lad, as he & other litle children were keeping of beasts in the fields, he was taken and caried away by the infidels, who presented him for a slaue vnto the Great Turke. Touching the stature of his bodie, he was not very tall, but of a middle size: but he was of a notable quicke and ready wit, his minde was extremely great and haughtie, besides that he was very resolute and couragious, fearing nothing. So as it may well be sayd of him, as *Homer* wrote of *Tydeus*.

Ballaban Badera sent against Scanderbeg with an army of 18000. Turkes.

Ballaban his birth and description. Aga, the place of a Colonell amongst the Turkes.

A litle man of bodie, and but small of stature,
Yet great in deedes of armes, and a mightie warriour.

He was very strongly made in his limmes, actiue and valiant of his person, desirous of battell, and hot and eager in fight. This man being come to *Alebria*, in the confines of *Macedonie*, after he had taken a view and muster of his armie, sent secretly (as some say) vnto *Scanderbeg* certaine presents of great estimate, for a token of friendship and amitie: and to prouide (it may be) if by chaunce he should happen to haue the worst, and to fall into his handes, that he might not be vsed with extremitie. Howbeit it is most probable and likely, that he did it onely of a cautelous and suttle meaning, as afterwards the euent and issue did make it manifest. For he employed all his forces, and set abroach all his sleights and cunning deuises to worke the vtter confusion and destruction of *Scanderbeg*. But the Christian Prince, who was not vnacquainted with the Turkish wiles and suttleties, did reiect both his gifts and his acquaintance, and he sent back vnto him, a mattock, a plowshard, and a hedging bill, with such like rustical

instru-

instruments, and he willed him to let alone the exercise of armes, as not being a profession for him to deale withall: but that it was fittest for him to returne to husbandrie according to the vse of his predecessours, who were all of them peysants and of abase and vile condition. *Ballaban* tooke this very impatiently and he conceaued by reason therof a more deadly hatred against *Scanderbeg* then euer, swearing and vowing that he would take some notable reuenge vpon him for this ignominie, if euer he could finde a fit time and oportunitie: he determined therefore secretly in the night time to surprise and assaile him. Whereupon in the darke of the night he began to set forward and to remoue his Campe. But (as the saying is) it is bad halting before a cripple: for the *Albanois* being informed of his comming, & what way he tooke, went against him with all speed, which caused *Ballaban* to hold bridle and to make a stand, and he pitched his tents about a two myles from the Campe of the Christians. *Scanderbeg* had not with him in all his army aboue foure thousand horse, and fiue and twentie hundreth footemen, not for that he was not able to haue assembled greater forces if he had liked: but because he had made choice at that time of his oldest and most expert souldiours, and the flower of all his men, in whose vertue and valiaunt prowesse, he did repose his principall trust and confidence: and he thought it better (as *Fabius Maximus* was wont to say) to bring all of them backe againe rich and wealthie, then to vse the seruice of a great number of souldiours: and many times also he vsed these speeches, that that Captaine which with ten or twelue thousand men at the most knew not how to beate his enemie, would hardly be able to doe any honorable exploit with greater forces. For he affirmed that the multitude of troupes, and the excessiue numbers of souldiours had many times caused confusion, and had bene the disturbance, and an hinderance to the victorie. Now the Infidell as hath bene sayd, had fifteen thousand horse, and three hundred foote. The *Scanderbegians* were encamped at the one end of a pleasaunt valley, which they of the countrey call *Valcala*, which being of a goodly breadth, it was more long then large. The Barbarians had seized vppon the other end of the valley, neare to a mountaine which lay at the end of *Valcala*, the entry whereof was very straight & narrow, and the enemy hauing both the mountaine and the passage in their power and puissance, had laied there an ambuscado, to the intent that the fight being begunne, and the Christians hauing the better, if they did pursue the victory, and did enter within the streight of that narrow passage to get to the sacking of their Campe, they should be enclosed in the middest of their enemies, lying there in the ambushment, and by that meanes should be at their mercy and discretion. The king of *Epire* who was encamped at the other end of the valley, forseeing well that this their neare neighbourhood to their enemies, could not be parted without talking nearer together, and for that his forces were the weakest, he iudged it needfull for him to seeke some aduantage against them, and therefore he vsed these speeches vnto his souldiers.

Custumelie offred by Scanderbeg to Ballaban.

Saying of Fabius Maximus vsed by Scanderbeg.

Saying of Scanderbeg.

The valley of Valcala.

Ambuscado layd by Ballabi at the entry of Valcala.

My good friends and companions, I see well that it behoueth vs this day as much as euer, to make our enemies to feele who we are. *Ballaban* is come to seeke vs, and to make proofe whether Fortune will be more friendly vnto him, then shee hath beene to his predecessours: but before that he begin to march, I hold it best that we remoue our Campe to this mountaine which is at our backes. Notwithstanding, this you must marke: that as soone as he seeth vs departing hence, he will imagine (because we are so few, that we meane to flie:) and therefore it is to bethought, that he will immediatly charge vs with all possible violence at our backes, which if he doe, then do you receiue him valiantly: and after you haue a litle shifted your place and fained a retraite, sodainely do you turne head, and with a round and braue charge, do you beare

Oration of Scanderbeg to his souldiours before the battell of Valcala.

» in vpon them with all your ſtrength, and (as your cuſtome is) breake and diſorder
» them: in ſo doing I doubt not, but you ſhall haue them at your diſcretion. But take
» heede (my good ſouldiers) I pray you, and be you well aduiſed when you haue put
» them to flight, and that you haue them in chaſe, and do follow them in execution vp-
» pon them: take heed, I ſay, that you enter not in any caſe within the mouth of the
» ſtraight of *Valcala*: but ſtopping your courſe paſſe no further forwardes. For with-
» in that paſſage I knowe there are certaine ſquadrons of the enemie layed to entrappe
» vs: I knowe it well, I am well acquainted both with the place, and the pollicies of
» the Barbarians: if you once enter in, you will neuer get out againe. Let it ſuffiſe you
» therefore (my friends) to purſue the victorie euen to the entrie of that place and no
» further.

The battell of Valcala betweene Ballaban and Scanderbeg.

As ſoone as he had thus ſpoken, he eſpied *Ballaban* marching on directly towardes him: whereupon he ſent a certaine number of light horſemen to ſeize vpon that hill which he had choſen for the lodging of his armie: and immediatly he followed after them with the bodie of his troupes, making as though he meant to haue made a retrait: the which the Turkes perceauing and beleeuing verelie, that they had bene in a true and playne flight, they galloped after them without any good order, and with great furie they held on their courſe the length of all the valley. Then did the *Epyrots* begin to beare vppe cloſe together, and being nothing aſtoniſhed with the clamours or violent charge of the Turkes, they turned about, and with a hardie reſolution they receaued them to the ſhocke, and ſo ioyned with them in combat. Then began the fight to grow moſt ſharpe, cruell, and bloudy, and many fell both of the one ſide and the other, and the victorie reſted for a long time doubtfull and vncertaine. In fine the *Albanois* fought with ſuch a conſtant and ſettled reſolution and obſtinacie againſt the Infidelles, being out of order and in ſome confuſion, that they got the aduantage, killing and beating them downe on all partes and draue them backe euen to the ſtreightes of *Valcala*, and there they tooke breath and made a ſtand, excepting eight onely of the Chriſtian armie (each of whom without all doubt, was worthie to haue had the abſolute commaunde of a good and great armie.) Theſe being tranſported with the furie of the fight, and the heate of armes, and forgetting the expreſſe commaundement of their Generall, but being ſpurred forward with an eager deſire of following the chaſe vpon the enemie, and with a mortall hatred againſt *Ballaban*, were drawen on into the ambuſcado of the Infidels, & did very vnaduiſedly entangle themſelues within theſe ſtreights, which by meanes of this vnhappie accident were, I dare ſay, as famous by the loſſe and calamitie of theſe braue *Epyrotes*, as the forkes of *Candyum* were in times paſt by the ignominie of the *Romaines*. Long did they maintaine the fight againſt the Infidelles there ambuſqued, and paſsing ſtill further and further within thoſe valleys, they came at laſt to the trenches of the Barbarians, where they were to yeeld a reckoning of their comming, and to pay the ſhot vnto their hoſtes. Neuertheleſſe continuing there alſo in a moſt cruell fight: they ſhewed themſelues ſo valiaunt, and did ſo beſtirre themſelues by their valour and demeritie, that in the end they gayned the toppe of a mountaine, which being poſſeſſed by the infanterie of the Turkes, they had thought to haue bene of their owne companie, and ſo they fell againe into a new and ſecond perill greater then the former. In the ende after infinite prooues of their wonderfull proweſſe and valour, being wearied with ſtriking and killing of their enemies, both men and horſes growing faint through the multitude of their wounds, they were taken aliue by the *Ballabanians*. The vertue, courage, and incomparable proweſſe of theſe braue warriours may not be let paſſe & omitted in ſilence, and yet if I ſhould

Victorie of Scanderbeg againſt Ballaban and the Turkes.

Forkes of Candyum. See Lyuie lib. 5

Moſes, Cuiuize, Moſache & other nobles of the Epyrots taken priſoners by the Turkes.

I should in this place set downe the singular perfectiõs wherin all of them were most accomplished, and the memorable actes atchieued by their vertue in the seruice of God, of the religion, and of their countrey, I should make a long and exceeding great historie: and therefore I will onely and barely set downe their names vnto you. The first that offereth him selfe to be remembred, was that great *Moses* the *Dibrian*, of whom we haue so often made mention, the onely & chiefe man that was most deare and faithfull vnto *Scanderbeg*, and who was the Lieutenant of the armie. Next to him was *Guirizze de Vladienne*, the neare kinseman of *Scanderbeg*: after him followed *Musache de Angeline*, nephew to *Scanderbeg*, and *Gyne Musache*, *Iohn Perlat*, *Nicholas Berise*, *George Chuque*, and *Gine Manesse*. These men by their miserable and vnhappy fortune, made the estate of *Albanie* more to be deplored and lamented, then any one thing at any time before whatsoeuer. For as all of them were of singular accompt and estimation, both for their corporal strength and vigour, for the magnanimitie of their courages, and for their excellent skill and knowledge in armes and the science militarie: so were they no lesse fearfull and terrible to the *Mahometans*. In so much that when their Monarke the *Ottoman* heard, that they were taken, & brought vnto him aliue, he conceiued such an exceeding and extreme ioy thereby, that he cried out aloft, and with a lowd voyce vttered these words.

Moses.
Guirizze de Vladienne.
Musache de Angeline.
Gine Musache
Iohn Perlat.
Nicholas Berisen.
George Chuque
Gine Manesse.

Now do I know for a truth and certainty, now may I well & iustly say, that *Scanderbeg* is ouerthrowne, that his pride is fallen, that his forces are abated, that his audacitie and courage is cleane gone and lost: seeing that *Ballaban* my sonne, my child, the onely man amongst my Captaines and Chieftaines that went before him, hath shewed him selfe the onely man of valour, the onely warriour, and he alone hath knowne how to ouercome him by whom so many braue men of ours haue bene surmounted and ouerthrowne, of which some haue bene made slaues, others haue bene murthered and put to the sword.

"Speech of "Mahomet, "hearing of "the taking "of Moses "and other "Epirots.

Thus after he had highly commended and exalted *Ballaban*, he sent vnto him a great quantitie of gold and siluer and other giftes, with a commission to restore his bands with newe supplies, and to pursue the warre against *Scanderbeg*. Who in this meane while being in a marueilous distresse and care for the captiuitie of these Noble men, dispatched away speedily a notable Ambassade, with great presents, and letters vnto the *Sultan*, praying him most effectually, to ransome the prisoners according to the right of armes, or else to exchange them for other prisoners, of which he had a great number. But the felonious tyraunt, being caried away with rage and furie, made no account of this Ambassage: but after all kindes of ignominie and barbarous crueltie vsed and practised vpon them, he caused them to be flayed aliue by little and little for fifteene dayes together: during the which they yeelded vp their constant and glorious soules vnto God, and did augment (as it is to be beleeued) the happie companie of the Martyrs in Paradise. The abhominable crueltie of this torment, made the ignominie of the Christians more notable and notorious: and all the armie of the *Albanians* did infinitely bewayle and grieue at their miserable ende: and the countrey of *Albanie* did feele much more griefe and sorow through the want of their deare and beloued citizens, then they conceiued ioye for the victorie had against their enemies: neither was the sorrowe and lamentation lesse which was made generally and in publicke, then that which was seene particularly and in priuate. For many (as the report goeth) did chaunge their habit and their garments, and many also did let the haire of their heads and beards to groweat length, in token that they mourned, and grieuously lamented for this great and lamentable losse of these excellent and heroycall persons. The king him selfe was no lesse grieued in

Ambassade sent by Scanderbeg to Mahomet for the ransome of Moses and his other Nobles.

Cruelties most barbarous of Mahomet.

Death of Moses and other prisoners by the tyrannie of Mahomet.

hart, for their misfortune. Neuertheleſſe bearing a minde hardened againſt all the aſſaultes and encombraunces of fortune, he preſently inuaded and ouercame the enemies countrey, ſhewing him ſelfe more deſirous of reuenge then of bootie and pillage, and he turned all things vpſide downe not leauing any thing in whole and good eſtate which either the ſword or the fire could poſsibly waſt, deſtroy and conſume.

Ballaban his ſecond iourney againſt Scanderbeg with 18000. Turks.

Certaine dayes were ſpent in theſe courſes, and actes of hoſtility, during the which, *Ballaban* by vertue of his commiſsion renued for the warre of *Albanie*, had made and finiſhed the encreaſe and ſupplie of his companies to the auncient number of fifteen thouſand men on horſe backe, and three thouſand footemen, which done he returned to *Achaia* vpon the frontiers of *Macedonie*, and there did he endeuour by his wonted ſleightes and his ordinarie diſguiſed ſhewes of cunning to reconcile him ſelfe vnto *Scanderbeg* with new preſentes and honeſt offers of ſeruice and amitie. In the ende ſeeing that he had but a cold ſuite, and that his guile and diſsimulation was too well knowen, as alſo that he had leſſe hope and power to attaine to the ende of his deſires by playne and open armes, he employed therefore all his wittes and deuiſes to more ſecret and cloſe attemptes, that by ſome more ſhort and more ready courſe he might ouer-reach and entrappe him.

Ballaban his exploit againſt Scanderbeg whom he thinketh to ſurpriſe in his Campe.

Scanderbeg being accompanied with 4000. horſe, and fiue and twentie hundreth footemen, he pitched his tents at *Oronichea* in the vpper *Dibria*, and vpon all parts and paſſages of his Campe, he had placed very conueniently both ſcotinels and ſcoutes. It happened by chaunce, that at one of thoſe paſſages, there were placed certaine ſouldiours *Epyrotes* in whom the king had great truſt and confidence, but he knew not that they were allyed and of kinne vnto *Ballaban*. Theſe being corrupted and wonne with great ſtore of money; the Turkiſhe Generall tooke his way in the dead of the night with all his armie, and an houre before day hauing paſſed beyond thoſe ſcouts, he began to approch very neare to the Campe of the *Albanois*, which he had ſurpriſed without all doubt and oppreſſed, had it not bene for the prompt vigilancie and watchfulneſſe of *Scanderbeg* him ſelfe, who hauing his eye open to all chaunces and inconueniences, did ordinarily and oftentimes go the rounde on horſebacke, viſiting & ſurueying all parts of his Campe, both the courts of garde & the other quarters, as God would at the very ſame time, he being thus buſily employed diſcerned a farre off, by the noiſe and neighing the horſes of the Infidels. Behold here the ſingular benefit, and a worthy example of diligent & carefull obſeruation of martiall diſcipline, the king himſelfe gaue alarme to his people, and preſently diſpoſing and ordering them in array of battell (howbeit in tumultuous manner and according to the ſhortneſſe of the time, and as the diſcommoditie of the darke would giue him leaue,) in two or three wordes animated his ſouldiours, to do their deuoir vpon this ſodaine occaſion, and ſo marched on furiouſly againſt the Turke. *Ballaban* not looking to haue founde him in ſuch order and readineſſe breathed him ſelfe a while, and that he might alſo better arraunge his men to the battell, whileſt *Scanderbeg* in the meane time laying hold vpon the preſent occaſion, with a ſtrong troupe of horſe the moſt reſolute of all his armie, and with a number of harquebuſsiers *Italians*, he conueyed him ſelfe cloſely all alongeſt the couert of the valley, and ſo got behinde all the backes of his enemies, and immediatly charging them with all his force vppon the tayle and rereward of their armie, he did ſo trouble and moleſt them, that being charged likewiſe in front by the reſidue of his troupes, they were conſtrained to fall to the fight on all ſides before that euer they could take any time to arraunge themſelues in any good order. Neuertheleſſe the conflict was long and mortall betweene them, eſpecially on the part of the *Epirots*, both becauſe that many of them had not yet

Souldiours of Scanderbeg being of kinne to Ballaban corrupted by him to betray the armie of the Albanois.

Scanderbeg his vigilancie preuenteth Ballaban his treacherie and ſubtiltie.

The battell of Oronichea betweene Ballaban and Scanderbeg.

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put themselues in rancke within their battell, as also by reason of the great number of their enemies: but in the ende finding the Infidels to be better furnished and armed with cordes and chaynes to binde the Christians, then with hardie and obstinate hearts to put them to vtterance: and perceiuing that they fought but faintly, they did presse vppon them so violently, that being not able to endure them any longer, they made them to turne their backes and to betake themselues to flight. Whereupon being closely pursued and liuely followed by the Christians, they were handled so rudely that they were not able to recouer their trenches, but were enforced to abandon their campe to the pillage of their enemies. The massacre and the bootie also was inestimable. *Ballaban* himselfe with a very small traine, without ensignes, without baggage did carrie the newes of his owne discomfiture. *Mahomet* receiued him, but with soure lookes, and he was long in a doubt and perplexitie, whether he should employ anie other Chieftaine in this warre, seeing that so small a handfull of men (as he obiected vnto him) had had the power to ouercome him so shamefully.

Victorie of Scanderbeg the second time against Ballaban and the Turkes.

After diuerse consultations, he concluded in the ende once againe to employ him against the *Albanois*, and to send him backe into *Epyre*, many causes and considerations vrging him thereunto. First of all, he knew him to be a mortall enemy to *Scanderbeg*: besides he was an *Epyrot* borne, and he was very well practised and acquainted with all the places and passages of the countrie which were most fit and apt for ambuscadoes. Besides amongst so many thousands of excellent Knightes and men of command vnder the obeisance of the *Ottoman* Empire, he knew not any one so worthie and sufficient as him alone. Moreouer knowing the disposition of all men, and how insatiably couetous the minde of man is of honour and authoritie, he promised him the crowne of *Epyre*, in case he could find the meanes to make *Scanderbeg* away and to destroy him. Now *Ballaban* being a man of notable resolution, and withall very desirous to make his life glorious in the world, which otherwise was but ignoble and subiect to vncertaintie, he thought nothing impossible which might purchase him honour and estimation: and therfore albeit he had bene twice beaten by the *Albanois*, yet he accepted this commission very willingly, and departed from *Constantinople* with an army of 20000. fighting men, of which 17000. were horsemen, & the residue were footemen. Being arriued at *Alebria*, at the first he held on his wonted course, and sent vnto the king of *Epyre* excellent good and swift horses for a present, besides certaine goodly robes of rich worke & embroderie, humbly entreating him not to disdaine his seruice and amity, the proofe & triall whereof he promised & protested should be alwaies in a readinesse, & that he should find him most faithfully affected vnto him during his life. All this did this craftie Foxe to the intent he might surprise him, if so be he found him any thing plyant and credulous to beleeue his faire & lugred speeches, but litle did he know whom he had to deale with all: for *Scanderbeg* being sufficiently acquainted with his traiterous & fraudulent practises, did scorne & disdaine his gifts and pretended courtesies: returning him in a mockerie certen counterpresents vile and rusticall, such as he had before times sent vnto him. Wherefore the *Aga* hauing all in vaine consumed & spent three whole moneths in these bootles practises, determined at the last to hazard the fortune of a plaine and set battell, and in open fight to encounter with his enemie, who was as willing to accept of the cõbat. Wherefore after publique & deuout praiers made to God for the victory, and for the preseruation of the estate of *Albanie*: and hauing procured & prepared all things requisite for the iourney, he encouraged his people one while with short speeches, and effectuall orations, another while with gifts and rewardes, to some of them horses, to others furniture of armes and weapons, to some of them rich apparell, and to

Ballaban his third iourney against Scanderbeg with 20000. Turkes

The battell of Sfetigrade betweene Ballaban & Scanderbeg.

others he gaue money, with other cõmodities. This done, he drew forth his army into the field, consisting of 8000. horse, & 2500. foote, all of them chosen souldiers & resolute, and he arranged them in order of battell vpon a faire plaine before *Sfetigrade*, where *Ballaban* was encamped. He deuided his army into foure parts or battels: Ouer the first cõmanded *Goie Streeze* his Nephew: the second was lead by *Tanusee Ducagin*: *Musache* had the conduct of the third: and *Scanderbeg* himselfe kept the fourth battallion for the guard of his owne bodie. The infanterie he had arranged and bestowed within the wings of the cauallarie, & he had appointed for the leading of them foure Chieftaines, gentlemen of good worth and experience: namely, *Paul Manessey*, *Peis Manuell*, *Demetrius Berisse*, & *Raian Chuque*. The Generall Turke likewise did differ very litle from him in the ordering of his battallions. In this sort the armies on both parts being disposed ready to the combat, & being animated by their cõmanders, they went on cheerefully with high and mightie clamors, and affronting ech other with great hatred and courage, they fell bravely to the encounter, and the battels ioyned together with great fury. Many were ouerthrowen on both sides, many were slaine and gaue vp the ghost, many were trampled and troden vnder the horse feete, but the greatest losse & slaughter fell to the *Mahometistes*. It was an horrour to heare the noyse and clattering of their armours, the soundes of their weapons & stroaks resounding in the aire, the pitifull voices, cries and gronings of those that lay a dying. He that had seene how eger and sharpe set the Christians were, fleshing themselues in the slaughter and butcherie of the Infidels, would not haue taken them for men but for so manie Lyons chaffed and hunting after their prey. For bearing vp close and streight together, they did so rudely presse vppon their enemies, terrifying and fearing them with their incredible brauerie and couragiousnesse, that they enforced them to giue ground, themselues not yeelding nor recuiling, so much as one foote backewardes, as men that were led on with dispaire and resolution, and whose eyes were closed vp against all perils whatsoeuer. *Ballaban* who had more then once made proofe of the rude entertainement of the *Albanois*, and knew well what belonged therunto, did continue the fight with singular prudence and dexteritie, laboring with great and exceeding care and trauell to preuent and eschew all perils and inconueniences. For being guarded with a strong troupe of horse, he held firme in the forefront of the battell, comforting & cheering vp those which were wearied, and still supplying with fresh men the places of those which were wounded: and thus being intentiue with a prouident eye and regard to all partes, he made no spare of his person in discharging the deuoire and dutie both of an excellent Captaine, and a most tall souldier. *Scanderbeg* likewise whersoeuer he saw any of his squadrons to wauer, did readily succour and relieue them, & did continually restore the fight: and if it happened at any time that his people did begin to grow weary, or to haue the worst of the fight, he would speedily make from one part to another, and he would on all sides sustaine the hazard of the battell, he would thrust in amongst the thickest of his enemies, & by his presence would withstand the fury & tempest of their attempts. Sõ that on what side soeuer the Barbarians turned themselues, still did they meete & encounter with the fury of *Scanderbeg*, then the which nothing could present it selfe more terrible in their sight, nothing could haue happened more to their discouragement: & whersoeuer he became he still drew after him an assured victorie, insomuch, that both the enemy & the *Albanois* did openly confesse & affirme with one generall consent & voice, that *Scanderbeg* was the best souldier & brauest warrior in the world. As he was thus gotten in amongst the thickest of the Infidels, doing wonderfull deeds of armes in killing al that came in his way, it happened that his horse being mortally wounded did stumble at

Order of Scanderbeg and Ballaban their armies at the battell of Sfetigrade.

a great

a great trunke or roote of a tree couched close by the ground, so that they fell both horse and man together. *Scanderbeg* lying vnder his horse was so sore crushed with the fall, and so grieuously hurt in one of his shoulders, that he lay a while as one in a swound. The Turks thought verily he had bene dead, and therfore aduancing themselues in a great troupe together, they came flocking about him, and beganne to light on foote, that they might haue cut off his head. But *Scanderbeg* his men at armes rushing in furiously, and breaking thorough the presse, did couer him with their bodies and their shields till such time as being come againe to himselfe, and hauing recouered his weapons, he was mounted againe vpon a fresh horse. Therupon the vehemencie of the griefe past, and his spirits newly gathered, made him to enter againe into the middest of the battell with greater fury and fiercenes then before, insomuch that making way on all sides with the edge of his sword amongst the Infidels, he seemed not much vnlike to a raging tempest which falling in a field of corne, beateth it al down, and presseth it euen with the ground: so the King of *Albany* making a great slaughter and butchery amongst the Turkes, encountred at length with one that was a man of principal account and chiefest regard in all their armie, whose name was *Sulyman*, and him did he ouerthrow dead vpon the place. This act gaue him the whole aduantage of the field, which till that time was vncertaine and equally ballanced betweene both parties. But euen at that instant so sudden & strange a feare did surprise the barbarians, that their force & courage began to faile them all at once: and they were not able any longer to endure the violence of the Christians, who had vsually bene accustomed to beate & master them. Wherfore in this their generall astonishmẽt, they were so finely & roundly pressed, and so hardly followed, that they were constrained to turne their backes, & to flie with might & maine for the safegard of their liues. But the flight was more pernicious vnto them then the fight: for all of them in a manner remained dead in the fields of *Dibria*, which seemed to be fattened with the bloud of the Infidels, by reason that the vanquishers did so egerly follow & pursue them, that they would neuer leaue nor giue ouer the chase as long as they sound any one with his weapõs in his hand. I should haue enough to doe, if I should tell you how notable a bootie, & what great riches were found in the tents and campe of the Paynims: all which was liberally graunted to the souldiers, to comfort them for the hardnesse and difficultie of their labours, and to asswage the griefe and sorrow of their hearts conceiued for the losse of their fellowes and companions, of whom there were slaine in this battell to the number of three hundred, besides infinite of them sore wounded.

Scanderbeg in danger of his life.

Victorie of Scanderbeg the third time against Ballaban and the Turkes.

Scanderbeg after this notable and famous iourney, found himselfe so payned in his shoulder and in his arme, that he was compelled in a manner to keepe house for three whole monethes together. *Ballaban* who had saued himselfe by the benefite of his spurres, and had gotten within *Alchria*, departed from thence within a while after to *Constantinople*, where being come with a very small traine, he had but bad welcome of his Prince, who entertained him with a very angry and frowning countenance. He reproched him continually with this foule and grieuous ouerthrow, and he demaunded of him the liues of so many braue souldiers, and the flower of so many gallant youthes which (as he said) were betraied & wilfully lead to the butcherie, by his folly and rashnesse. But the wylie and cunning gallant, by a long and artificiall Oration found the meanes to appease and mitigate the wrath and anger of the *Sultan*: calling the gods to witnes, & appealing to those souldiers which were escaped from the slaughter, he referred himselfe to their examination & testimonies whether that before he began the fight, he had not with singular prouidence & exact prudẽce carefully foreseene & regarded all matters: whether that the choise of the time & the place,

Mahomet highly displeased with Ballaban for the losse of his armie.

"Speaches vsed "by Ballaban "to Mahomet "in excuse of "his ouer- "throw by "Scanderbeg.

or the manner of the ordering of his battels were in any respect to be condemned: whether that eyther the souldiers or the Generall had fayled in their duetie, and in briefe, whether that he had omitted or neglected any thing, which might haue purchased or furthered his victorie. And casting the whole fault of his defaster and misfortune vppon the will and inexitable pleasure of the goddes, and the vncertainetie of fortune the perpetuall friende of inconstancie which maketh deedes of armes doubtfull and subiect to dayly alteration, he would not in anie sort seeme to acknowledge, that hee was inferiour to the King of *Albanie* in vertue or desert. He did allowe and confesse him to be one of the most accomplished and most fortunate warriours in the whole worlde: but yet neuertheless, that he was mortall, and not inuincible as was to be seene by *Sebalias* before at the siege of *Belgrade*, & by himselfe also at the battell of *Valeala*, where he had taken and defeated diuerse of his best and most valiant Knights and Chieftaines. And thus did he excuse himselfe as finely as he could. So well could he handle the matter by his smooth and fayre speeches, that he made the *Sultan* to giue him the hearing of anie thing. Whereupon he aduentured to propound vnto him a new and seeldome vsed course which he had conceiued in his minde, by meanes whereof he was in hope to obtaine an easie and assured victorie of the Prince of *Albanie*, which he vttered in this manner.

Speech of Ballaban to Mahomet propounding a course for the destruction of Scanderbeg.

» May it please your excellent Maiestie, quoth he, (most happie and mightie Monarch) to choose out and nominate two notable and sufficient Chieftaines, who » with two puissant armies by diuerse and sundrie wayes, and seuerally each from other, may with all diligence and secrecie make their entrie into *Epyre*, pretending » that their iourney lyeth some other way. And let not any one of them come to » fight with the enemie without the other: but staying and expecting the comming of his companion, let them both together with a common aduise and mutuall counsell, suddenly turne bridle, and marching against him, both at one time, » they may enclose and entangle him in the middest betweene them, and so easily ouerthrow him. By this course and meanes both himselfe and his people shall be soone » ouercome and cut in peeces, and so shall we make a finall end of the warre and insolencie of the *Albanois*.

Mahomet tooke so great a liking of the reasons and deuise of *Ballaban*, and the conceipt which he had propounded pleased him so well, that without any delay, he gaue him full power and authoritie to ordaine what he thought good for the prosecuting of this warre and for the bringing of it to an end. And that he should make choise amongst all his Captaines of such a one whom himselfe should best like of, for his colleague and compartner in that iourney: as also that he should take such a number of men as he should thinke needfull: and he vrged him to hasten this voyage into *Epyre*, and to follow it with all possible care, policie, and good counsell. He told him, that nothing could be more acceptable or welcome vnto him, then to heare that *Scanderbeg* with his forces were expelled and banished out of *Epyre*. That he could not thinke, nor account himselfe a Prince of any good fortune or happinesse, as long as he should see this his enemie to be aliue, by whom he had suffered so many outrages and discommodities. *Ballaban* being desirous to repayre his honour, caused foorthwith a wonderfull companie of souldiers to be leauied, with the which he made so puissant an armie, that it was sufficient to haue made the Realme of *Albanie* to tremble for very feare: & he adioyned vnto him for his companion *Iagup Arnauth* (which is as much to say as *Iames* the *Albanois*. For he also was borne in that countrie, and he was a Knight of great estimate and reckoning, and one that had wonne great

Speech of Mahomet to Ballaban, vrging him to the destruction of Scanderbeg.

Iagup Arnauth sent with an armie against Scanderbeg of sixteene thousand horsemen.

great honour by deedes of armes. These troupes being nowe assembled together, and parted betweene them, *Ballaban* directed his compartner to take his way all alongest the seacoastes, and so crossing ouer *Greece* and *Thessaly* to enter into *Epyre*: and he charged him expressely, that in any case he should not discouer himselfe, or make any attempt against the enemie, till such time as he perceiued *Ballaban* him selfe with his people to be arriued, and to approch neere him. For he taking a shorter and neerer cut through *Thrace* and *Macedonie*, was the first of the two that came into *Albanie*, and was there a great deale sooner then *Iagup*: the armie which *Ballaban* had with him onely, exceeded aboue foure and twentie thousand horsemen, besides foure thousand that serued on foote.

Ballaban his fourth iourney against Scanderbeg with 28000. Turkes

Let vs now turne our speech to the Generall of the Christians, and let vs see a litle with what diligence, and with what preparations, he prouided to feast these his guestes, who had bidden themselues in so great a companie, without being inuited by him. For you must vnderstand, that *Arnaut* who went the other way, had with him also sixteene thousand horse at the least. *Ballaban* had no sooner taken the fielde, but that *Scanderbeg* had as speedie intelligence of his comming both by letters written to him of purpose, as also by his espyals, of whom he kept a good number continually dispersed in all parts of the Turke his country, and euen within the cabinet (if I may so speake) of the tyrant: by occasion whereof he caused a speedy leauy to be made of eight thousand horse, and foure thousand footmen, with as great silence and secrecie as was possible, & with them he held himselfe in a readinesse, being fully prepared both in courage and in armes to receiue the Barbarian. Who being at length arriued within the frontiers of *Epyre*, the *Albanian* Prince determined to go & visite him, purposing to make an end of that matter, and to trie his fortune first with him, before that *Arnaut* should be able to come and ioine with him, for feare least being assayled all at one time with two so puissant enemies, he should not be able to make head against them, and so might his enemies haue their desire of him. And without all doubt I doe not thinke that it would haue fallen out any otherwise, if the plot laid by the Paynim had sorted to his effect. But the diuine prouidence (which gouerneth and ruleth all things according to his owne will and pleasure) had a speciall care to the affaires of the Christians and of *Scanderbeg*. And he would not permit that he which of so ardent a zeale, and so sincere and entire an affection did daily expose and aduenture his life, and did incessantly labor & trauell for the preseruation of the Catholike faith, shold so ignominiously & traiterously be surprised, vanquished or oppressed. *Ballaban* therefore hauing passed ouer *Thrace* and *Macedonie*, was now encamped in the plaine of *Valeala*: wherefore *Scanderbeg* hauing knowledge, by the fauour and benefite of the darke, he caused his troupes to march in great secrecie directly towardes him, and sent before him three souldiers (such as he thought most aduised and best accustomed to that office) to discouer and take a viewe of the enemies campe, and to obserue their countenance, with an expresse commaundement that assoone as they had seene and considered all things, they should not faile to returne vnto him presently, and to make report vnto him what they had learned. One of these three souldiers (as some say) was of kinne to *Ballaban*, or at least wise was before corrupted. And he had wonne his companions likewise promising them in the behalfe of *Ballaban* great summes of golde and siluer: the which we see doth daily worke miracles in the mindes of mortall men, especially such as are greedily set vpon the desire of worldly riches. These three then went on directly to the *Mahometan*, and reuealed vnto him all the secret counsels and enterprises of *Scanderbeg*. The Prince of *Epyre* hauing his thoughtes continually vppon his scoutes did for

Ballaban encamped at the plaine of Valeala.

a Sanson.

Treason of certaine souldiers serving vnder Scanderbeg.

a while expect and looke for them: but seeing that they stayed ouer long and came not againe, he was in a doubt least some misaduenture had befallen them, and that they had beene intercepted by the enemie. Himselfe therefore (as he was alwayes prompt and venturous in all militarie actions) would needs goe and see what should be the cause of their stay, taking with him in his companie onely fiue souldiers and no more, to the intent he might take a view, and be informed of the estate of the enemie, and heare some newes also of his owne people. But *Ballaban* (who to his owne cost was passing well acquainted and experienced with the cunning and politique draughts of his enemie) misdoubting some such matter, thought that he would beat him at his owne weapons, and therefore he vsed this counterpolicie in hope to ouerreach him. He made choise of certaine stout and very hardie men, all excellently well mounted on horsebacke, and with them did he beset a certaine passage, by which he suspected that *Scanderbeg* himselfe would come to take a view of his campe, and the demeanour of his armie: and he was not any thing deceiued in his imagination. For behold *Scanderbeg* was now come to the place of this ambushment, but yet before he would proceede any further, he caused (according to his wonted custome) one of his souldiers to goe before him, who soone discouered the daunger of the Turkes which lay there ambushed. The Infidels seeing themselues bewrayed, issued out vpon him with great furie, and after some resistance made, constrayned him to flie. In his flight he put himselfe into a certaine wood or thicket, which came next to hand, and which lay on the other side of the mountaine, which encloseth the plaine of *Valcala*, where by ill happe he chaunced vpon a great tree, which being withered with age, was fallen downe and lay crosse the path by which he was to passe. *Scanderbeg* setting spurres to his horse made him to leape roundly ouer, the like did one of his souldiers which followed him: but his companions not being able to doe the like, and perceiuing that their last refuge, & their only hope to saue their liues consisted in their armes: couching themselues close, they gaue in valiantly amongst their enemies, & hauing both slain & hurt some of them, they yeelded vp their liues as became men of valure and resolution. One of the Barbarians following hard after *Scanderbeg*, leapt likewise ouer the trunke of the tree, and gathered very close and neere vppon him: *Scanderbeg* casting his eye about, and seeing one onely to followe him, made backe directly towards him, and quickly ouerthrew him dead to the ground: the rest being not willing to pursue him any farther, were content to let him goe and to depart quietly. After this faire and happy escape, *Scanderbeg* being returned to his campe neere *Petralba* about fifteene miles from the enemie, made readie his squadrons for to march against the Infidels. At that time more then euer did the Prince of *Albanie* employ all his senses to encourage and animate his men with good words, and all other good meanes to doe their deuoire against their enemies. He offered them gifts and large rewards: he inuited and importuned them with prayers and earnest intreaties both in generall and in particular to take such things at his hande whereof they stood in any neede, were it either for themselues or for their horses. As the King was very bountifull to offer them freely of his owne, so assure your selues, that the souldiers shewed their wonderfull modesty, and did (as it were) contend with him in gratitude and courtesie, not taking any thing but in such measurable and modest manner, as might serue onely for the present neede and necessitie. Then the *Albanois* hauing taken some repast, began to march towards the enemie, and trauelling on continually day and night, they tooke litle or no rest, scarce so much as might suffise nature. They were not long therefore ere they had gotten to the valley, where the army of *Ballaban* lay encamped. *Scanderbeg* seizing vpon the toppe of the same valley, did pitch

Ambushment dressed by Ballaban to surprise Scanderbeg.

Scanderbeg in great danger of his life, escapeth the ambushment of Ballaban.

Scanderbeg marcheth against Ballaban.

pitch his campe with moſt excellent aduantage, by reaſon that he enuironned the enemie who lay below him in the plaine: for he extended his companies throughout all the toppes of the mountains which encloſed the vally, occupying all the ſtreights and paſſages, in ſuch ſort that he had encloſed on all ſides, and (as it were) hedged in the Barbarians, whom he viſited alſo with often and daily skirmiſhes, ſometimes on the flanckes and ſides of their campe, ſometimes at their backes, becauſe he would hold them in doubt and ſuſpence of his intent and meaning.

The next day following *Scanderbeg* called a councell of his nobles and Chieftains, at the which were preſent *Tanuſee Thopie*, *Zacharie Groppe* and *Peic Manuell* his Lieutenants. Many of them were of this opinion: that the battell ſhould be deferred till ſuch time as the ſouldiers were very wel refreſhed of their long iorney and watching lately endured: and that *Tanuſee* ſhould haue ſome leiſure to take a taſte of the enemy, & to keepe him doing in the meane while. But *Scanderbeg* was of another mind, and he did not onely perſwade, but he did inſtantly vrge and preſſe them, that they ſhould not by their delaies and daliance bring his determinations and counſels into hazard and daunger, the ſuertie whereof conſiſted in nothing ſo much as in prompt and ſpeedie execution:: That *Ballaban* his armie might eaſily be broken and defeated, whileſt that *Iagup* being ignorant of this attempt, did tarrie away and keepe himſelfe abſent, which (quoth he) being deferred by our prolonging of the time, we ſhall giue them ſpace and leiſure to ioyne together, and ſo ſhall we cauſe our enterprize (which of it ſelfe is without daunger) to come to a doubtfull and vncertaine iſſue. Wherefore it behoueth vs with all ſpeed to ſound to horſebacke, to bid the battell to our enemies, and not to loſe this aduantage which their error and ouerſight hath giuen vs now that their two Generalles are thus deuided, the one abſent, the other preſent. This opinion preuailed, and the aſſembly being diſſolued: behold now how *Scanderbeg* did prepare himſelfe to the combat. Of all his ſquadrons he made foure battels: the one he committed to *Tanuſee*, the ſecond to *Zacharie Groppe*, and of the third, *Peic Manuell* had the charge and conduct: the infanterie was mingled among the horſemen, and the Harquebuſſiers and Archers were mixed pell mell with the pikes and certaine horſemen, whom he ſent forth to skirmiſh with the enemie, and to begin the fight. The reſidue of the armie together with the ſquadron which he had for the gard of his perſon, he reſerued to be commaunded by himſelfe. Hauing thus diſpoſed and ordered his troupes: he thought it requiſite with ſome ſhort ſpeech to encourage his companies, which he did in this manner.

Counsel held by Scanderbeg for his proceedings againſt Ballaban.

Speech of Scanderbeg to his Captaines encouraging them againſt Ballaban.

Order of Scanderbeg his armie againſt Ballaban in the ſecond battell of Valela.

The importunitie of the time (my companions) and your approued valour will not ſuffer me at this time to make any long diſcourſe: you are ſufficiently well acquainted with this enemie who is but the ſcumme and offſcouring of thoſe troupes which your ſwordes haue left aliue, and they are but the refuſe and reliques of thoſe battels which you lately gained. Theſe are not the martiall & generous *Frenchmen*: theſe are not the warlike & braue *Italians* whom you notwithſtanding haue beaten and defeated: but they are your ſlaues, their liues are at your mercie, and they are the ordinarie ſubiect of your glorie. See therefore that you beſtirre your ſelues valiantly, ſo as this iourney may ſhut vp and determine the courſe of twentie yeares triumphes and victories, which you haue moſt gloriouſly gotten againſt them. They are come hither by force and conſtraint: they are drawn hither by the blinded ambition of that infamous peiſant *Ballaban*, who being in diſgrace both with God and man, doeth deſperately ſeeke by ſome exploit againſt vs to recouer his reputation, & to reenter into the grace and fauour of his *Mahomet*. Now is the time my friends or neuer, wherein you are to hope for an honorable end of your wearieſome trauels, and of heading of

Oration of Scanderbeg to his ſouldiers encouraging them againſt Ballaban and the Turkes in the ſecond battell of Valela.

» your blond: behold this is the laſt attempt of your aduerſarie: who being now deſti-
» tute of Chieftaines that either dare, or are able from henceforth to hurt you, by reaſon
» that you haue either ſlaine them or diſcomforted them: he is now conſtrained to aid
» himſelf with them of your owne nation: but you need not to ſtand in doubt or feare,
» for ſuch people, traitours to God and their countrey, the worme of whoſe conſci-
» ence is euer gnawing and tormenting of their ſoules, cannot poſſibly be able to doe
» you any great harme: Go to then my good ſouldiers, let the noble and famous actes
» of your anncestors, and your owne honourable exploites ſharpen and ſet ſpurres to
» your courages: plucke vp your hearts, gather your ſtrength and forces vnto you:
» preſſe vpon your enemies, charge vpon them brauely, breake in valiantly amongeſt
» theſe baſe raſcals: trample theſe dogs and circumciſed curres vnder your feete, and
» march ouer their curſed carcaſſes like valiant ſouldiers, and inuincible conquerors.

Hauing thus ſpoken, the alarme was ſounded, and they began to march all at once. The Barbarians who ſtood readie raunged in order of battell with enſignes diſplaied before their campe, did now expect and were determined to haue bene doing with their enemies: but *Ballaban* ſtaying for his companion did prolong the time of the fight, and ſounded the retrait, commaunding ſome to watch when *Iegup* would appeare in ſight. But *Scanderbeg* imagining that a minute of delay might worke his vter diſaduantage, commaunded thoſe bands which were appointed to begin the skirmiſh, and were now placed for the battell, to iſſue foorth roundly vpon the Infidels; whileſt that he with the reſidue of his armie deſcending downe into the plaine, did draw on directly towards the enemies campe, with a full reſolution to force the enemie to fight, and to diſpatch the matter before the comming of *Arnaut*. Hereupon he preſented himſelfe before the campe of the Infidels with loud cries, reproches and ſcoffes vſed by his ſouldiers againſt them, challenging and prouoking them to the combat. For all this was the Painim firme in his determination, and he would not moue a foote: but refuſing to enter the liſtes, or to come to fight, he kept his people within their trenches: and the more that our men did preſſe vpon them and importune them, being euen readie to giue the aſſault vnto his campe, the more did he recuile and make from them. *Ballaban* his ſouldiers conceiuing ſoule deſpite, and being vehemently incenſed for that they could not be ſuffered to iſſue out to encounter with their enemies, they cryed out and exclaimed againſt their Generall, they murmured and gnaſhed with their teeth for verie rage and anger: and if the holding of them backe by their Generall on the one ſide did animate and ſet them in a heat: no leſſe did the inſolencie and brauerie of the *Epirots* make them eger and ſharpe ſet, who were now vppon the point to force their rampiers: inſomuch that both on the one part and the other, their courages were terribly enflamed and incenſed ech againſt other. *Ballaban* neuertheleſſe ſtill ſtayed his ſouldiers and temporized to the vttermoſt of his power. In the end, when he ſaw that he could not repreſſe the heate and furie of his Turkes: he diſpoſed his armie in order of battell, placing the *Aſappy* before the enſignes of the vauntgard: and next to them vpon the left wing he put the **Olophanges*, who were notable and warlike ſouldiers, oppoſing them againſt *Tamuſee*. Againſt *Zacharie Groppe* he ſet the *Achanzes*: and right oppoſite againſt *Peic Manuell*, he ordained the *Ianiſſaries* who were a verie ſtout and hardie kind of men, enured and accuſtomed to the trauell and toyle of armes. The right wing he himſelfe commaunded being defended with a ſtrong ſquadron which were for the gard of his bodie, and with all the olde and moſt expert ſouldiers, vppon whom he builded his chiefeſt hope and confidence: placing himſelfe directly againſt *Scanderbeg*. Then began a moſt fierce and cruell fight betweene the *Albanois* and the *Mahometan*, Hor-

Scanderbeg challengeth Ballaban to the battell.

Order of Ballaban his army in the ſecond battell of Valcala.

**Olophanges or Alophages are meere Barbarie ſouldiers.*

The ſecond battell of Valcala betweene Ballaban and Scanderbeg.

rible

rible was the slaughter on the one side and the other: and the two Generals in proper person, drew the eyes of all men towards them. There might you haue seene the infanterie and cauallarie of *Albanie*, the old bands of *Croie*, vsed and accustomed to maine battelles with the valiant and resolute *Dibrians*: how they did make shew of their notable skill and practise in the Arte militarie: and how at the verie beginning of the fight, they did so trouble the vauntgard of the Infidels, that they made their Ensignes to giue ground, till such time as the furie of the fight encreasing, and the cry on both sides growing to be redoubled, they did againe aduance themselues more couragiously then at the first. Then did *Scanderbeg* giue a newe charge vppon them, pressing them both before and behind, and enforcing himselfe by all possible meanes to put them out of array, he cryed all aloft vnto his people, saying.

How now (my friends) what did we make such hast hitherwardes, did we rid so much way, and did we make so long and speedie iourneyes to no ende and purpose? Shall we suffer our selues to be helde so short by the same Chiefetaine, by the same troupes which we haue so many times discomfited, chased, and ouerrunne?

a Speech of Scanderbeg to his souldiers encouraging them in fight against Ballaban

All this notwithstanding hauing more then once endeuored and striued but all in vaine to breake and scatter them on that side, he made choise of certaine squadrons out of the right wing which he thought would haue least to doe, and would rather stand idle then be employed in the fight, and causing them to wheele about and to conuey themselues behinde the enemie at their backes, without being apperceiued either by the aduerse party or by their owne companie, he did therewithall strike in vppon the lefte wing of the enemie with such furie and celeritie: that when as they thought to haue found and to haue receiued him vpon the flancke and side of their battallion, he was suddenly gotten behind them and charged them at their backs: in such sort that the *Alchanzes* & the *Alophages* found themselues assailed & endammaged on all sides both in front and in flancke, and in their rereward: so that the slaughter began now also to grow vpon the *Asappi* who made litle and no resistaunce. For the most part of them the night before had absented themselues from their ensignes, and were licentiously dispersed all ouer the fieldes, and there lay some of them still wallowing vpon the ground, ouercome with sleepe and trauell, and the rest which were then present in the battell being wearied with their late trauell and with ouerwatching (being a tender and soft kind of people, and ill able to endure the heate of the yeare and hard trauell) scarce could they abide their armes vpon their backes. For the sunne being then at the highest, made them in that case, that partly with extreme heate, and partly with thirst, their enemies found them as men halfe dead, and they fell into their hands by heapes to be taken or slaine at their pleasures. *Ballaban*, who had oftentimes purchased great honour and commendation in the like battelles, in this iourney behaued himselfe more nobly then in any other whatsoeuer. For partly by encouraging his men in the fight, and partly also by hazarding his person to all daungers: one while egging and pressing them forward, another while blaming and rebuking those that were backward, and sometimes by recalling of such as fled: he did for a long time maintaine the fight well and worthely: still animating his souldiours, and renuing the conflict in many places where he saw his people to waxe faint and to giue ouer. At the last when he sawe that the fortune of the field did encline to the *Epirots*, and that he could no longer sustaine their violence, he chaunged his resolution, and setting spurres to his horse, he turned his backe and withdrew himselfe from the sight of the Christians. After him their whole armie did the like: for perceiuing their rancks to be scattered & disordered, euery man began to flie some here, some there, ouer the fieldes into the mountaines and through the woods

Victorie of Scanderbeg the fourth time against Ballaban and the Turkes.

according as ech man his fortune good or bad did guide and direct him. Some fewe there were who following their Generall, escaped together with him, and got away from the swordes of their enemies, and from the slaughter of their fellowes. All the rest of the Barbarians were either slaine or taken prisoners: and if it happened, that any were gotten free from the furie and confusion of the chase, yet were they cut in peeces by those that kept the toppes and passages of the mountaines: in so much, that of the whole hoast and armie of *Ballaban*, there were verie fewe left aliue. As for those small reliques which remained, they were not in any sort pursued, because there was a sudden rumour and report, that there was a newe and fresh enemie comming against them.

Scarce were the Christians departed out of the valley of *Valcala*, and the souldiers had not yet made an ende of parting and deuiding the spoyles of their slayne enemies: but that there came a messenger from *Mamisa* the Kings sister, in poast haste from *Petrella* (where this Ladie then lay with her guard and her housholde) by whom she aduertised *Scanderbeg* that *Iagup Arnauth* with sixteene thousand horse was entred into *Epyre* by the way of *Belgrade*, where he wasted and destroyed all things: and that he was then encamped in the lower *Tyranna*, neere adioyning to a riuer which the inhabitants name *Argilat*. This Turke was an *Epyrot* by birth, and his parents were both of them Christians: himselfe hauing beene taken and circumcised by the Turkes did professe their superstitions. He was a man of great hardinesse and valure, and in times past both in *Asia* and in *Greece*, had left many goodly and commendable testimonies of his prowes vnder *Mahomet*. His comming into *Epyre* was (as we haue saide) to enclose the Prince of *Albanie* betweene his forces and the armie of his companion: for one of his owne souldiers hauing beene taken by the people of *Mamisa*, and being examined vpon the cause and motiue to this voyage, had confessed the same and did iustifie the truth hereof vnto them. Presently vpon this aduertisement, *Scanderbeg* concluded to goe with his whole armie directly to *Tiranna*: which being now in a readinesse to march, he thought it good before his departure, thus to encourage his souldiers.

Iagup Arnauth encamped at Argilat in Epire.

Oration of Scanderbeg to his souldiers being redie to march against Iagup Arnauth.

„ This day (my good souldiers and friendes) haue we obtained by the assistance of
„ the diuine power, a most memorable victorie according to our hearts desire, against
„ our capitall and deadly enemie. Such was his rashnesse (vnhappie man) that he pre-
„ sumed to enclose vs in the middest betweene two puissant and mightie armies, and so
„ most traiterously to haue destroyed and oppressed vs: and he was in good hope by
„ this notable draught and plot which he had deuised to abolish and wipe away his
„ owne shame and infamie, and the memorie of those rude discomfitures which he
„ had receiued at our handes. Now by the grace of God and your vertue, in stead of
„ diminishing his shame and ignominie, he hath made it a great deale greater. Yet be-
„ hold how euen now againe, before our hands be cleane, or that we haue made an
„ ende of this last repaste, and before that the cloth (as I may say) is taken away: see I
„ pray you, how *Iagup Arnauth* a noble and bountifull banquettour is come to inuite
„ vs to a new banquet, because he would haue vs to make an end of our feast: and be-
„ ing loath that his guestes should be defrauded of good and conuenient entertain-
„ ment, he hath brought vs his armie also for a second course: see I say (my deare frends)
„ how before we are gotten out of this valley, and haue (as it were) washed our hands
„ embrued with the bloud of our enemies: before we haue wiped the bloud off our
„ swords, or haue sheathed them in our scabbords: *Iagup* is likewise come vnto vs: he
„ offreth vs good and friendly presents, that is, his troupes and squadrons, that you may
„ vse and dispose of them at your pleasures, either to take a taste of them, or else altoge-

ther to deuoure and consume them. Go we therfore (my good companions) go we to this mariage feast whereunto *Iagup* doth inuite vs and doth so earnestly call vs: let vs eate our fill of his dainties, & when we shall haue glutted our selues, let vs carry some part also away with vs. Let vs make all speed and diligence to be gone from hence, let vs goe and meet with *Iagup*, whom (I dare assure you) we will quickely ouerthrow and bring to confusion: for these are but a handfull of men in comparison of those that were with *Ballaban*: besides, me thinkes I see that the warlike furie, and the martiall fiercenesse of your courages doth yet continue burning and flaming within you.

Scarcely had *Scanderbeg* ended his speech, but he might see his souldiers wonderfully incensed and inflamed: all of them with high cries and clamours entreated him to leade them presently to this second banquet: whereupon being full of hope and courage they remoued their campe, and with ensignes displaied tooke their way towards *Tiranna* there to affront and encounter with *Iagup*. Is it not a straunge matter to see and consider the maruellous audacitie, and the confident resolution of this people, that being but newly gotten out of so great a daunger, and their woundes yet scarce staunched, and the sweat of their former toyle and labour yet scant wiped off their faces, yet you should now see them thus prompt and forward to depart presently and out of hand against a new enemie, and one that had so great a puissance & whole forces which were yet fresh, sound and entire? But you may thinke that they were not a litle hardened and emboldened by the presence and happie fortune of *Scanderbeg*, by his sage experience and prudent conduct, and by the consideration of his inuincible valour and prowes. In like manner, the daily exercise and continuall frequentation of deeds of armes by this nation did not a litle encrease that confidence in them: and besides, what reason had they to stand in any feare of the Turkish power and puissance, which had bene the ordinarie and continuall subiect of their glory & reputation? Notwithstanding, to speake more like a Christian, and to coniecture aright of this their wonderfull resolution & hardines: I for my part do verily beleeue, (the issue and euent of matters doth argue no lesse) and that this was a thing meerely diuine and miraculous. But to our historie.

Scanderbeg marcheth against Iagup.

Arnauth being enformed that *Scanderbeg* did approch, trussed vp baggage and dislodged from thence: being not as yet acquainted nor knowing any thing of the misfortune of his companion: and he retired himselfe into one of the most recuiled angles and corners of *Tiranna* neare vnto a litle mountainet or hill vppon the which was a certaine small village, of the inhabitaunts named *Cassar*: which place he found to be of most safetie and securitie to encampe in. *Scanderbeg* seized vppon that place from whence the other was lately departed. During all that day both the campes lay verie quiet. Howbeit, true it is, that the *Albanois* did passe the night following in great care and iealouzie for feare least that *Iagup* and his armie should discampe the same night, if by chaunce he should haue any inckling of the defait of *Ballaban*. For this cause, all the waies and passages were seized vpon and beset with armed men. The next morning assoone as the sunne was risen, and that the reflection of the sunne beames did beate vpon the tents and eyes of the Barbarians: *Scanderbeg* being verie considerate, and hauing no doubt of the victorie, marched in order of battell directly towardes *Iagup*, causing the heades of certaine slaine Turkes to be cast before the tentes of the Infidelles, and some of those ensignes also to be displayed, which had bene purposely kept and reserued after the defaite of *Ballaban*: and he shewed them also certaine captiues chained and tyed together. *Arnauth* being wounded with extreame griefe and sorrow for this vnexpected mishappe and misfortune, presently exclaimed and saied.

Iagup encampeth at Cassar.

Speech of Iagup of the fortune of Scanderbeg.

Now (quoth he) do I acknowledge the misfortune of the house of *Ottoman*, and the good fortune of *Scanderbeg*.

The battell of Cassar betweene Scanderbeg & Iagup.

The King of *Albanie* sent foorth 500 vauntcurrours to draw foorth *Iagup* to the combat: and he charged them not to ioyne in fight with the Infidell, but when they should see them to breake out vpon them, that then they should retire in good order: and so it happened accordingly. *Iagup* had deuided his armie into three troupes or battallions, and he was quickly gotten out of his trenches to follow after the *Albanian* horsemen: vnto whom *Scanderbeg* calling and willing them to turne about, and to make head against the enemie: in an instant he ioyned himselfe vnto them: and all of them together endured the shocke of the Paynim comming fiercely vpon them. Then there began a most sharpe and cruell conflict: at the verie entrie whereof many a braue man lost his life both on the one side and the other, and ech partie was so incensed and egerly enflamed against other with such rage and choller: that the battell continued doubtfull and bloudie for a long time: but the wonted stratageme, and accustomed policie of *Scanderbeg* did soone end and determine the combat: and the inequalitie of the parties came to be discerned by the speedie ende and slaughter of the Generall Turke: vpon whom the Prince of *Epire* hauing had a continuall eye: and hauing by pure force made himselfe way through the rancks of his enemies, he charged him with his launce, and at the verie first stroke ran him cleane through the throat. Their Chieftaine being layed on the ground, euerie man striued who should flie fastest: they that were best mounted were most happie in this daunger: euerie man forgot his brother, his friend and his companion, and happie was he that could make shift for himselfe. The chase continued long, and it was verie mortall: infinite being put to the sword in the middest of their flight: many also were taken prisoners: all which found like fortune and entertainment: for that the Christians hauing yet fresh in memorie the late wounds and the barbarous and inhumaine vsage of their brethren and kinsmen murthered by *Mahomet*, the griefe and remembrance therof made them to execute all their prisoners with diuerse and sundry kinds of torments. And especially those Turkes who being escaped from the tumult and slaughter of the battell, did happen aliue into the hands of the peysants: they found no better entertainement, but were put to all the tortures and torments that could be possibly deuised or imagined.

Iagup slain by Scanderbeg.

Victorie of Scanderbeg against Iagup and the Turks.

It was neuer seene that of two armies at one and the same time, and in one and the same warre, that the King of *Epire* had put to the sword so many miscreants. Besides by the mishap of both their Generals (of whom the one was fled with the losse of his armie, and the other was slaine, and all his troupes likewise destroyed) it seemed that the misfortune of *Belgrade* was now equally & sufficiently recompenced. There were slaine of the Infidels foure and twentie thousand: and sixe thousand taken prisoners with an incredible bootie of prey and pillage, especially of golde and siluer. Besides, there were about foure thousand Christians set free and deliuered from the seruitude of the Turkes, who being laborours and other inhabitaunts of the plaine countrey, had bene taken by the Infidels in many courses and roades which they had made vpon the Prouince, which was some comfort for the dolorous losse receiued at the streights of *Valcala*. In these two iourneies: (for you must not thinke they were gotten without bloud) there were missing, about 1000. Christians: and the victors themselues were so satiated and wearied with killing and slaughtering of the Turkes: that when it was reported vnto *Scanderbeg* the next morning how that *Ballaban* was fled and retyred with one onely companie of horse, and without any Ensignes, and without any good order, and that if there were neuer so small a troupe sent after

Number of Turkes slaine and taken in the battelles of Valcala and Cassar.

after him to follow him close at the heeles, it would be an easie matter to take and oppresse both him and all his company. Let them go (quoth he) and seeing we haue gotten the honor of the field, let there be some left to cary the newes of the slaughter and calamity of our enemies, and of our vertue and prowesse. *Speech of Scanderbeg touching the flight of Balaban.*

These things being thus accomplished, the Marshall of the Campe tooke his iourney towards *Croy*, who was receiued with the lesse concourse & preparation, because there had not bin sent any messenger before hand to giue any notice of his comming: but the ioy and gladnesse was so vnmeasurable, that they knew not almost how to expresse it: and to say the truth, it cannot be declared in what estate the whole city stood, neither in what extreame feare they had alwaies continued through their vncertaine expectation of the successe and euent of the fight: nor how exceedingly they reioyced and triumphed on all parts, when they heard the newes and report of the victory. For in all that time after the first tidings was brought thē, how that *Scanderbeg* was gone against the enemy, there was not any one of the great men of the towne, that from morning to night would be absent from the Pallace, or from the magistrates: neither would the people forgoe the market place: their wiues which had litle or none other businesse, would seldome be from the Churches, or from their praiers and deuotion. The towne being in this great feare & suspence, did at the first receiue this doubtfull and vncertaine newes, namely: that two horsemen *Dibrians* (who were returned from the battell to the Campe vpon the confines of *Epire*) had reported: that the enemy was defeated. This report was entertained at the first more with their eares, then with anie beliefe of their mindes, as a thing too strange, and so much desired, that it was thought too good to be true, besides the hastinesse and celerity of the report did make it of the lesse credit, because it was spoken two daies before the fight fell out. After this *Tanuse* sent letters from the Campe, signifying the comming of those two *Dibrian* horsemen: those letters being caried through the market place of *Croy* to the pallace, did cause so great a concourse of people to assemble at the gate of the pallace, that the bearer could not passe through them, but he was pulled and drawen with great violence by some that were inquisitiue after newes: & they cried out aloft that the letters should be read openly in the market place, before they should be caried to the Magistrate. After that they had bene read in the Pallace, according as the diuersity of mens humors did cary them, so did they thinke and imagine of the truth of the matter: some were fully satisfied, and reioyced at the newes: others beleeued neuer a word, till such time as they had heard either the messengers themselues to speak it, who were sent from the Marshall, or else the letters read vnto them. After all this the report went, that the Marshall himselfe was comming thither in person: at which time all sorts of persons, and of all ages, ranne hastily forth to meete him, and they went out in such continuall flockes and troupes, that they reached about halfe a league without the gates, euery one striuing to be the first, that should with their eies and with their eares, swallow vp the exceeding greatnesse of this expected ioy. *Tanuse* was the man whom they went thus to meete withall, who being enuironned on all sides with this rude and confused multitude, arriued at last in the market place, of the city: where some enquiring of himselfe, others of them that followed him, how all matters stood, and what good newes they had brought: when they heard for certaine, that both the armies of the enemy were discomfited: that one of the Generals was slaine: that the *Albanian* Legions were safe and sound, and that their Prince and his Captaines were in good health: euery man reioyced at the newes, and made others likewise partakers of their ioy. When *Tanuse* was come with much adoe to the Pallace, yet for all this would not the common people be drawen to depart, & to retire themselues: but that they did in a maner *Croits their estate, & demeanour, before and after the victory of Scanderbeg.*

thrust themselues amongst the Magistrats. At length, the letters being read in the Senate, then did *Tanusi* recount more at large the proceedings and issue of the whole voyage, whereat there was a most wonderfull applause and acclamation of all the Senate: and they were not in any sort able to moderate the extremity of their ioy. After this, some visited the temples to yeelde thankes and praises vnto God: others made hast to repaire to their owne houses, to the intent they might communicat and impart these happy tidings to their wiues and children. The Magistrats by a solemne edict, commaunded publicke praiers and processions for three daies together, for the victory and health of *Scanderbeg* and his army: the like decree was made by the Queene and her counsell, which was very deuoutly obserued and kept. During all which time, you might haue seene the Churches filled & frequented, both with men and women all alike: and the auncient Matrones and Ladies being richly and sumptuously apparelled, with their litle children, did humbly and chearfully performe their vowes and publicke thankes vnto the deuine Maiesty, as if the enemy had bene vtterly destroyed and consumed, and as if the warre had bene fully determined and ended, and that all feare and suspition had bene quite gone and exiled: and more then that, this victory did so settle and establish the estate of the towne, as if they had gotten an assured rest and tranquillity for euer.

These things being thus accomplished and ended, with no small religion and deuotion: *Scanderbeg* (because he would the more terrifie the enemy) entred vpon his territories, and passing on a good way into the country, filled all places with fire and sword, with blood and terror: besides that, he caried away an incredible booty without any resistaunce made against him: and so retyring with exceeding ioy into his owne Prouince, and hauing left (according to his wonted custome) a strong garrison vpon his frontiers, he returned with great triumph and generall reioycings to *Croy* his chiefe city, where hauing for certaine daies (together with his citizens) celebrated the solemnity and common ioy of this glorious victory: he dispatched away letters and messengers to the most part of the Kings and Princes of Christendome, with magnificent gifts of diuerse sortes, chosen out of the spoiles, that had bene taken vppon his enemies, as excellent good horses, slaues, armours, and rich furnitures and caparisons for horses, with such like rare and goodly presents. After all which, he brake vp his Campe, and dismissed all his companies: so that this yeare was no lesse famous and memorable, then full of ioy and gladnesse to the *Epirots*.

Incursion by Scanderbeg into the Turkish territories.

Scanderbeg his returne and triumph at Croy after his victory.

The end of the eleuenth booke.

THE

THE TVVELFTH BOOKE OF THE FAMOVS ACTES OF GEORGE CASTRIOT, SVRNAMED *SCANDERBEG.*

The Argvment.

Mahomet enraged for the discomfiture of Ballaban and Iagup, prepareth to come into Epire in proper person: and Scanderbeg prouideth to receiue him. Mahomet conspireth the death of Scanderbeg by treason: which is discouered, & the traitors executed. Croy is besieged by Ballaban, Mahomet himselfe comming to the siege, and being out of hope to cary the towne by force, returneth towards Constantinople, and leaueth Ballaban to continue the siege of Croy. Mahomet in his returne surprizeth Chidna by treason, & infidelity, putting the inhabitants to the sword. Scanderbeg maketh a iourney to Rome, to get aide of the Pope and the Christians for the reliefe of Croy, but returneth with small comfort: he is succoured by the Venetians. Ionima the brother of Ballaban, with his sonne Heder, comming to the aide of Ballaban, are surprized by Scanderbeg, and both of them taken prisoners. Scanderbeg inuadeth the Campe of the Infidels: a sallie is made by the Croians vpon the Turkes, wherein Ballaban is slaine. The Turkes breake vp their siege before Croy: and depart out of Epire. Chidna is recouered, and Epire cleansed of the Infidels. Mahomet maketh a second iourney into Epire: buildeth Valure, and besiegeth first Duraz, and after Croy: but he raiseth his siege from both of them. Chiurill a towne newly builded, and vnfinished by Scanderbeg, is razed by Mahomet, who returneth to Constantinople. Alibeg and Aliazbeg are sent with an army to safegard the Turkish frontiers. Scanderbeg preparing to recouer Valures from the Turkes, sickeneth: he disposeth and ordereth his affaires. Ahamat with an army of fifteene thousand Turkes, inuading and spoiling the Venetian territories flieth out of Epire, and is defeated by the Epirots. Scanderbeg dieth and is buried, his dead body is honoured and reuerenced by the Turks. Certaine memorable acts done by Scanderbeg in his life time.

THe haught exploit, and the mortall accident happened to the armies of *Ballaban* and *Iagup*, being published and spred abroad ouer all places: the fame thereof (like a flying Post) came with wonderfull speede to the eares of the *Ottoman*, whose heart was repleniſhed, and well neare ouercome with extremity of griefe and incomparable astoniſhment. Wherefore being afraied least that Fortune would now proue a stepdame vnto him, & crosse him in his attempts, and that (after so many prosperities and continuall fauours, shee would now in the end reuolt and fall away from him, and retiring vnto his fiercest

enemy, would entertaine him for her fauorit, and oppoſe her ſelfe againſt him, he began to grow into a moſt ſtrange paſsion: afflicting and tormenting his mind with extreame care and melancholy. And being thus perplexed, irreſolute & diſtracted within him ſelfe, he cauſed all his chieftaines and councellours to be called and aſſembled together, to the intent he might conſult with them, and deuiſe vpon ſome remedy againſt this miſchiefe. Now when they were all of them gathered together and ſet in councell, the tyrant giuing the bridle to his paſsion and choller, did breake forth into moſt bitter inuectiues and iniurious reproachfull tearmes againſt *Scanderbeg*, and he vſed this or the like ſpeeche vnto them.

Councell called by Mahomet to conſult for the oppreſſing of Scanderbeg.

Oration of Mahomet to his chieftaines, purpoſing a iourney againſt Scanderbeg in proper perſon.

» You are not ignorant (my good friendes) how that I neuer made any ſpare of my
» trauell and paines, nor of any hazardes or daungers, but that I haue bene alwaies pro-
» digall of my proper life and ſafety, for the increaſe of the faith of our chiefe Prophet:
» for the augmentation of the name and Empire of the houſe of *Ottoman*: for the ſurety
» and ſafety of you and your families: and to make this eſtate of ours peaceable, quiet,
» and floriſhing. In all our actions and expeditions wherein we our ſelues haue beene
» preſent, and which haue bene vndertaken by vs in proper perſon, we haue found For-
» tune friendly and fauorable vnto vs: and yet at this time I know not what to ſay, of
» this petty Prouince of *Epire*, and of this petty Prince *Scanderbeg*; as often as I conſi-
» der the infamous death of ſo many excellent chieftaines and generals of our hoaſts, and
» the totall diſcomfiture or ſhamefull captiuity of ſo many flouriſhing armies: nor can I
» tell what to make of it, vnleſſe it be that the Demon or Angell of this Apoſtata, and
» rebellious renegado doe fight for him, and do ſurmount the Demon of all thoſe who
» are oppoſed againſt him. We may ſee then that this buſineſſe doth require the rigour
» of a more furious and violent hand, and of ſome Chieftaine who is more happy and
» fortunate in his enterpriſes. I am determined (my good friends) and in my opinion it
» is the beſt and moſt conuenient courſe, that we take this warre into our owne hands,
» and that we make a iourney into *Epire* in our proper perſon, with more puiſſant and
» ſolemne preparations then *Amurath* our father did at his going againſt the *Albanois*.
» Then ſhall that fugitiue and traitour *Scanderbeg* well perceiue, euen with the loſſe of
» his hatefull head, that it is nothing to haue a Baſſa, a Saniacke, or an Aga to beard
» him: but that it is another manner of matter, to be inuaded with the preſence and ma-
» ieſty of a moſt mighty, puiſſant, and fortunate Monarch, that ſhall employ his whole
» power, and bend the fury of all his forces againſt him. And although the glorious
» memory of our deceaſed father, did not cary away the entire honour of this voyage,
» but did yeelde vp his ghoſt in the purſuite thereof, yet ought not the honour and
» praiſe of that iourney, be attributed to the vertue or proweſſe of that ſlaue, or his
» Chriſtians: but rather to the imbecillity of his age, and the infirmity of his decaying
» yeares, as ſhortly alſo we ſhall ſee the like to befall and betide euen to *Scanderbeg* him
» ſelfe, who is now vpon the declining of his age, and will euen in a moment finde his
» fortune to waxe old and faint: and that ſame viuacity and liuelines of his ſpirit, and the
» vigorous diſpoſition of his lims and members will faile and forſake him: ſo as in the
» end he will ſinke vnder the burden of his affaires. For the nature and property of For-
» tune, is to delight in the flouriſhing time of youth, and ſhee ſeeketh out and deſireth to
» be reſident with thoſe, whoſe minds are tranſported with ſwelling ambition, & with
» ſtirring thoughts: and as the heat of bloud waxeth coole, & as this vigour of the mind
» groweth to be weakned: ſo doth fortune likewiſe wax cold, & doth vſe to diſcontinue
» her fauors: and therfore I make no doubt, but that in an inſtant, I ſhal vtterly confound
» this vnhappy Chriſtian, together with his people and poſterity: who being become
» more arrogant by the happy ſucceſſe of ſo many good encounters, doth daily moleſt

Sentence.

my

ny subiects, ouerrunning and destroying all my Prouince of *Macedonie*. And if it "
hppen that he fall into my snares, and that I can get him within my reach, I will exe- "
cite vpon his wretched body, (being the subiect of all vice & wickednesse) all kindes "
aid examples of extreame crueltie: because, besides the dispeasure done me in the "
death of my father, this Hydra, this monster of all mischiefes, hath infinitly prouoked "
against him my iust wrath and indignation. But fooliſh man as he is, let him take "
his pleasure for a time, let him hold on his course yet a while, let him glory in his "
goodly realme, and in his ambitious poucrty, whilest the destinies do permit and suf- "
fer him: it shall not be long, ere I will swallow him vp in endlesse ruine and perditi- "
on. This therefore is my aduise, that we goe right on to *Croy*, the capitall and chiefe ci- "
ty of that Prouince, with so great forces and puissance, that it shall not be able to hold "
out against vs. For when *Croy* is ouercome and conquered, all the other places and "
strong holds of the countrey will be soone reduced to the same estate and condition.

This matter being propounded by *Mahomet*, and approued by the generall con- sent and voices of his Visirs and Captaines: infinite commissions were granted forth, and publike proclamation was made throughout all the territories and dominions vnder the Turke his obeysaunce: that all men which were apt to beare armes, should repaire to the Commissioners, and cause their names to be enrolled: insomuch that innumerable forces were leauied, and in the meane time, prouision was made of mu- nitions, instruments, engines, and other necessaries for the Campe, all which being in a readinesse, the Turkish Monarch with a most proud and glorious traine, tooke his way towards *Epire*.

Mahomet leaueth a mightie army against Scanderbeg.

Vpon these troubles and tumults approaching, *Scanderbeg* wanted not his intelli- gencers, and ordinary spies, but that they gaue him sure and speedy aduertisements of all things, which was the occasion that he assembled all his friendes and nobles, and amongst others, *Paul Angell* Archbishop of *Durac*, vnto whom he imparted his most secret counsels: and to them he adioyned also *Iosaphat Barbare* the *Venetian* Ambas- sadour, a worthy personage of great iudgement and experience, and singularly zea- lous of the Christian religion, who together with the Archbishop, was seldome or neuer from the side of the Prince of *Albanie*. By the generall aduise and consent of this assembly, it was ordained, that all the townes, places, and fortresses of the realme, should be diligently furnished and prouided with victuals, and other necessary pro- uisions, and fortified with good and faithfull garrisons: especially *Croy*, the principall bulwarke, and stay of all the estate of *Albany*, and whereuppon all the rest depended. He prouided therefore, and stuffed it with good store of souldiers, part of them *Alba- nois*, and part *Italians*, all of them of approued loyalty and resolution: and he made choise of an *Italian* Gentleman to be gouernour of the towne, one *Balthasar Perduce*, a man highly esteemed for his prudence, iudgement, and resolution.

Iosaphat Bar- bare, some saie he was the Ad- mirall or Pre- uenditore of the Venetians.

Balthasar Per- duce, gouernour of Croy.

But before I passe any further, it shalbe requisit, that I recount vnto you one plot or deuise forged and framed in the shop or store-house of the *Ottomans* trecherie and infidelitie, the inuention and practise whereof as it was suttle and deuilish, so was it miraculously discouered and auoyded: by the knowledge whereof you may easily coniecture, how greatly they redoubted and stood in awe of *Scanderbeg*, whom they could not suffer and endure, no more then a thorne sticking in their foote. The Tur- kish Monarch perceauing that the Prince of *Epyre* was now growen to that height of honour, that his name began to be fearefull and terrible vnto all the *Mahometistes*, was in great feare least that by reason of this exceeding fame and renowme of the *Epyrots*, his owne people and subiectes should take an occasion to grow mutinous & to raise some sedition, and so taking armes against him, should either seeke to mur-

Conspiracie & traiterous plot of Mahomet to contriue the death of Scan- derbeg.

ther him and to cut his throat, or elſe might chaſe and expell him out of his ſeate and throne Imperiall, and beſtow the ſame vpon the king of *Albanie*: for he was not ignoraunt that his notable crueltie had made him moſt hatefull and odious vnto all men, whereas this is not the meane to reigne long and happily, but clemencie and iuſtice are the firme pillers of each eſtate and Empire: for this cauſe did he imagine and determine to ſurpriſe *Scanderbeg* by deceipt and treacherie, whom he ſaw he was no able to deſtroy by force and violence: he procured therefore and prouided him ſelfe of two men practiſed and expert in moſt languages, (as it is commonly ſeene that Princes and great perſonages doe neuer want miniſters to execute their diſſolute and vnlawfull paſsions,) and hauing corrupted them with great giftes and bountifull rewardes, and aſſuring them that he would continually and dayly heape vpon them greater and better benefites, he perſwaded and inſtructed them to fayne and diſſemble themſelues to be fugitiues from the countrey and dominions of the Turke, and that for the zeale of Religion, they were come to offer their ſeruice vnto *Scanderbeg* and to pray him to haue pitie and compaſsion of their eſtate, and that they might be receiued and admitted to the holy Sacrament of Baptiſme as good Chriſtians, the which after they had perſwaded him according to their deſires, that then they ſhould finde the meanes to worke his death, either by poyſon or otherwiſe. Theſe wicked wretches had no ſooner preſented themſelues to the preſence of *Scanderbeg*, but that both of them were baptiſed and (as the common report is) were enrolled and admitted to be of the garde, and to wait vpon him for the ordinarie ſafegarde of his perſon. Within a while after, it pleaſed God (who had this Prince in his eſpeciall protectiō) to reueale their pernitious attempt & conſpiracie, ſuch was his good pleaſure that this good Prince and faithfull ſeruitour of Chriſt, ſhould not dye ſo miſerable and vnhappy a death: for the parties themſelues were made the bewrayers and diſcouerers of their owne deuiliſh intent and practiſe. For ſo it happened that a iarre and contention fell betweene them (and it may be it was in their cuppes, and in a dronken humour) but their choler and furie grew ſo outrageous and immoderat, that each vpbrayding other with iniurious and groſſe wordes, they fell in the end to accuſe and detect one an other: openly obiecting, that they were purpoſely ſent by *Mahomet* to empoyſon *Scanderbeg*: wherepon being apprehended, and put to the tortures, they preſently confeſſed the whole order of the matter, by meanes whereof, being deliuered to the executioner, they were both hanged according to their deſertes.

Sentence.

Sentence.

Conſpiracie againſt Scanderbeg wunderfully detected.

Let vs now returne to the courſe of our diſcourſe: The places and fortreſſes of *Epire* being carefully furniſhed and prouided with neceſſaries in ſuch ſort as we haue ſhewed; it was not long, but that often letters and meſſengers did arriue from all partes, giuing the allarme and making report, that *Mahomet* with two hundreth thouſand men, would be ſhortly before *Croy*, and that his light horſemen and vauntcurrours were euen at hand: who accordingly did make their preſent entry into *Albany*, and for two daies were ſeene to courſe vp and downe the countrey, and to put all to ſword and fire: and the night following, about two houres after euening, they preſented themſelues before the towne, enuironning it on all ſides round about. *Ballaban Baſha* had the conduct and commaund of theſe troupes, amounting to the number of foure ſcore thouſand horſe, all picked and choiſe men. This enemy hauing entrenched and fortified his Campe, did daily skirmiſhe with the *Croians*, who made many and often ſallies out vpon the Turkes: the euent and ſucceſſe whereof, was very variable and diuerſe. During theſe doings betweene the forces of *Ballaban*, and the beſieged, the *Sultan* being accompanied with the groſſe, or body of his maine army, arriued before *Croy*: and before that he attempted any thing againſt the towne (according to

Ballaban beſieged Croy with an army of 80000. men.

the

the vse and custome of warre) he caused the same to be summoned vppon certaine offers and conditions. The defendants gaue him such aunswer as men resolute are wont to make, namely, that they would sooner be torne in pieces then to commit any acte that should sound to their reproch, or that might violate and chaunge their faith giuen to God and to their Prince: or that should blemish the honour and reputation which they had gotten in his seruice: and with their musquets, harquebusse, & other shot they made signe vnto them that they would not haue them to approch neare the towne: and immediatly issuing out with great furie vpon the Infidels, they came to handystrokes with them, not without a notable slaughter of the Turks, and afterward returned ioyfully into the towne carying with them in signe of victorie many of the heads of these enemies. *Mahomet* being incensed with this brauado, caused his Canons to be planted, and to play against the walles. For he had brought thither aboundance of metals to cast artillery of all sizes: and he had prouided him selfe of expert and skilfull workemen, in the making of all kindes of warlike engines, wherewith he determined to thunder against *Croy*, and meant to make them sing another song. But *Scanderbeg* with his troupes sometimes here sometimes there, by the mountaine and other places, out of the reach and accesse of the enemy, did daily vexe and trouble the army of the Infidels, not suffering them to haue any space or time to breath or to rest themselues, but was continually at their backes on all sides, giuing them a thousand alarums and inuasions day and night, without any intermission, one while vpon their foragers, and another while vppon their Campe. And like as a mighty riuer swelling and raging with continuall raine, doth role and tumble downe most impetuously from the tops of the mountaines, carying and drawing along with it, whatsoeuer it encountreth, and turning all things vpside downe which it findeth in the way: in like maner *Scanderbeg* rushing with extreame fury & violence vpon the Turkish hoast, now of one side then of another, he did commit notable slaughters of the infidelles, beating them downe on all handes, and afflicting them with all kindes of mischieues and discommodities, which was an occasion, that the *Ottoman* thought it high time to looke to his affaires, both in regard of the calamity of his people, which seemed likely to encrease dayly more and more, as also in respect of his owne person, which might be in euident and apparant daunger, by reason that he had no hope nor likelihood, to get any profit or honour by this voyage, (for that *Croy* was so far from being forceable, that it could not conueniently be made assaultable:) and therefore he determined not to make any longer abode before the towne, but to retire backe againe, to *Constantinople*. Notwithstanding for that he could not do it with any honestie, nor without great blemish of his honour and reputation, if at the least wise he left not behinde him some shew or token of some worthy exploit in this voyage, he determined that *Ballaban* should continue and hold on the siege with a strong and mightie armie ouer which he made him Generall: he appointed therefore vnto him a power of eighteen thousand horse, and fiue thousand foote, and besides he adioyned vnto him eight *Saniackes* of great account and estimate, giuing vnto each of them a regiment of seuen thousand good and tall souldiours: all which neuertheless were commanded to take and acknowledge him for their chief, & to be at his commandement. These things thus concluded and accomplished, *Mahomet* with shame enough after his short stay, trusing vp his baggage in the night time left *Croy*, and with long iourneys tooke his way home to *Constantinople*.

Mahomet remoueth to the siege of Croy & fortifieth the towne.

Sally by the Croians vppon the Turkes.

Ballaban left to continue the siege before Croy, with a huge armie.

Mahomet his departure from the siege of Croy.

In his passage through the countrey, he surprised certaine people of *Chaonia*, and certaine places called *Chidna* in this manner. He suborned two souldiours *Albanians*, promising to make them great men, and to aduaunce them to high honour,

Chaonia. Chidna.

Stratagême of Mahomet to surprise Chidna.

whom he sent with instructions to lye, and to tell them of *Chidna*, that they were come from *Croy* purposly to aduertise their friends, & to wish them to looke vnto thē selues, for feare least being ignorant of the lamentable and desperate estate of the prouince, they might peraduenture be the cause of their owne ruine and destruction if they would carie them selues with too much obstinacie towardes the Turkish Monarch: for that *Scanderbeg* (as they made them beleeue) durst not abide the face of the *Ottoman*, nor the furie of his armes which were so terrible, that they made him to play least in sight, and that it was verely thought, that he had abandoned & forsaken *Epyre*, for which cause, *Croy* also seeing it selfe without hope of succours, was now vpon termes to yeeld vpon composition to *Ballaban*, who pressed it very hard with a wōderfull streight siege, that *Mahomet* for his part was now displaced from *Croy* with part of his armie to reduce all the prouince vnder his obeissance, and that there was scant any place or fortresse of account, but that they were at his deuotion, that therefore they should looke to them selues, and that they should do well to imitate their example, chusing rather to take the benefit of his clemencie, & singular loue towards them which yeelded them selues voluntarily, then to tast the extreme rigour of the warre, and the miserie of bondage and seruitude reserued for those persons which should be founde rebellious and obstinat: so well did these traiterous wretches play their parts, & so vehemently did their perswasiōs worke with those poore people being too too credulous, that (as it is ordinarily seene, that the vulgar sort do follow that side which they thinke to haue the best fortune,) so these vnhappy folkes at the first summons made by the *Sultan*, vpon his fayre and smooth ptomises of entire and free libertie of conscience, and of their goodes, fraunchises, and immunities, did simply yeeld them selues, by the enticements of these false *Synons*, to the faith and fidelitie of the Turke, which they found to be such, as is vsuall with one that maketh publique profession of periurie, impietie, and disloyaltie: for which most monstrous and inhumane crueltie he caused eight thousand of them to be put to the sword, besides women and children. Thus did this hatefull tyrant vpon pure rage and despight shead the bloud of innocents, because he could not execute the venome of his malice and hatred against *Scanderbeg*, who stood so surely vpon his garde. Vndoubtedly the wrath and displeasure of Princes is heauie and horrible, and (as the saying is) it is not light as feathers, but weightie as lead. Thus went *Mahomet* out of *Epyre* bathed in the bloud of innocents, and hauing left *Ballaban* behind him with innumerable troupes, he had giuen him streight charge to continue the siege of *Croy*, euen to the last point of extremitie, and till such time as the inhabitants being worne out with the length of time, and being consumed and weakened with famine and calamities, should be enforced to yeeld them selues vnto him, euen with halters about their neckes.

Sentence.

Cruelties and infidelitie of Mahomet vsed to the inhabitants of Chidna.

Sentence.

All this while was *Scanderbeg* very sad & pensiue to see so many enemies within the hart of his Realme, but that which greeued him most was, that such a villain as *Ballaban* (whose parents and predecessours, had euer bene but as base varlets, and seruile drudges to the house and familie of the *Castriots*, and to whom he had giuen so many ouerthrowes and disgraces) should yet for all this be still opposed and make war against him, and that he should dare to compare with him, and to braue him. For this cause he had an extreme desire by all meanes possible to entrappe him, and if he could by any deuise in the world, to worke his confusion, but he wanted meanes and abilitie, to compasse so high and difficult an enterprise, especially since the losse of *Chidna*, whereof he made great reckoning, by reason of the good number of braue souldiours, which he had in that place. Wherefore by the counsell and aduise of his friends and Captaines, he determined to sollicite, and presse both by letters and ambassades,

all

all the Princes, great Lords, and peoples his next neighbours, by the spurres of common necessitie to embrace at this time especially the defence of *Albanie*, and the repulse of the Infidell from the siege of *Croy*: accordingly with great promptnes & celeritie, he put the matter in execution by men of a sharpe and quicke conceipt: shewing them first of all with what rage and brutishnesse the tyrant *Mahomet* had conspired to abolish the name of Christ, and the professours of his holy Religion, that his ancestours hauing layd *Asia* wast & desolate, and passing into Europe had by deceipt and other detestable meanes, destroyed and rooted out infinite Kinges & Potentats of Christēdome, & that this helhound following the tract & steps of his ancestours hauing subdued & cōquered the *Greeks*, the *Tryballians*, & the *Sclauonians*, & repulsed & weakened the *Hungarians*, did now display all his forces & powred forth the venom of his malice and furie vpon him & his people, as being the last Relickes of Christendome, which he had of late made shew of vpō the *Chaonians* his subiects, in putting to the sword, contrary to his faith, & oth 8000. men, who if they had bene now liuing, he should not neede to implore or desire the aide & succours of his neighbours & cōfederats to driue *Ballabā* frō the siege of *Croy*, & to cut in peeces both him & all his forces, that they should call to remembrāce, how in the former wars which he had most happely atchieued, he neuer had any recourse to thē nor required their aide, but onely with his own men had continually (by the power & blessing of God) made resistance against the cōmon enemy, & had gotē the victory alwayes against the Infidels, with great expence of the bloud of his *Albanians*, euen in a maner, to the last drop thereof. by the long continuance of which wars his best and most valiant souldiours were either dead, or slaine in fight, or taken prisoners, or else maimed, so that by the multitude of battels, and continuall seruices of so many yeares warres, his countrey was altogether drawen dry of able and sufficient forces to make resistance against the Infidels.

Perswasions vsed by Scanderbeg seeking aide of his neighbours for the relefe of Croy.

These reasons did easily perswade the mindes of his confederates and induce them to encline vnto his demaunde, but (as it is commonly seene that the face and countenaunce of a man carieth with it the chiefest power and vertue to perswade men.) So *Scanderbeg* went vnto some of them, himselfe in proper person, which was the occasion, that all of them promised and swore vnto him by a new league and allyaunce, that they would not make spare of their liues, nor of their best meanes to succour him against his enemyes, and from thence-forward, they began to put to their helping handes, labouring in the matter tooth and nayle, and with greater courage and forwardnesse then they had done at any time before. Neuertheless the Prince of *Albany*, considering with himself that those Turkes which lay encamped & in leager before *Croy* were for the most part good and hardy souldiours, men of courage, and warlike, besides that being maisters of the mountaine of *Cruyna*, which they had excellently well fortified & rampierd, his forces would hardly suffice to remoue them frō thence, he hauing communicated his counsell and conceipt with the Archbishop of *Durazz*, and the Ambassadours of *Venice* and no other, left *Tamusee* Lieutenant Generall in his army, and departed secretly out of *Albanie* in a disguised habite towardes *Italie* to his holynesse, there to obtaine some further succours of the Christians.

Sentence. Princes of Epyre confederates of Scanderbeg promise to ayde him for the relefe of Croy.

Or Croyna.

Voyage of Scanderbeg into Italy to get aide against the Turkes.

You must giue me leaue vppon this voyage of the *Epyrote* Prince, somewhat to wander from the course of my historie. Is it not a pitifull thing, and a matter full of commiseration, that a Prince of so great merit, vowed and dedicated to the seruice of God, and the Christian common-wealth, whose victories had sounded ouer the whole earth, who of late refused the peace, and scorned euen the shortest truce with this great Monarch the Turke, who at the sollicitation & vrgent perswasions of the Pope, of the kings & great Princes of Europe, did not long since with a mighty army

Exclamatiō of the author vpon the indignities offered to Scanderbeg, in his voyage into Italy.

passe the sea into *Italie*, for the seruice of the *Italians*, now, as a poore fugitiue and exile should be constrained in his aged yeares to abandon his countrey, couered and filled with Infidelles, his capitall and chiefe towne streightly besieged, and him selfe in a straunge countrey to begge for ayde, and to seeke the fauour and support of others? O the inconstancie of this worldes glory! ô the incertaintie of humane fortunes! ô the mockerie of fortunes flatteries! where are your eyes, ô you Christians? where are your harts? what was your deuoir and dutie? and what ought you to haue done in this case? seeing God presented vnto you so noble, so faithfull, so zealous a Chieftaine. Was it not your dutie at the least, to haue giuē some time of truce to your wicked rancours and cursed deuisions? to haue followed this braue champion, and vnder the happy fortune of his inuincible vertue, to haue ioyned your armes to his armes, and your forces to his forces, that you might haue chased and expelled out of Europe the cursed sect of *Mahomet*, and the bloudy wolfe which deuoureth the holy flocke of Christ? did it stand with your honour, or with your Religion to hold off from succoring those prouinces, and to suffer so worthy and incomparable a Chieftaine, so Religious and deuout a Prince, to come and seeke vnto you within your owne doores and houses: but seeing such was his mishap, and your harts so impasionat, let vs see what was the successe and issue of this his voyage.

Scanderbeg at Rome with the Pope.

The king of *Albanie* being come to Rome, had gratious entertainement of the soueraigne Bishop, and of the holy Senat in regard of the glory of his name, and the great and excellent maiestie of his presence, and being brought into the Consistorie or Conclaue before the Pope and his Cardinals, he pronounced an eloquent and vehement oration: wherein he began first with the exaltation of the holy siege Apostolicke, and his owne singular deuotion and seruice, which he had euer borne to the same, which wrought in him an incredible contentment, in that he was so happy as to come and to kisse the feete of his holynesse, whom he reputed and reuerenced as the light and singular ornament of the Church of God, being diuinely chosen for the successour of the blessed Saint Peter the first Viear of Christ, and of so many holy and Religious Pastours and excellent fathers: who being replenished with all vertues and knowledge, adorned with simplicitie, and puritie of life, had erected and raised the faith of Christ, & had beautified the world with miracles & examples of perfection: your merites (quoth he) most holy Father, are in all points correspondent to those of your predecessours in all rare & diuine qualities, so that it is no maruell, if euery man haue conceaued a singular hope of your worthinesse, the which if you do not excell and exceede, yet do you at the least in all respectes equall, well deseruing the publick opinion conceaued of you, not onely for freeing and deliuering your holy flocke from the bloudy iawes and throat of those hungry wolues the *Mahometistes*, but also for spreading and enlarging the faith and Religion of Iesus Christ, euen to the extremest and farthest partes of the world. Good God that my toung and eloquence were able to recount your vertues, which do exceede farre beyond all prayses and commendations: but if I were able to do it, yet the infinit tumultes and perils, wherein, by a certaine fatall and inuitable destinie, both I and my people are plunged and drowned more then any other nation in Christendome, doe not permit nor suffer me, to enioy the sweet pleasure and benefite of your perfections: the iust griefe of my oppressed estate doth withdraw me: the Turkish Prince will not suffer me, who following the traft of his aunce stours, doth euery day inuade your flocke, and doth dismember and persecute it, & being not satisfied with so many murthers, with so many rapines, and burnings, which he hath committed in *Asia*, and in Europe, & wherewith he hath polluted euen the whole earth, doeth now striue with all his strength and puissance

Oration of Scanderbeg to Pope Paule the 2. of the Cardinals at Rome.

puissance to destroy and suppresse me and my people with our poore little Realme, as being left vnto him, for the last subiect of his cruelty. The lōg cōtinuance of the wars and the multitude of the battels, which we haue had, hath worne out, eaten vp, & consumed all our forces, & we are now at the last cast, in so much that there is not left in our whole body any part whole and sounde, which may receaue any more wounds, neither haue we any bloud left vs, which we may shed or bestow for the cōmō weale of Christēdome. Wherfore (most reuerēt father of all Princes Christiā, & the brightnesse & glory of the Church of God,) if your holinesse and clemencie do not speedely and readily helpe to withstand and preuent this mischief, the estate and welfare of *Albany* is for euer gone and lost. This is the cause (most reuerend Father) that hath brought me hither: this is it that hath caused me to haue recourse vnto you, I haue left a great fire kindled and flaming in my house, the enemy is euen at my doores, who hath not onely destroyed and layd desolate, and wasted my prouince, but hath murthered and captiuated my people, he holdeth *Croy* the key and bulwarke of my Realme streightly besieged, & is resolued not to depart frō thēce, till he haue brought and made it to be Turkish, and I doubt me, he will go neare to do it, if we be not succoured by your greatnesse and authoritie: whilest it is time therefore thinke vpon me (most worthy Prelates and Fathers) prouide for me betimes I beseech you, it standeth you vppon to represse his violence, and to bridle his rage which is growen so strong and mightie, that it threatneth and menaceth with all extremities not onely the estate of Christendome, and the Church of God, but euen the ground and foundation of our Religion also. He hath already inflicted vpon the Christian people all the examples & acts of inhumanitie which can be possibly inuented, in such sort that it would be no lesse difficult and troublesome for me to tell them, then it would be reprochfull for you to heare them. You see most holy Pastour, you see most reuerēd Fathers, not only the doubt, but euen the certaintie of a most horrible ruine and calamitie, you see (most Religious Prelates) how this ambitious Prince hath already seized vpon two Christian Empires: the most part of *Asia* is in slauery & thraldome vnder him: all the *Greekes* are in a manner destroyed, the *Tryballians*, the *Rascians*, and the *Thracians* are brought vnder his subiection, *Sclauonie* is subdued by his forces, *Morea* is in seruitude, and almost all *Macedonie* and *Epyre*, is burned, sacked, and made desert by his furie and outrage: you see the reliques of so many Princes, of so many Chieftaines of *Macedonie* and of all *Greece*: you haue heard (most soueraigne Prelate & you most reuerend Fathers) how many warres, how many trauels and tedious exploits & toyles my auncestours haue had against this periured & faithlesse nation, & how my selfe after them, haue not had one day, not one minute of rest & quietnes, but without ceasing for more thē these 20. yeres, I haue had most sharp & bloudy conflicts against this prophane people, & especially against this fierce beast *Mahomet*, who hath now afflicted my estate with so many ruines, & mischiefes, that I haue no other way but to giue place vnto him, I haue euē till this day resisted & opposed my selfe against him, & I haue almost continually, by the diuine bounty, gone away with the victory, but now at this time (most holy Father) being wearied with so many trauels & discōmodities both past & present: being wasted & consumed with so many battels: hauing lost so many excellent Captaines, and so many of my souldiers & subiectes being slaine and destroyed, we haue no part of our auncient fortune now left vs, but our generous harts, and deuout soules: whereas this Barbarous *Scithian* (it may be our sinnes haue bene the cause thereof) hath encreased his forces and hath amplified his Empire beyond all discourse of humane reason: humbly therfore (most holy father) I do prostrat my selfe, here before your holines, I do inuocate & call vpon your sacred name, & I do

» implore your aide & succours, most worthy Prelats. Cõsult, I beseech you, make pro-
» uisiõ, & take such order, that I may haue some meanes to resist against so many tem-
» pests, & stormes of the war, & that I may with the lesse perill of my life, & preiudice
» of my affaires, be able to beare & sustaine the brunt thereof, & if the priuate miserie of
» your soldier do nothing moue you, if the afflictiõ of your chãpiõ do not passionate
» you, at least-wise let the cõmon necessitie, the imminent perill of your flock, & the fu-
» ture desolation of the estate of Christẽdome stir you vp & perswade you: is there any
» seruitude more greeuous, thẽ the Turkish bondage? what accidẽt can happẽ more bit-
» ter to godly & Christiã soules, thẽ to see their infants now vnited vnto Christ by holy
» baptisme, & redeemed by the pretious bloud of the son of God, to the eternall cõmu-
» nion & societie of the faithfull, afterwards againe to be cut away and separated from
» him, & to be nusled in the execrable blasphemies of *Mahomet*: to be made open, pro-
» fessed, & cruell enemies of Christ and his Church, to make warre against heauen, and
» to perish in eternall death and damnation? Is there any thing more hard, and lamenta-
» ble, then to see our owne children, issued from our owne bowels to become our ene-
» mies, and to see them made the onely meanes and ministers to cut our throats, and
» to worke our ruine and destruction? it cannot be but this seruitude and bondage of
» Christian soules is an euill much more greeuous and intollerable, then death it selfe.

This Oration of the king of *Epyre*, was harkened vnto with no lesse attentiue-nesse, then accepted with the allowaunce, and good liking of the whole Consistorie, and euery man sayd openly, that it was most requisite and necessarie to succour, with all speede and diligence, their Christian brethren, and not to suffer so noble a prouince and so vertuous a people to be deuoured and swallowed vp by so cruell and bloudthirsty an enemie. But all these smooth speeches, fayre wordes and goodly promises, whereof they gaue him plenty, proued in the end nothing else then court fauours, & vanished into smoake: what the cause thereof should be I know not, but so it happened, that at his departure from thence (which was soone after) he had litle and very small succour of Pope *Paul* the second, who (though he were a *Venetian* borne) yet was but badly affectioned towards his owne countrey: to the which *Scanderbeg* was a most inward and faithfull friend, ouer and besides the strict and ancient knot of friendship and confederacy, which had beene preserued and nourished with great deuotion betweene him and that common-wealth. Three thousand Crownes were deliuered into the hands of *Demetrius Franke*: who being one of the chiefe and principall citizens of *Drinasta*, and cosin to the Archbishop of *Durac*, was treasurer to *Scanderbeg*: and this was all the aide that he found or had from them: yet did not this any thing trouble the Prince of *Epire*, neither was he discontented at this sory and simple entertainement: but praising God for all, he tooke his leaue of the Pope, and returned into his owne countrey. He was once in the minde to haue gone as farre as *Venice*: but taking aduise vpon the matter, and not finding it expedient, by reason of the piteous estate wherein he had left his kingdome and countrey of *Epire*: he contented himselfe to send thither his Secretary, to let the Senate of that city vnderstand, the hard successe of his voyage to *Rome*, and to animate & perswade them to minister some aide & succours vnto him: the which he obtained as you shall heare. *Scanderbeg* being vpõ the way of his return towards *Epire*, went first to *Scutary*, where *Iosaphat Barbare* had great command and authority, (of whom we haue spoken heretofore) and there hauing made a notable leauy of the subiects of the *Venetians*, he adioyned them to his owne forces. In like maner *Leeh Dusagin*, and *Nicholas* his brother, being brauelie mounted, came vnto him with 400. valiaunt horsemen, and as many footmen, all of them most expert and skilfull souldiers. To these did adioyne them selues a hundreth

men

Scanderbeg ill succoured by the Christians.

Demetrius Franke treasurer to Scanderbeg.

Returne of Scanderbeg from Rome to Epyre.

Aides giuen by the Venetians and others to Scanderbeg for the reliefe of Croy against the Turkes. Leeh and Nicholas Dusagin.

men at armes armed all in white, and 500. footemen *Italians*, being in the pay and entertainment of the Seigniorie of *Venice* within *Scutarie*: besides 1000. good horse, & three thousand footmen gathered out from amongst the *Scutarians*, the *Driuastines*, the *Antinarians*, the *Lissians*, and the *Dirrachians*: in so much that those aides being vnited and incorporated all in one, did make vp the full & complet number of 13400. chosen men. For you are to note that the Princes & peoples of *Epyre*, *Macedony*, *Sclauony* and *Dalmatia*, which were leagued and allyed together, did not faile to send ech of them certaine forces, all which made their *rende vous* at a place appointed, and were at the command and disposition of *Scanderbeg*, who deuided them into two troupes: one part whereof he committed to the conduct and leading of *Lech Ducagin* aboue named, being a knight of no lesse policie then hardinesse in the warres: and *Nicholas Moneta* borne in *Scutarie*, the *Vaiuoda*, or gouernor of that citie, being a Gentleman of great estimate and valure, had the guiding of the other part of those forces. Now it was set downe and appointed, that these troupes being dislodged from *Lissa*, and hauing cut ouer the plaine countrie or fieldes of *Pharsalia*, and the forest of *Ionimes*, should make their approach, and charge vppon the enemie on that side. And that the King of *Epyre* being accompanied with his owne bandes both horse and foote, should make towardes the mountaine of *Cruyna*, there to assaile and set vpon *Ballaban* on the other side, who had enclosed & fortified himselfe exceeding strongly and conueniently vpon that mountaine. But before I will leade our Christians any further into the countrie, I holde it not amisse to figure and describe vnto you the site of the place where the *Mahometan* had entrenched him selfe, to the intent the matter may be the better represented to yout sight, and made more plaine and apparant vnto you.

Nicholas Moneta gouernor of Scutarie.

Forest of Ionimes.

I told you long sithence, that *Croy* is in *Epyre*, in the fields of *Emathia* or *Pharsalia*, seated vpon the high crest or ridge of a mountaine: which in the circuit and compasse thereof is on all parts enuironed with many steepe downefals, excepting in one only place where it is very hardly to be approached, and is deuided and cut off from the mount *Cruyna*, which being very nigh, & continuing on euen close to the towne, doth seeme much higher then the same, and to haue the commaund thereof. This mountaine runneth a long by the side of the Castle of *Croy*, where hanging ouer it with a deepe cliffe, after a small descent it doth deuide it selfe into diuerse hils or litle mounts. In this place had *Ballaban* placed his campe, and hauing drawen thither the masse or maine strength of his armie, he had gotten the possession of the mountaine of *Cruyna*, the which hauing fortified and garded with a great and strong garrison, he did presse the towne with a hard and grieuous siege.

The situation of Croy.

But leauing him there encamped, let vs returne to our troupes. Their plot being laide as is before mentioned, and their bandes being deuided, *Scanderbeg* with his forces went first on to visite the enemie: and being come to the saide mountaine, he receiued aduertisement, that *Ionyme* the brother of *Ballaban* was marching on towardes his brother with a good number of Turkes: and the report went that he was alreadie past the mountaine of *Bulgarie*. Immediatly vppon these newes *Scanderbeg* with singular promptnesse and resolution, tooke with him the choise and flower of his army: and (hauing caused the residue to keepe themselues still and quiet) he roade all that night with extreame speede and diligence to meete with *Ionyme*, whom hauing surprised on a sudden and vnprouided, he soone broke and dispersed, taking him aliue with *Heder* his sonne likewise, and the same night with no lesse speede then he went forwarde, he returned to his companie with the victorie. The next morning he brought foorth and presented to the sight of *Ballaban*, his brother and his

Ionimus brother to Ballaban assembling with a supply of Turkes to his brother is surprised by Scanderbeg.

Ionyme and his sonne Heder taken prisoners

Nephew bound and tyed together. And thereupon giuing a braue charge vpon the garrison of the Turkes which lay vppon the mount *Cruyna*, he chased them from thence, and being seized of the place, he tooke vp his lodging vppon the toppe of the mountaine, giuing present order that his confederates should haue notice thereof out of hande. Nowe *Ballaban* (who promised him selfe some intelligence within *Croy*) was wonderfully abashed to see the Christians so suddainely to come so neere him, and to be in a manner ouer his head, and where they might commaunde him. Wherefore hauing newly encouraged and reassured part of his people who were somewhat troubled with the alarme: and letting them to vnderstande, that the towne was surely their owne, if they would make any haste to enter it, and so prouide for their owne safetie, whereas otherwise if they sayled in the enterprise, it was not for them to staie there any longer before *Croie*: knowing well that they should but loose their labour, that the daungers would be very great to continue there at the siege, and that it could not but cost them deare, now that he saw his brother defeated and the enemie so forwarde which could not but be an occasion of great inconuenience vnto them. Thus being accompanied with a good troupe, he presented himselfe before the walles, and went on euen almost to the port of the citie, perswading and solliciting them within, to render themselues vnto him: and there did he continue for a while attending the issue of that which he expected. The *Croians* being incensed with his presumption made a braue sallie out vpon him, & falling into skirmish with the Turkes, they enforced them to the retreate, and made their Chieftaine to know the vanitie of his practises. Herewithall *Ballaban* being enraged and euen madde for anger, and making head a fresh against the *Croyans*, thought by pure force to haue driuen them into the towne. But the citizens beginning to retyre in very good order, without the losse of anie one of their companie: it happened that one *George Alexie* an *Epyrot* borne, and a good harquebuttier discharging a bullet vpon *Ballaban* hit him quite thorough the throate, giuing him a mortall and deadly wound. Yet did not *Ballaban* fall presently, but when he found himselfe shotte, he kept himselfe sure within his saddle, and setting spurres to his horse, horanne with great speed and a swift pace euen to his tents, where he was no sooner arriued, but he tumbled from his horse, and fell rudely to the ground, embrewing his countrie soyle with his owne bloud, the destruction whereof hee had so bloudilie desired. The fall and death of the Generall put the whole campe of the Infidelles in extreame feare and terrour: in so much, that the night following, the Barbarians in great silence and secrecie abandoned the siege of *Croie*, and retyring themselues about eight long myles off, they encamped and fortified themselues verie diligently at *Tyranna*. The next morning vppon breake of day, *Scanderbeg* comming to take a viewe of the enemies tentes, found them voide and emptie of men, but fully furnished with baggage and prouisions, so that there was no want of any thing, eyther of corne or other victuals: all which he caused to be remoued and carried thence into *Croie*, the same being in a manner sufficient to victuall it for one whole yeare. After this himselfe entred with great triumph into the citie, where he was receiued with great honour and ioy by the inhabitants, whom he highly commended (and that worthily) for their fidelitie and good perseuerance, adding therewithall many gifts and rewards in recompence of their deserts.

Scanderbeg abaseth the Turkes from the mount Cruyna.

Ballaban solliciteth the Croyans to yeeld vnto him.

Sallie by the Croians vpon Ballaban.

George Alexie.

Death of Ballaban slain with a shot before Croy.

Siege of Croy raised.

Messengers from the armie of the Turkes to Scanderbeg desiring leaue to depart out of Epyre.

Whilest these offices of ciuill courtesies passed betwene *Scanderbeg* & his citizens, there came from the campe of the Barbarians lying at *Tyranna*, two horsmen, seeming to be persons of good account and reckoning, who presenting themselues before *Scanderbeg* in the name of the Chieftains & Commanders of their armie, praied him

to grant them that fauour which he had neuer refuſed to men of their qualitie, namely that leauing their baggage, horſes, and armour, they might be ſuffered to depart with their liues onely. For they were ſore affraid, leaſt that the paſſages being foreſtalled and laide for them, ſhould haue beene ſhut vp and fortified to encloſe and famiſh them within the countrie. Hereupon the King cauſed his Princes, Nobles, and Captaines ſpeedily to be aſſembled, that he might deliberate and determine vppon ſome aunſwere to be giuen to the Turkes, and might heare the aduiſe of euerie man in particular: and he tooke order in the meane while, that thoſe two horſemen ſhould be conducted into a tent, and thereto be well and gratiouſly entertayned. *Ioſaphat Barbare* was the firſt whoſe opinion was demaunded in this matter, but he excuſed himſelfe, ſaying: That the Seignorie of *Venice* had ſent him thither to be reſident neere about the perſon of the Prince, onely to doe what it ſhould pleaſe him to commaund him: and therefore for his part he referred himſelfe for this matter to his owne good will and pleaſure. *Leth Ducagin* ſpake more liberally, and as he was a man of a fierce and forwarde diſpoſition prompt of hande, and quicke of inuention: ſo in one worde did he acquaint them with his minde, ſaying: *Embetha*: which in the *Albanian* language ſignifieth, to horſebacke: for he ſawe no reaſon why anie grace or mercie ſhould be ſhewed to this people, who were deuoide of all pittie, and were ſo mightily giuen to bloud-thirſtineſſe and crueltie, but that all of them ought rather to paſſe vnder the edge of the ſworde. Of the ſame opinion were the moſt part of the aſſembly, eſpecially *Paul Angell* the Archbiſhoppe, who propounded and ſet before his eyes the example of *Iulius Cæſar*, who in times paſt hauing in thoſe very marches broken and defeated the *Pompeyans*, did purſue them euen to the laſt extreamitie: that he alſo ought not to forſake his owne good fortune, which oftentimes when ſhe ſeeth her ſelfe not to be liuely and roundly followed, turneth her ſelfe with a contrarie byas, to fauour thoſe vppon whom ſhe before frowned. And many other reaſons did he alleage to that effect. *Scanderbeg* replyed vnto them in this manner.

Counſell called by Scanderbeg to conſult vpon the meſſage & demaund of the Turkes.

Sentence.

I knowe right well (moſt worthie and valiant *Epyrots*, and my fellowe ſouldiers) and I haue alreadie had good experience of your ſingular valure, your notable reſolution and the greatneſſe of your courage, whereby you haue alwayes terrified and diſcomfited your enemies: and I doe not thinke but that euen now alſo you haue both the courage and the power to breake & to trample vnder your feete the reliques and remainders of theſe amazed Infidels. Neuertheleſſe (gentle warriours) it behoueth vs often to bethinke our ſelues, and to call to minde that ſage ſentence of the wiſe man: That it is the part and propertie of fooles to wiſh for a tempeſt in fayre and calme weather: but it is the guiſe and faſhion of them that are wiſe, to ſeeke by all meanes, howe to remedie and auoide it, when the time and neceſſitie doe preſſe them to it. It hath pleaſed our good God, without bloud, without fight, without murther, to ſende vs the victorie euen from heauen: the citie is deliuered, the ſiege is rayſed, *Ballaban* our capitall and mortall aduerſarie, is nowe laide dead vpon the ground, his armie is fledde, we our ſelues are in reſt and quiet, and all thinges doe ſeeme to ſmyle and fawne vpon vs: wherefore then ſhould we ſeeke to haue warre? wherefore ſhould we deſire our owne torment? why ſhould we tempt fortune that is ſo blinde and variable? you are not ignorant (my good friendes) that any fault or errour committed in the warre is irreparable and vnpoſſible to be amended. In other buſineſſes and affaies, if a man be forgetfull of any thing, it may be amended and corrected: but the ouerſightes of martiall matters, and of battels are paſt all hope of recouerie or amends. This is the reaſon why thoſe auncients

Oration of Scanderbeg diſſwading his ſouldiers from purſuing the Turkes after the reliefe of Croy.

Sentence.

» and thrice renowmed Captaines, did not so much esteeme and set by those armies
» which were great and populous, as those which were well gouerned with good or-
» der and discipline. For the successe of battels is doubtfull, the issue of warres is vn-
» certaine, and doth not depend of our hande and industrie, but of the power and dis-
» position of fortune. An enemie is alwayes to be redoubted, neuer to be despised, ne-
» uer to be disesteemed: and more then that, when the warre is ended, when the vi-
» ctorie is obtained, yet is there no lesse diligence euen then to be vsed, then was at
» the verie first beginning of the same: and we must not any time rashly and vnaduis-
» sedly come to the fight or combat with our enemie. Wherefore if we should de-
» sire to aduenture the chaunce of warre, and to trie the fortune of the fielde with
» this enemie which is now before vs, we shall endaunger and put in hazarde (which
» God defend) our owne safetie and our estate, which now (God be thanked) are in
» good case and securitie. Refraine therefore this ardent and burning feruentnesse
» of your courages: let the victorie which we haue alreadie gotten suffice and content
» vs: we haue had manie and great triumphes vppon our enemies, and you ought
» to holde your selues satisfied with so many murthers, with so many ouerthrowes
» giuen them, and with the manifolde fauours of fortune, which hath hitherto so gra-
» tiously fawned vpon you. Moreouer you see that the troupes of the Barbarians are
» excessiue, and in a manner innumerable, they are not of the baser and rascall sort of
» people collected and gathered at aduentures: but they are the flower and strength of
» all the Turkish forces, chosen men, stout, expert, ready prouided & prepared to fight,
» armed with necessitie (which of all weapons is the most extreame and daungerous)
» and they desire not, nor seeke after any thing else but battell: eyther to reuenge the
» death of their Generall, or to carrie home vnto their Soueraigne the report of some
» notable and worthie exploit. This their offer of rendering themselues is but coulo-
» rable and feigned: beleeue me, it is but dissimulation, and they doe make a semblance
» onely of feare and terrour: I am well acquainted with their cunning draughts and
» disguisements, I know that this is nothing but one of their subtill sleights and guile-
» full policies, wherein these men more then in any thing else, doe make singular pro-
» fession. Assure your selues, they desire nothing so much as to come to fight with
» you, and to be reuenged: wherefore if we be wise, let vs keepe our selues from them,
» let vs not trouble them. But let it be that they doe not intende anie malice nor anie
» deceipt against vs: yet they are enraged, they are desperate, their shame and igno-
» minie doth presse them on against vs, being affraide of all thinges, they feare no-
» thing. Nothing is so perillous as to set vppon men whose safetie consisteth in be-
Sentence. » ing desperate and without hope of safetie. He commonly fighteth and combateth
» outragiously, who hath no comfort left him, who relyeth not vppon hope of anie
» thing. And what if we doe put them all to the sworde? what if we make them
» to betake themselues to flight? yet cannot this be done without your dammage,
» without your losse, without your bloud, without the expence and cost of many
» of your liues: how then can such a victorie be otherwise to me then ruefull and
» lamentable? Wherefore (my louing and good souldiers) if you will beleeue me,
» if you will be counselled and aduised by me: be you assured we will haue them all
» at our mercie without fight, without vsing sworde or weapon against them. For
» they are in great want of all thinges especially of bread, which fayling and being
» not to be gotten, an armie is easily vanquished without fighting. Let vs shut vppe
» all the wayes and passages, so that no succours nor victuall may not by any meanes
» come vnto them: let vs newly fortifie and stuffe our towne with a good and strong
» garrison, and let vs furnish it with all sortes of munitions, for the prouision of many

yeares?

yeares: so shall we see that these our enemies being shut vp and besieged within our confines shall all perish and die miserably of pure famine and hunger. And we shall see them vtterly ouerthrowen and destroyed, without sword, without armes, and without bloudshed. "

Some there were who shewed themselues well pleased with this oration, and did allow of *Scanderbeg* his perswasions, but others would not be satisfied therewith, especially the common sort of souldiers, who being growen more fierce and audacious against the enemy, beganne to make a great noise not without some tumult and vproare enclyning to a mutinie on all parts within the campe of the Christians: crying out aloft with a loud voice, that they ought to march on directly and presently, and to go seeke out the Turkes who were alreadie vanquished and discomfited. That it was not expedient in this matter to yeelde vnto the motion of *Scanderbeg*, who shewed himselfe to be growen fearefull and faint-hearted: considering that of a most fierce and furious combatant, and who had neuer refused any occasion of fighting in open and plaine battell, he was now become a fearefull temporizer, and would seeme to dissuade them from armes who were borne and bredde to followe armes, and whose onely desire was to be doing with their enemies: that nowe the Generall did faile and was wanting to the souldiers, and not the souldiers to their Generall. Thus the heate and vehemencie of the *Epyrots* was scarce represſed and withholde by the Captaines and masters of the campe, till such time as it was generally concluded and agreed, that assoone as *Croy* was prouided and fortified with all necessaries, they should haue free libertie to pursue the Infidels, and to force their campe. Wherefore *Scanderbeg* calling vnto him the two Turkish messengers gaue them this answere: That they should goe and tell their companions, that as they came into that countrie without his commaundement, so should they not for his part be commaunded to returne from thence. Now in this meane time, the King of *Epyre* had sent and dispatched away certaine forces to gaine and shut vp the passages from the Barbarians, whilest that the residue of the Christian troupes by the order and direction of their Captaines did goe to the riuer of *Isme*, where certaine vessels lay at an ancker charged and loaden with corne, meale, salt-meates, and biscuit, and did vnlade all, bringing it on lande, in such sort, that in three dayes *Croie* was well and sufficiently reuictualled for sixe yeares space at the least. Whilest euerie man was thus busied and intentiuely occupyed in this worke, and that euerie one did set forward and hasten this prouision to the vttermost of his power: beholde newes were brought vnto *Scanderbeg*, that the verie same night about the second watch, when that men are in their soundest and deepest sleepe, hunger and necessitie (which worketh masteries beyonde all impossibilitie) had pressed the Turkes to dislodge secretly from *Tyranna*, and with the hazard of their liues to make way for themselues by force, and to open the passages which were defended against them by the *Scanderbegians*. Howbeit they could not doe it so closely, but that those souldiers which had the guarde and custodie of the passages, and the inhabitants of the country ioyned together with them, did maintaine a long and obstinate conflict with the Infidels, who with the slaughter of a great number of their companions, and the losse of the most part of their baggage, did at length by their swordes make way through the middest, and in despight of their enemies. When *Scanderbeg* his armie heard thereof, it cannot be expressed how extremely they were aggrieued and displeased at the matter: for their murmuring and muttering against *Scanderbeg* did sufficiently testifie the greatnesse of their discontentment, imputing the whole blame thereof to him, as if this euasion and escape of the enemie, had beene by his default

Souldiers of Scanderbeg murmure against him, & will not be dissuaded from following the Turkes.

" *Answere of* " *Scanderbeg* " *to the two* " *messengers* " *sent from the Turkes.*

only. But he pacified and appeased them both with his bountifull gifts, and with gratious speeches: and more then that, to content them the better, he caused them immediatly to take armes, and to march with Ensignes displayed into the fielde, where he gaue them the spoyles of those other Turkes and Infidels which were found in garrison within *Chaonia* & other places of *Epyre*: not suffering any one of them to escape but that they were either slaine or taken, being spoyled and stripped out of all. Thus hauing purged and clensed the Prouince of this vermine, and hauing settled all things in good and peaceable order, euery man returned to his owne quarter loaden with the spoyles of the Barbarians, and with many commendations, presentes, and great thankes giuen them by the King of *Albanie*.

The affaires of *Epyre* thus standing in sufficient good and flourishing estate, we will now leaue them for a while, and turne our discourse to the Turkish Monarch to shew vnto you the griefe and displeasure which he conceiued in his haughtie and great stomacke, aswell for the death of *Ballaban*, and the dishonourable and shamefull flight of his armie: as also for that the siege of *Croie* was raised to the great glorie and aduantage of the Christians. For he did so vnmeasurably afflict and passionate himselfe with the conceipt hereof, that he could not take any rest, nor eate, nor drinke: but that still day & night his spirit & thoughts were troubled, beating his braine, & deuising with himselfe, how he might deface and abolish the blot of this shame and ignominy, and take some notable reuenge vppon *Scanderbeg*. In the ende his deliberation was, once againe to returne himselfe in proper person, and with more puissant forces into *Epyre*, that by his presence he might giue the more grace & maiestie to the enterprise. Hereof *Scanderbeg* being speedily informed, made no delay to prepare for the receiuing of him with all the best meanes and preparations that he could possibly make: he gaue the Princes, Seigniors and peoples his confederates to vnderstand of the purpose and intent of the Turke, willing them to be in a readinesse against such time as he should send vnto them: and he made good prouision of all kinde of munition, victuals, and all other necessaries in all his strong holdes and forresses: in such sort, that they needed not to be affraide of any thing that the Turke could attempt against them.

Mahomet purposeth a second iourney into Epyre against Scanderbeg.

Scanderbeg maketh preparations against the coming of Mahomet.

The yeare being past and spent in these preparations on both partes, now beganne the spring to come on, which being a time wherein all things beginne to budde, and grow pleasant to the eye, and most fit and conuenient for warlike voyages and expeditions, *Mahomet* had deferred his iourney to that season, and accordingly assoone as he saw the time to serue, he tooke his iourney with infinite troupes, engines, and instruments for assault of all sortes, and with an incredible number of expert workemen and artificers for this end and purpose which I will shew you. Being come to a certaine large and wide plaine commonly called *Saura*, he determined there to abide and soiourne for a while, and he encamped his armie neere to the riuer of *Scombin*, within the signiorie or principalitie of *Aryannites Comynat* father in lawe to *Scanderbeg*. During the time of his abode in that place, the *Sultan* did employ not onely his artificers and workemen, but a great part also of his souldiers about the repayring or reedefying of the towne of *Valmes* (which at this present the *Albanois* do account and call a citie) and in times past was ruinated and laide euen with the ground by the *Gallo-Grecians* and other strange Nations. It is seated in an anglet or litle corner of *Epyre* neere vnto the peoples of the *Iates*, *Bratescosages*, *Cherabes*, *Buserseches*, and *Sopotanies*. Hauing fully ended and perfected that worke with incredible diligence, and hauing furnished and fortified it with able men, victuals, and such like necessaries for the sure keeping and defence thereof against his enemies: he speedily dislodged from thence

Second iourney of Mahomet into Epyre.

Plaine of Saura.

The riuer of Scombyn.

Valmes a city in Epyre new built by Mahomet.

thence, and marched on with his armie towards the citie of *Duras*, with a determination to carrie that towne at the first assault: supposing that it had beene vnprouided both of men of warre and of victuals. But he found himselfe deceiued in his hope by the vigilancie and prouidence of the *Venetians* and of *Scanderbeg*, who had wisely foreseene and preuented that tempest, by meanes whereof it was well and sufficiently furnished and defended both by sea and by lande, in such sort, that it scorned all the power and assayes of the Infidell, who saw himselfe most rudely and brauely repulsed from thence with the notable slaughter and losse of many of his people. But for the better contentment of the reader, by the varietie of this discourse, you must giue me leaue a litle to wander and digresse from my matter, and to honour this towne with her due prayses and commendations.

The citie of Duras besieged by Mahomet.

Dirrachium, by the *Italians* called *Duraz*, was in times of antiquitie named *Epidamnum*: it is a towne situated within *Epire*, and builded of old (as it is thought) by one *Epidamnus* of whom also it had her first name: and this mans nephew or grandchilde by his daughter, being named *Dyrrachus* did adde vnto the towne the port or hauen calling it *Dyrrachium*. But there be others of another opinion, who hold that *Dirrachium* (being a towne seated vpon the sea coastes of *Albanie*, is the capitall and chiefe citie of those peoples which are called the *Taulantians*, *Pyrreans*, and *Pratinians*, and it lyeth betweene *Lissa* and *Apollonia*: and they say that the *Romanes* finding it to be called *Epidamnum* by reason of the vnluckie sound and sense of that name which they held to be ominous and vnhappie, did chaunge the same into the name of *Dyrrachium*, taking this terme for the *Cherronese* or demy Isle whereon it was seated, or rather reedified (as some doe affirme) by the *Corcirians* or the inhabitants of *Corsu*. For if we will giue credit vnto the common report, and to those authors that are most ancient: it hath bene numbred amongest the most auncient cities: and there are yet extant to be seene many great and goodly praises and commendations of this place. For as *Lucan* saith:

The citie of Dyrrachium or Duraz, auntiently called Epidamnum her originall and foundation.

Corcyra or Corfu.

This towne is not a worke as others are
Of auncient structure built of lime and stone,
No worke of man, nor such as time or warre,
Can easily bring to alteration.
Great is their power and they can do much,
Yet greater is the strength of Duraz towne,
Her fortresse is so strong, her seate is such,
That mynes nor engines cannot beate her downe.
Nature it selfe hath fortified her seate,
Hauing enclosed it on euery side,
With cliffes that breake the billowes as they beate,
And with a gulfe that is both deepe and wide:
Nought but one mountaine from an Isle her saues,
Rockes are her rampier threatning ships to dash,
And Cliffes her walles on which the foming waues,
In stormes doe beate and her strong buildings wash.

For this citie is enuironed with the sea on all sides but one, where the rocks being deuided and cut a sunder ech from other, doe ioyne it to the firme lande. On the one side it hath a goodly hauen or harbour, wherein shippes may safely lye and anckor: on the other side it hath large and pleasant fields and pastures, abounding in fertilitie and plentie of all good commodities: and within the walles, he goodly temples and

Description of the citie of Duras in Epyre.

sumptuous churches do make the citie much more stately and venerable: besides that it is adorned with the statues and proud monuments of sundrie Kings and Emperours: especially that of *Adryan*: or rather his monstrous Colossus or image of copper, which is erected in a place verie high and emminent neare to the gate *Cabalyn* towardes the North. Besides there is to be seene his Amphy-theater made by wonderfull art and industrie. The walles of the citie are passing strong, flanked with their towers, bulwarkes and other excellent workes wherewith they are beautified and adorned. Besides this citie is very famous for the commoditie of the rare saltpits which it hath, and for the great aboundance of all kindes of marchandise which are brought vnto it. To be briefe, this is that famous citie of *Duras* which enioyed the presence, and with singular entertainement receiued the *Romaine* Senate, and was no lesse famous then vnfortunate through the ciuill warres and notable slaughters and bloudshed of the *Romaines*. But what the estate of it may be at this instant, since it is become Turke, and that it is reduced vnder the seruitude of so fierce and barbarous a nation who are mortall enemies to all good order and ciuilitie, I had rather leaue it to you to imagine it, then to speake what I thinke of it. But to our matter.

Colossus.

Amphy-theater a place made with seats and scaffolds for the beholding of shewes, games, playes, and triumphes.

After that the *Sultan* had bene so rudely entertained before *Durazz*, and that his bloudie actions and attempts proued vaine and to none effect: he conceiued an opinion that *Scanderbeg* had put himselfe within the towne for the defence thereof; because a great number of his people were knowen and discerned to be within it. This was the occasion that he dislodged speedily from thence, and made directly towards *Croy*, pitching his tents before the towne in hope to astonish and appall them by the suddennesse of his comming. For experience hauing taught him, that the endeuours and assayes both of his predecessours and of himselfe had profited him litle or nothing: he was not of the minde that he could carrie the towne by this course, but his determination was to bring them to reason by a long and obstinate siege, if *Scanderbeg* would permit him. Wherefore neglecting and leauing all other counselles, he summoned the *Croians* to yeelde themselues vnto him, making them great offers of riches and inestimable honours, if they would deliuer the towne into his handes. But he had no better aunswer nowe then he had the yeare before: for they gaue him good store of cannon and musket shot for his good-morrow: and more then that, they issued foorth to visit him nearer home, with a furious and stout salley made vpon the infidels, carying away with honour and glorie many of their heads, for an argument and proofe of their good deuoire and worthie demeanour. On the other side, *Scanderbeg* according to his wonted and accustomed manner, keeping continually vppon the skirtes of this fearefull and huge armie, and being attended with his ordinarie forces, did vnceassantly importune and endaunger the enemie by his often inuasions made vppon their campe both by daye and by night: and the slaughters and butcheries which he committed vpon them were notable and wonderfull, insomuch that *Mahomet* perceiuing the small profit which he was like to purchase by this enterprise, was glad to leaue the pursuite thereof, and to reserue himselfe to some other exploit which might be more for his honour and aduantage. Wherefore raising his campe from before *Croie*, he bent his course towardes a certaine place lying on the coast of the *Adriatique* sea, or gulfe of *Venice* not farre from *Duras*: now called the head of *Redoni*, where *Scanderbeg* had begunne of late to build a towne which he called *Chiuill*. The Barbarian finding it without inhabitants and vnfinished did raze it from the verie foundation. From thence he went forwarde purposing to destroy certaine peoples subiect to *Scanderbeg*: but the armie of the Christians did followe him so close at the heeles, coasting him continually where-

The departure of Mahomet from the siege of Duras.

Croy besieged the second time by Mahomet.

Siege of Croie raised by Mahomet.

The towne of Chiuill begun to be builded by Scanderbeg raised by Mahomet.

whereſoeuer he went: and ſometimes by day, ſometimes by night would he charge and ſet vpon him, one while in the taile, another while in the flanck, and many times in the front and head of his armie: that he tooke from him all occaſions and meanes to profit himſelfe in that countrey: yea the inhabitants themſelues dwelling in the forreſtes and mountaines did ſo annoy and moleſt him, afflicting him with infinite miſchiefes, ſlaughters and diſcommodities: that being in vtter diſpaire of doing any good vpon the Prouince, he returned backe againe to *Conſtantinople* more confounded and full of deſpight and griefe then he was at his comming foorth.

Alybeg and Aiasbeg ſent with an armie of 28000. Turkes to ſafegard their frontiers from the Albanois.

Neuertheleſſe the *Ottoman* was no ſooner remooued out of *Epire*: but becauſe he would keepe the Chriſtians ſtill in breath, he ſent two of his chiefe Captaines, men of great renowme and reckoning *Alibeg* & *Aiasbeg* with an armie of 28000. Turks: willing them onely to looke to the ſafetie and defence of his owne frontiers, and not to ſtirre or to offer any warlike violence vpon the country of the Chriſtians. Aſſoone as they were come and had ſetled themſelues vppon their borders: they fell to their wonted cunning and practiſes, ſending vnto *Scanderbeg* ſecretly and vnder hand certaine preſents of great value and eſtimate, in hope to draw him to haue ſome amity and friendſhip with them, and to make him ſecure and negligent. The King of *Albanie* though he were an olde Courtier, and had bene well acquainted with theſe kindes of dealings, ſo as he could not be ouerreached nor deceiued by their ſottiſh deuiſes, yet he was content to accept of their preſents: and he ſent vnto them backe againe others of no leſſe value, in counter chaunge of thoſe which they had giuen him. And this was all that was done betweene them, becauſe he was too cleare ſighted, and too circumſpect for them to go beyond him. For notwithſtanding theſe priuate courteſies and kindneſſes paſt betweene him and them, *Scanderbeg* was minded to keepe them doing, and therefore cauſed a generall muſter and leauie of men to be made throughout all his dominions, purpoſing to get againe from the Turkes the towne of *Valmes*, which had bene lately built and edified by *Mahomet*. But (ſuch was the will and pleaſure of the cruell deſtinies) that being detained with a grieuous maladie, he was conſtrained to deſiſt from his attempt. For after he had reuiſited all partes and quarters of his realme, and had cauſed a generall enrollment to be made of all ſuch able men, as were fit to doe him ſeruice and to beare armes for the ſafetie and defence of his eſtate: he came to the citie of *Liſſa* (which being vnder the ſeigniorie and gouernment of the *Venetians*, he had euer loued and moſt dearely affected) where being determined to haue called a councell and aſſembly of all the Princes and Lordes of the league, he was ſuddenly taken with a ſtrong and violent feauer: and the force of this diſeaſe encreaſing euerie day more then other, he imagined that his laſt end began now to approach, wherefore being in doubt leaſt that death which is inuitable, ſhould take him away before he had diſpoſed and ſet in order his affaires, he prayed the ſaied Princes and Lordes his confederates to enter into his bed-chamber together with the Ambaſſadours of the Seigniorie of *Venice*, and his chiefe Captaines and officers of his campe: vnto whom he framed his ſpeech in this manner.

1467.

Scanderbeg ſickneth.

a Speech and a laſt words of a Scanderbeg a to his Princes & nobles a before his a death.

The ſoueraigne and chiefeſt vertue, and the true and moſt perfect religion (moſt worthie Princes and you my beloued companions) in my opinion is this. Firſt to reuerence, to ſerue, and to adore God moſt high and omnipotent, in iuſtice, ſanctitie and pietie: and next, not onely to loue deerely, and to haue a continuall care and regard of the good and benefit of our countrie: but if neede be, to ſpend euen our liues, and to ſhed our beſt blood for the preſeruation and ſafetie of the ſame: for to all ſuch as behaue themſelues in that ſort, by the opinion of them that are wiſe, there is a ſpeciall and peculiar place reſerued aloft in the higheſt heauens. For my part, with what

» ſingular deſire and affection I haue alwaies ſought and embraced theſe things, how
» all my thoughts haue continually bene bent and emploied vpon them, and how I
» haue endeuored al my forces, and to the vttermoſt of my power to attaine vnto them.
» Firſt God himſelfe can witnes it with me, and next, all of you my good friends can
» well teſtifie. The three and twentieth yeare is now paſt and expired ſince that I eſca-
» ped out of the impure handes of wicked *Amurath* King of the Turkes, and that I
» fledde into this realme beeing the auncient patrimonie and inheritaunce of my
» aunceſtours: euer ſince that time haue I helde and endured the warres againſt a moſt
» periured and faithleſſe nation, and againſt the rage and furie of the *Ottomans* for the
» particular ſafetie and defence of our crowne and kingdome, and for the dignitie of
» the publike eſtate and weale of Chriſtendome: in all which time (by the grace and fa-
» uour of the diuine clemencie) we haue had moſt happie and fortunate ſucceſſe, accor-
» ding to our hearts deſire: and you neuer yet ſaw me returne either vanquiſhed or re-
» pulſed in true and ſet battell. But (if I may ſpeake it lawfully) I had alwaies the ad-
» uantage vpon the enemie: and I doe not remember that I was euer hurt or wounded
» but only once: when being ſhot with an arrow in my right foote, by a Turke, yet did
» I preſently kill him euen in the head and front of the enemie, and threw downe his
» bloudie head at your feete. But now (according to the ordinarie courſe of humane
» things) in the three ſcore and third yeare of my age, olde age being growen vpon me,
» ſeized with a grieuous ſickneſſe, and deſtitute of all my wonted ſtrength and corpo-
» rall forces, Beholde my good friends, behold my deare companions, how I now be-
» ginne to waxe feeble, and by litle and litle I goe the way of all fleſh. I perceiue (my
» friends,) I ſee well, that it is the will and pleaſure of the diuine prouidence (by the
» which I confeſſe and doe acknowledge, that all things are ſubſiſting and haue their
» being, and whereby all things are guided and gouerned) that it behoooueth me now
» to lay aſide this mortall and fraile burthen of my bodie, to goe to another and better
» place, and that I muſt exchaunge the breuitie and miſeries of this life for the felicitie
» of true and euerlaſting ioyes: and I proteſt vnto you before God, that the thought
» hereof, or rather this neceſſitie which is layed vpon me, doth not in any ſort trouble
» nor grieue me. I do not repine againſt that law which the deſtinies did impoſe vpon
» vs at the time of our natiuitie: for we ought not to be aggrieued or to find fault with
» that which we ſuffer according to lawe and iuſtice: with this condition were we
» borne, that we ſhould be ſubiect to this neceſſitie of our mortalitie. And I know well,
» that whatſoeuer is of neceſſitie cannot be accounted miſerable to any man particular-
» ly. It behoooueth vs in the end to yeeld earth to earth, and to be obedient to nature: and
» it is required of vs as our due, that we reſigne vp this our ſoule being eternall and im-
» mortall: and this ſpirit of ours which is heauenly and celeſtiall, to him which hath
» onely lent it vs for a time. Neuertheleſſe (my deare friends and companions) I do not
» receiue and embrace this fatall lot of my death and departure with ſuch courage and
» cheerefulneſſe: becauſe I am willing to be freed from the perilles and dangers, or be-
» cauſe I would eſchew and ſhunne the trauels and labours, or becauſe I would with-
» draw my ſelfe from thoſe miſchieues and inconueniences, wherein euen till this time
» I haue conſumed all my beſt yeares, and haue ended my dayes for the ſeruice of God
» and the religion of Chriſt: for I am readie and could finde in my heart to expoſe and
» aduenture my life continually for the ſame, to the like or greater hazardes: but I ſee
» I ſee well, that this is Gods good will and pleaſure: I perceiue it is my good God that
» calleth me (to whom we muſt be obedient) and I muſt now retire my ſelfe out of this
» earthly and filthie dungeon, and from this miſerable and wretched priſon. I haue fol-
» lowed nature long enough, I haue liued long enough, I haue finiſhed the courſe, and

I haue

I haue run the race, which it pleased God to appoint for me. But yet before my soule depart from my bodie, and before I doe leaue you, one thing there is of which I hold it expedient now to admonish and aduertise you, as I haue alwayes vsed in cases of importance, when I was able in former times, and in the better yeares of my age. And that is, That as heretofore during my life time, euen till now, you haue endured all trauels and labours euen to the last gaspe, for the safetie and dignitie of the Christian religion and the Catholique faith, by meanes whereof you haue made all the Princes of Christendome to fauour, honour, and admire you: euen so hereafter when I am dead and gone, let that be the onely and the whole desire of your hearts, let that be the onely thing that you shall set before your eyes. All things (I can assure you) will fall out easie and happily vnto you, as long as you continue stedfast in concord and vnitie (by which small things and contemptible do grow great and inuincible) and as long as you entertaine mutuall loue and fidelitie: and that you doe make litle account of all other things in comparison of the common profit and general good of all of you. For there is no Empire so puissant & so well grounded, which falleth not to present ruine and declineth not to destruction, where mutual enmities & dissentions are suffered to haue an entrie, and where priuate profit and particular commoditie is preferred before the publique and common good. But if you shall ioyne together as brethren and friendes, and shall liue one with another in perfect loue and amitie: no attempts nor practises of your enemies whatsoeuer shall be able to grieue or hurt you. Your Scepters and your crownes shall be durable and permanent, and you shall maintaine your peoples, your Prouinces, your wiues, your children, and your riches in quietnesse, and in perpetuall felicitie. You shall not neede to feare the furie of the *Ottoman*, nor the rage of the Barbarians: their fraudes, subtilties, traines, and cunning sleights, shall not be able to harme you nor to preuaile against you. Doubt you not but the tirant doth seeke to disioyne you, and to disunite your forces, he doth lay many plots and deuises, he is verie watchfull and vigilant, he doth spare no paines nor labour to deuide and seperate you: which if he can once bring to passe, and doe see you neuer so litle at variance, he will oppresse you one after another, and in the end he will vtterly destroy and consume all of you. Moreouer (my good friendes and confederates) there is *Iohn* my sonne, whom with all possible care, affection and diligence (as hartely as a father can doe) I do recommend vnto you. I doe commit, I do giue and dedicate him to your faith and fidelitie, and to your singular vertue. His tender yeares and the infirmitie of his age which is yet (as it were) stuttering and stammering, do make him vnfit either to foresee or to repulse the imminent calamitie: he is not able to preserue himselfe from being torne in pieces and deuoured by those fierce & enraged Tigers: to keepe himselfe from being oppressed by that periured & common enemy *Mahomet*, who is of him and his kingdome so greedie and desirous, that he ceaseth not to watch continually, how he may swallow vp both in his bloudy & cruell throt. And (alas) he will worke it, he will effect it, he will oppresse him poore wretch: if your armes, if your valour do not protect and preserue him. For assoone as he shall perceiue that I am dead, the cruell tirant will not make any stay at all, but he will come flying as a sauage and wilde beast, to the intent he may reuenge so many losses, so many outrages and calamities which he hath suffred and endured by the father, vpon the poore and vnhappie infant: and to the intent he may execute vpon him (silly wretch) all kindes of cruelties, and whatsoeuer his barbarous and felonous heart can put in practise. Let me therefore (my louing friends and good companions) entreate you, to embrace his estate and his affaires with like loue, fidelitie and promptnes of affection, as I haue embraced your commoditie and your glorie, all the dayes of my

Sentat.

» life, if you list to acknowledge the truth of that which I now speake. For you know » I haue not liued to my selfe alone, but for all you and your children: I haue so laboured » & toyled my selfe, that day nor night I haue not spared any paines or trauels for your » sakes. In the whole course of my life, I haue not enioyed any time or space of rest or » leasure, I neuer had any place certaine, I neuer kept any houres nor time limitted to » eate and drinke, or to sleepe in: the nights and the dayes haue bene to me all one and » alike: I tooke no lesse care for the prosperitie of your estates then of mine owne: and » God is my witnesse, (for now that I am fallen into speech of that matter, I will freely » discouer my thoughts vnto you) I neuer dreamed nor meant any fraud or deceipt a- » gainst you, but I did alwaies repute you, not as souldiers, as seruants, or as subiectes, » but I haue euer holde and loued you as my brethren and companions. Not any one of » you (as farre as I remember) was euer wronged or outraged by me in word or in » deed. In all cares and seruices of the field, in all duties either of scouts, watches, or sen- » tinels, I was neuer inferior to any of you: but I haue still borne my selfe as one of the » most simple and meanest of my souldiers: hauing alwaies had a desire to be followed » and imitated in my deedes and actions, and not in my wordes or speeches: and that » my souldiers should learne by me, not onely good order and discipline, but the exam- » ple and imitation thereof also. I neuer refused any labour, hazard or perill: I neuer » made excuses by any shewes of vnwillingnes or dissimulation: whensoeuer the onset » was to be giuen vpon the enemie (be it spoken without enuie) I was one of the fore- » most in going against them, and one of the last in returning from the combat. The » spoiles and bootie gotten vpon our enemies, I alwaies shared and deuided amongst » you, and neuer reserued any part or portion thereof to my selfe. In briefe, euen my » realme, my goods, my fortune, and all that I had, I held in common with you. No- » thing was proper or peculiar to my selfe, I held: nothing deuided or in seuerall. And » now (my companions, my friendes) behold I die, I leaue you, and I must goe hence. » Wherefore I pray and request all of you, I require and adiure you: that the faith, af- » fection, and loue which was neuer wanting on my part towards you: the same you » would bestow and employ towards *Iohn* my sonne, whom as the liuely image and » resemblance of the father, I offer and dedicate vnto you, as Vicar and Lieutenant for » me and in my stead.

Hauing ended this speech, he caused likewise the young Prince his sonne to be sent for: to whom being come, he vsed some speeches in the presence of the Queene his mother, exhorting him sweetly and louingly in this manner.

Speeches and last wordes of Scanderbeg to his sonne before his death.

» My sonne: *Iohn* my sonne: thou seest that I now die, and that I leaue thee but a » child, an infant, young and tender: behold I leaue thee a Realme and Kingdome, if » thou be good and vertuous, stable and firme: if thou be otherwise, most weake and » feeble. Studie therefore (my sonne) and striue to preferre goodnes and vertue, before » all other goods whatsoeuer. For thereby thou shalt both maintaine & make thy estate » not onely peaceable and quiet, but thou shalt encrease it daily, and make it more glo- » rious: but for as much (my sonne) as thy age is yet weake, vnapt, and vnable to sway » the Scepter and Crowne of this thy kingdome, for that thou hast on all partes great » and mightie enemies, most fierce and sauage beastes, which will seeke to dismember » and to deuour thee. There is *Mahomet* that wicked tyraunt and common enemy of » Christians, who (if thou shouldest so young and weake of yeares take vpon thee the » managing and gouernment of thy Realme) would presently oppresse, and vtterly sub- » uert thee: for this cause (sweete heart) assoone as thou hast closed and couered thy fa- » thers eyes, and hast yeelded this my bodie to the sepulture, get thee presently from » hence, and taking thy mother with thee: passe the seas into *Apulia*, and make no

delay

delay, but haſten to thy owne townes and Lordſhips, and ſee that thou continue and abide there, till ſuch time as thou be growen to mans eſtate, and that thou be capable and ſufficient for the affaires and gouernement of thy kingdome. When thou art come to be of yeares, make thy repaire to the noble Senate and Seigniorie of *Venice*, who will reeſtabliſh thee in the ſeate and throne of thy anceſtors. For that now I leaue and commit thee to their gouernment, fidelitie, and tutorſhip to the intent they may vndertake the garde and cuſtodie of thy kingdome, and may defend it from the enemie, and may keepe it to thy vſe and benefite. For ſo are the conuentions and articles of agreement betwene the *Venetians* and me, that they ſhall preſerue thy eſtate from thy enemies, and reſerue it for thee: and that when thou ſhalt be able to vndertake the charge thereof, they ſhall reinueſt thee in the poſſeſſion of the ſame. I haue no doubt of their diligence in thy affaires conſidering that they only amongſt all the Princes of Chriſtendome (be it ſpoken without offence) are not inferiour to any in grauitie, prudence, and worthy exploits: beſides that for the excellencie of their faith and bountie they do merit and deſerue to be beloued and reuerenced aboue all others. Of the which I haue had good triall and experience more then any others, during the whole time of my raigne and life, in all ſorts of actions, and by the proofe of many matters: and they haue beene continually leagued and confederated with me in ſtrict friendſhip and amitie, and I haue alwaies found them in ſtead of kind and louing parents vnto me. Them therefore (my ſonne) doe I leaue to be as Parents, as Princes, as Tutors vnto thee: depart not from their inſtructions, precepts, and counſels. The *Venetians* only are the moſt iuſt, the moſt religious, the moſt conſtant tutors and defenders of the Chriſtian faith, the protectors of Orphans and widdowes, and of all weake, miſerable, and afflicted perſons: and therewithall, they haue ſhewed themſelues ſo good and aſſured friendes vnto me, that all my life long I haue had their Seigniorie in no leſſe regard and recommendation then mine owne kingdome and Dominions. And they againe haue had ſuch confidence in me, and haue ſo affected me, that they haue put the whole right and full diſpoſition of their townes and territories into my hands, and haue referred the gouernment of them to my diſcretion: and (I praiſe God) I haue maintained them in good and happie eſtate, and haue kept them to their good liking and contentment, as long as I had the charge and commaund of them. Wherefore (my good ſonne) thou maieſt liue ſafe and ſecure vnder the ſhadow and ſupport of their puiſſance, and when thou ſhalt be of age, fayle not to reſort vnto them, with a good courage and confidence. For they will gladly and willingly repoſſeſſe thee of thy crowne and dignitie, they will friendly and louingly reſtore thy Realme and ſtrong holdes vnto thee, and if thou be ſage, wiſe, and vertuous, they will continually maintaine and defende thee againſt all the violence, armes, and forces of any enemies: they will keepe thy eſtate whole & entire for thee, as moſt puiſſant, moſt ſage, and moſt inuincible Princes both by ſea and lande, and ſuch as neuer abandoned their faithfull friends and allies, nor neuer abuſed or deceiued any perſon that put their truſt and affiance in them. And whenſoeuer (my ſonne the ioy of my heart) thou ſhalt returne and be ſeated in thy roiall throne, and that it ſhall pleaſe God to giue thee the quiet and peaceable poſſeſſion thereof, and that thou ſhalt haue taken vpon thee the gouernement and managing of thy eſtate: principally and aboue all things ſee that thou doe adminiſter and yeeld iuſtice to all men indifferently, for of all vertues ſhe is the moſt noble and moſt excellent: keepe and obſerue equity without any acceptance or difference of the faces of poore or rich, of the weake or mightie: vſe temperance and moderation in all thy actions, ſtrengthen thy realme with friendſhip and amitie of good men: for neither are great treaſures, nor ſtrong

Precepts of Scanderbeg to his ſonne for the inſtitution of a Prince.

armies, the garrison or fortresse of estates and Empires: but true and faithfull friends, which are not to be gotten with siluer and golde, but are purchased with good offices of courtesie, kindnesse, and fidelitie. And therefore that diuine speech of king *Philip* reprehending the great *Alexander* his sonne, is yet extant in record: what motion (quoth he) hath induced thee my sonne, to this vaine hope, to thinke or surmise that they will continue faithfull and trustie vnto thee, whom thou hast purchased for money to be thy friends? It is loue, that must yeeld true and vnfeigned friendship. For as this earth on which we liue, doth desire aboue all things the presence and comfort of the sunne, which we see in the heauens: so the life of man cannot be without friendshippe and amitie. Thou therefore my sonne shalt soone get and purchase all these things, if thou beleeue and follow my counsell: thou shalt draw vnto thee, thou shalt binde vnto thee all the world by thy benefits, if thou obserue my precepts and commaundements. For courtesie, beneficence, and bountie, are the only vertues, acceptable to God, pleasing to men, sure and secure in all places, exempted from all perils, and they doe engender and stirre vp in the spirits and minds of men a wonderfull and admirable loue and liking of them, easily surmounting & exceeding all other vertues, and excelling farre beyond them: they onely (by the testimonie and consent of the sage and wise) are the most necessarie vertues for all kinds, estates, and degrees of men: but especially for Princes and great personages: for they be the vertues which haue the commaund and possession of the affections and humors of euery man, and they onely haue the disposing of the hearts of all men. Moreouer my sonne, in aduersitie, and in things that are high and difficult, I would aduertise thee to be magnanimous and valiant: in prosperitie remember that thou moderate and temper thy good fortune with vertue. Flie sloth and idlenesse, the nurse of effeminacie: for from thence proceede all mischiefes, and it is the roote of all vices. Suffer not thy souldiers to lie idle, or to be slouthfull, but exercise them in continuall trauell, watchings, and daily labours. Howbeit vse them not as vassals and seruants, but as thy fellowes and companions. In the campe and in the field demeane thy selfe not onely as a Captaine, but as a souldier also: aboue all things abhorre delicacie, and flie luxuriousnesse and incontinencie: for by these, the most stout and strongest men haue growen faint and effeminate. Too much seueritie and cruelitie auoide equally and alike, for they are proper to fierce and sauage beasts: be patient of labour without wearinesse: and let not any perils make thee tearefull or timorous: the varietie and change of thy affaires, doe thou moderate with prudence and magnanimitie, the crosse accidents of contrarie fortune see that thou endure and beare them with that wisedome and discretion, that (dissembling and concealing thy griefe) thy enemie haue no cause to glorie or triumph ouer thee, nor to insult at thy calamitie. For what can be more vnfitting and vnbeseeming the constancie of a braue Chieftaine, and Generall of an armie, then that his countenance should discouer the passion of his heart? Be not forgetfull but beare it alwaies in mind, that thou foresee and eschew the traines and snares of the Barbarians, whereof the Turkes make an ordinarie and principall profession: shunne the periurie, the cautels, and guilefull sleights of this faithlesse Nation; disdaine their amitie, and let the friendshippe and societie of this disloyall tyrant be abhominable vnto thee: neglect and contemne his giftes and presents, his flatteries, and his promises, for feare least in drawing and alluring thee to trust him, he doe oppresse thee vnawares, and cast thee downe headlong into perpetuall and endlesse mischiefes. And for this cause be thou sure to be alwaies prouided of good Councellors, such as are well knowen vnto thee: faithfull, and louing. These are the precepts (my sonne, the light of my life,) these are the enfignments and instructions, which I heard and learned of my father, a

Saying of Philip of Macedon to his sonne Alexander.

Commendation of humanitie, courtesie, and beneficence.

master

master of no small experience, and my delight was to meditate vpon them continually: by them was I instructed and taught, by them did I fashion and frame my life, and my whole age: and to be short by them haue I reaped no small fruite and benefite, wherefore I doe now exhort thee, I doe admonish, and (if thou canst endure to be entreated by thy father) then I thy father do pray and request thee, yea euen from the very bowels and entrailes of my heart, I doe againe and againe pray and double pray thee, that thou wouldest teach thy selfe these things which I haue taught thee, that thou wouldest carefully and diligently embrace, retaine, and digest them in thy memorie.

Immasion by the Turkes vpon the Venetian territories.

Whilest *Scanderbeg* was thus speaking and perswading with his sonne, there sprang vp a strange rumor throughout all the towne, and a sudden brute and tumult arose, by reason of a message brought from the fieldes, that the Turkes were neere at hand, and that they had ouerrunne and burned the countrie neere adioyning. At the report of these newes, *Scanderbeg* although he kept his bed in great extreamitie, yet could he not represse nor restraine that auncient and inuincible courage, nor that liuely and martiall spirit which was wont to dwell and be resident in his noble hart. For raising himselfe vp in his bed, aswell as his fainting and feeble limmes would giue him leaue, he called for his armour and commanded his horse to be made readie. So liuely and flourishing was his spirit still remayning sound and disposed within his stomach abounding in courage and vigour. But when his members being now destitute of strength and growing weake, did beginne to yeeld and sinke downe againe into the bed: then falling and bearing himselfe forward vpon his couch with his face turned towards his Captaines, he thus spake vnto them.

Courage of Scanderbeg inuincible euen at point of death.

Foorth foorth (my companions) issue out vpon those traitors, and Infidels: goe you before, I will follow after you immediatly.

A Speech of Scanderbeg to his Captaines vpon an alarme giuen by the enemie.

Herewithall a troupe of horse making out of the towne, went to seeke out the enemie not ceasing till they had found them, who hauing newly sacked the territorie of the *Sentarians* were encamped vpon the brooke *Clyre* neere to the citie of *Scutarie*. For *Ahamat* (the Generall of those troupes) was come thither with fifteene thousand horse purposely to wast and spoyle the country about *Scutarie*. Now assoone as the Barbarians did discouer the Christians comming towardes them, imagining that it was *Scanderbeg*, they tooke suddenly the alarme, and being in great feare and tumult, they left the better part of their bootie and fled away in the night time ouer the mountaines, which by reason of their roughnesse were in a manner vnpassable. For it was in Ianuarie at which time the Snow and the Ise did couer all places with their whitenesse. These Infidels thus retyring themselues by the toppes and craggie passages of the mountaines, and holding no certaine way nor path, did finde themselues so hardly pressed and rudely entreated by the Lords and inhabitants of those quarters, that they compelled them to yeeld a good account of their iourney, and of the hauocke and spoyle which they had made vpon the countrie. For many of them being taken prisoners, and a great number slaine, they lost almost all their prey and bootie.

Ahamat with 15000. Turkes flie vpon the receipt of Scanderbeg his presence.

The same night that the Turkes did flie away so hastily from the Christians no man following nor pursuing them: *Scanderbeg* after the confession of his sinnes with great penitencie, hauing receiued the Sacraments with good deuotion, according to the rites of the holy Church, and recommending himselfe and his soule without ceasing to God his creator, he gaue vp the ghoast, and exchanged this life, for the happie ioyes of that which is eternall. The time of his departure wherein he left this world, was the 17. of Ianuarie in the yeare of grace 1460. and (as the report goeth) in

The death of Scanderbeg.

the threescore and third yere of his age, and of his raign the foure and twentieth. The beginning of his raigne and the time wherein he recouered the crowne of *Egypt* was the eight and twentieth of Nouember in the yeare of our Lord, 1443.

Lech Ducagin (of whom we haue often made mention) perceiuing by the exclamations and lamentable voices euery where giuen out that he was dead: he made hast to the place, and in the open view and hearing of all men with a sad and sorrowfull countenance, and a voice full of confusion, pulling himselfe by the beard, and the haires of his head, he brake out into these speeches.

Speech of Lech Ducagin bewayling the death of Scanderbeg.

Hasten you, hasten you hither (quoth he) you Princes and Lords of *Albany*, this day are the gates and rampiers of *Egypt* and *Macedonie* broken open: this day are our fortresses and walles fallen to the ground: this is the day wherein our strength and forces beginne to faile vs: this is the day wherein our Crownes and Scepters are ouerthrowen: and from henceforth all our helpe, all our hope with his good Prince is quite gone and extinquished.

Scanderbeg buried at Lissa.

His bodie was interred at *Lissa* in the Cathedrall Church of S. *Nicholas*. His funerals according to the custome of his auncestors were celebrated with great pompe, and with the incomparable sorrow and mourning both of his Captaines and souldiers, as also of all the Princes and Lords his confederates. It is a thing incredible to report the exceeding teares and lamentations made both by the Prouince of *Albany* and the countries neere adioyning, and in diuerse other places of Christendome. His bodie being there entombed, did rest in peace, till the cōming of *Mahomet* into *Egypt* to the siege of *Scutarie* which was about foure yeares after. At which time the Turkes hauing gotten the towne of *Lissa*, did with a vehement and earnest desire search out the bodie of *Scanderbeg*: and hauing found it, they drew it foorth of the sepulture, and (it may be some diuine dispensation working that motion in them) they tooke a singular pleasure and contentment to see it, to reuerence it, and in a manner to adore it being now dead and dissolued, which being a liue they so greatly redoubted and stood in feare of, that the onely brute and sound of his name did make them to flie away confounded and astonished. They ranne thither from all partes, flocking together in troupes and companies with so greedie and vehement a desire and longing to see his bones, that happie was he which might come to touch them, or but to haue a sight of them onely: but much more glad and ioyfull was he that could get or cary away any peece of his bodie were it neuer so litle: and those that had any part thereof, caused the same most religiously to be set and curiously enchased, some in siluer, some in golde, bearing it about them vpon some part of their bodies as a thing most holy, diuine and fatall: and they did with singular reuerence and deuotion obserue and keepe it very carefully: being fully perswaded, that all such as did beare those reliques about them, should enioy the like fortune, felicitie and priuiledge during their liues which *Scanderbeg* (by the gift and grace of God) onely and alone within the memorie of man, had vsed and enioyed all his life time.

The bodie of Scanderbeg taken out of his sepulture and highly honored and admired by the Turkes.

Certaine priuate acts and exploits done by Scanderbeg most rare and memorable.

Scanderbeg killeth a wilde Bull in Epyre.

It may be, that the Turkes were induced to be of this minde, and were drawen to this perswasion, by reason of many strange and wonderfull reportes, that went of the rare strength and corporall force and vigour of this worthie personage, amongst many notable examples, making shew thereof one was, vppon a sauage and wilde Bull whose extreame fierceneſſe, and huge greatnesse made him fearefull to all the inhabitants dwelling in the lands and countrie of *Mamisa* sister to *Scanderbeg*, where this furious beast did a thousand outrages and dammages and committed many most pitifull and cruell murthers: insomuch that *Scanderbeg* comming where he haunted and setting vpon him on horsebacke, with one onely blow of his Cimitarie, he cut his

his necke cleane from his shoulders. The like exploit was that which he did vpon a monstrous Boare in *Apulia*, which had made many of the Courtiers of King *Ferdinand* to beate his markes: neuertheleſſe *Scanderbeg* being one day on hunting with the King, in the open and plaine field encountered with this beaſt, where aſſayling him in the ſame ſort as he had done the former, he ſoone parted the head from the bodie. This alſo is reported of *Scanderbeg*, that after the death of *Ballaban*, and the diſcamping of his armie from the ſiege of *Croy*: *Ionima* and *Heder* the brother and Nephew of *Ballaban* being brought before him ſtreight tyed and bound together, the ſight and preſence of thoſe two (putting him in remembrance of *Ballaban*, and the crueltie which by his meanes was executed vpon the perſons of *Moſes* and his companions) did cauſe him to enter into ſo great a vehemencie of wrath and choller againſt them: that not ſtaying for any other to lay hand vpon them, he deuided them in two pieces, and with one only blow parted both their bodies a ſunder in the midſt. This Cimitary was made at *Damaſco* in *Siria*, it was of a moſt perfect goodneſſe and excellent temper: and many times he would beare two of them in one ſcabbard both of the which ſometimes he ſhould breake in one onely battell. This weapon was generally reputed ſo rare and excellent, that *Mahomet* on a time hauing heard thereof, that it would cut helmets, head peeces, and powdrons cleane a ſunder: one day when they were in truce together he ſent vnto him, demaunding this ſworde to be giuen him; which being graunted, and proofe being made thereof in the preſence of the *Sultan* by many of the ſtrongeſt & ableſt men of his Court, and ſuch as were thought to haue the beſt arme: but perceiuing none of theſe wonders and miracles that had bene reported of it, he ſent it backe againe vnto *Scanderbeg* in great ſcorne and diſdaine, with this meſſage, That he would not be beholding vnto him for ſuch a thing as he could get for his money, and which ſhould be of much greater and better perfection: and that he did not giue any credite to any of thoſe reports that had bene giuen out touching the excellencie of that ſword. But *Scanderbeg* in the ſight and preſence of the meſſenger, hauing made ſtrange and admirable prooues with this ſame Cimitarie willed him to tell his Lord and Maſter what he had ſeene, and withall to let him know, That it was not the vertue & goodneſſe of the ſword which wrought ſuch rare and extraordinarie effectes: but that it was the ſtrength and force of his arme, which he reſerued againſt his enemies.

Scanderbeg killeth a wilde Bore in Apulia

Ionima and Heder ſlaine by Scanderbeg & cut in twaine with one blow.

Mahomet demandeth Scanderbeg his ſword in gift.

"Speech or "meſſage of "Mahomet "vnto Scan- "derbeg, re- "turning his ſword againe vnto him.

"Anſwere of "Scanderbeg "to the meſ- "ſage of Ma- "homet.

But to make an ende of this worke, I could here adde many reportes of like qualitie, which are written of the force and wonderfull diſpoſition of the bodie of *Scanderbeg*, exceeding perhaps the common courſe and law of nature, and which would hardly be credited or beleeued: but I will let them paſſe and not ſpeake of them. Howbeit that we might with as good reaſon and aſwell enlarge our conſciences, and giue credite vnto them, as to thoſe which are reported of elder times, and which antiquitie hath commended vnto vs: the which neuertheleſſe euen at this day we doe celebrate and greatly ſet by; as the labours of *Hercules*, the aduentures of *Iaſon*, of *Perſeus*, of *Caſtor*, of *Pollux*, of *Bellerophon*, of *Hector*, of *Achilles*, with infinite other moſt famous and heroicall perſonages, whoſe glorie is not bounded nor confined within any ſtraighter limits, then the large and ſpacious circuit and compaſſe of the wide worlde: and yet notwithſtanding we haue no other proofe of their exploites, nor any certaintie of the actes aſcribed to thoſe auncient Princes, but onely the bare preſcription of the time and the tradition of our forefathers, which haue admitted them for true beyond time out of memorie. But the truth of theſe wonderfull matters reported of *Scanderbeg* doth carie greater ſhew of likelihood and probabilitie: for (to omit thoſe two thundering tempeſts of warre *Hunyades* and his ſonne *Mathias Cor-*

ninus King of *Hungarie*, who liued in the time of *Scanderbeg*, and of whom are reported as great and strange matters) we may see in *Scanderbeg* a pure worke of the finger of God, and the euident assistance of his diuine hand and power, for the succor and relieue of his Church and chosen people: in that it pleased him to raise vppe this worthie and Christian Prince, and to endow him with so many speciall prerogatiues as another *Dauid* against these two *Goliaths*, *Amurath* and *Mahomet*, the most cruell and bloudie persecutors of the house and Church of God that euer liued. So did God in times past prouide the *Israelites* of a *Iosua* against the *Hethites* and *Cananites*, and of a *Gedeon* against the *Madianites* and *Amalechites*: and of a *Samson* against the *Philistines*, and of a *Martell*, a *Pypin*, a *Charlemaine* against the *Sarracens*. So will God still doe the like, and he will prouide our *France* of another *Pucell*, he will neuer faile to raise vp some one or other for the defence and deliuerie of his people from their enemies: if that we with true contrition and hearte repentance for our sinnes and enormities, with a loathing and detestation of our abhominable Sects and Schismes, of our partialities and deuisions, of our ambition and mortall hatreds and mutuall enmities, will beate downe that partition wall which hath separated and disioyned vs from his grace: and if we will humble our selues vnder his hand, and if in faith, zeale, and hope we will implore his gratious fauour, to protect and assist vs.

FINIS.

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FINIS.